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EXPLANATION OF FATHER BONNECAMP'S MAP.

The Map is a reduced copy of a part of Father Bonnacamp's Manuscript Map of the route of Celeron's Expedition, now deposited in the Archives of the *Department de la Marine* in Paris.

* Indicates the places where leaden plates were buried.

† Points where latitudes and longitudes were observed.

‡ Sites of Indian villages.

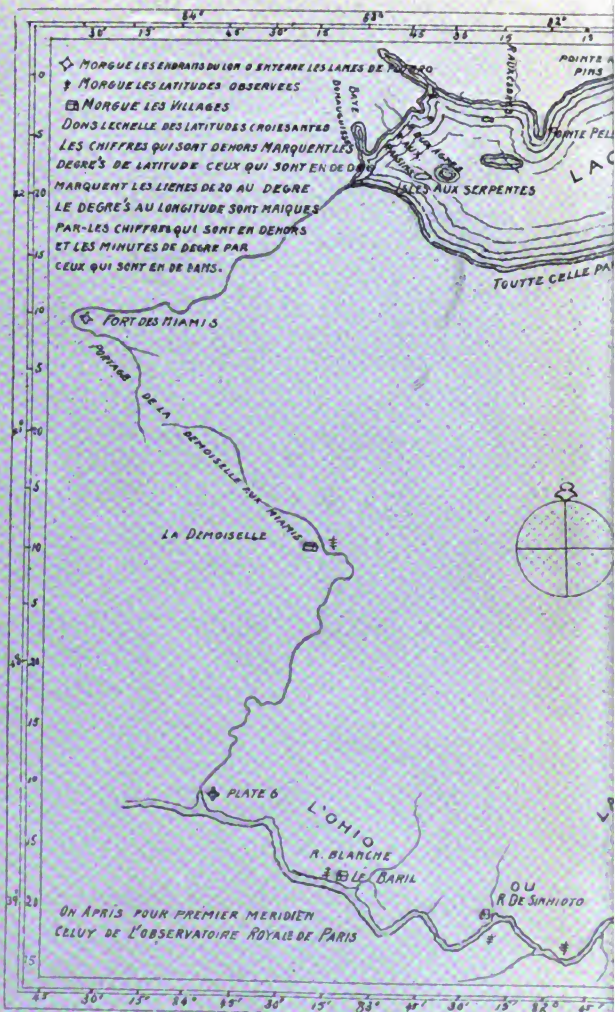
The degrees of longitude are west of the meridians of Paris, and are indicated by the figures in the outer division of the scales on the eastern and western extremities of the map. Those on the inner divisions are leagues, in the proportion of twenty to a degree.

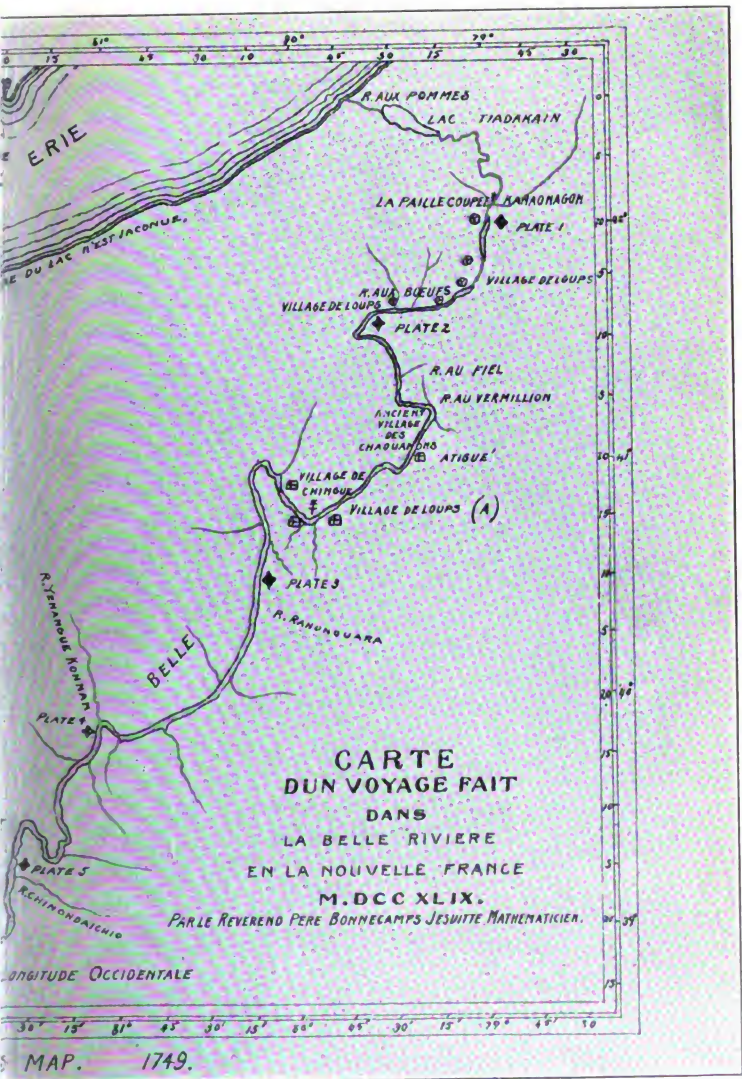
French Names, with the Corresponding American Designations.

R. Aux Pommes.	Apple River. Chataqua Creek.
Lac Tjadikoin.	Lake Chataqua.
R. Kananougon.	Conewango Creek.
La Paille Coupee.	Broken Straw Creek.
Village de Loups.	{ Village of Loup Indians, called by the English, Munceys.
R. Aux Boeufs.	French Creek (Beef or Buffalo River.)
R. au Vermillion.	Mahoning Creek.
R. Au Fiel.	Gall River. Clarion River.
Attique.	Kittanning.
R. Kanououara.	Wheeling Creek.
Ancien Village de Chaouanons.	Ancient Village of Shawanese.
R. de Sinbiota.	Scioto River.
Village de Loups (a).	Site of Pittsburgh.
Village de Chiningue.	Logstown.
Fort des Miamis.	Site of Fort Wayne.

Map of a Voyage made on the Beautiful River, in New France, 1749, by Rev. Father Bonnacamp, Jesuit Mathematician.

The English translation of *Toute cette part de lac ciest inconnue* is "All this part of the lake is unknown."





REPORT OF THE COMMISSION
TO LOCATE THE SITE
OF THE
FRONTIER FORTS
OF PENNSYLVANIA

VOLUME TWO

SECOND EDITION
Edited by
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THE FRONTIER FORTS

OF

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

BY GEORGE DALLAS ALBERT

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THE FRONTIER FORTS OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

INTRODUCTORY.

The contention between Great Britain and France for the possession of the territory which is now Western Pennsylvania, began about the middle of the last century. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, signed October 1st, 1748, while it nominally closed the war between those two countries, failed to establish the boundaries between their respective colonies in America; and this failure, together with the hostile and conflicting attitude of the colonists in America, were the causes of another long and bloody war.

The Ohio Company was an association formed in Virginia about the year 1748, under a royal grant. The nominal object of the charter association was to trade with the Indians, to divert it southward along the Potomac route, and to settle the region about the Ohio with English colonists from Virginia and Maryland. That it was intended to be a great barrier against the encroachments of the French, is manifest. Its privileges and concessions were large and ample. (1.)

All the vast extent of this country from the Mississippi to the Allegheny mountains, bordered by the great lakes on the north had been explored, and to a certain degree occupied by

the French. They had their forts, trading posts and missions at various points, and they tried by every possible means to conciliate the Indians. It was apparent that they would shortly extend their occupancy to the most extreme tributaries of the Ohio, which they claimed by virtue of prior discovery. (2.) And while the English by their fur-traders and agents and now by the active co-operation of their Virginia colonists under the auspices of this company, sought to gain a permanent occupancy of the Ohio Valley, the French began actively to assert their claims to the same region. Thus the formation of the Ohio Company, the intrusion of Indian traders, and the occupancy of some colonial families at the favorite trading posts on the Ohio and its tributaries, hastened the action of the French in taking possession of this region under their persistently asserted claims.

Thereupon to counteract the designs of the English, the Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis de la Galissoniere, (3) sent Celoron (4) in 1749 down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, to take possession of the country in the name of the King of France. His command consisted of 215 French and Canadian soldiers and 55 Indians of various tribes. The principal officers under him were Contrecoeur, (5) who afterwards built Fort Duquesne, Coulon de Villiers, (6) and Joncaire-Chabert. (7).

Provided with a number of leaden plates, they left La Chine, above Montreal, on the 15th of June, 1749, and ascending the St Lawrence to Lake Ontario, they coasted along its shore till they reached Fort Niagara on the 6th of July. Pursuing their course they arrived at a point on the southern shore of Lake Erie, where they disembarked. (8). By means of Chautauqua creek, a portage, Chautauqua Lake and Conewango creek, they came, on the 29th, to the Allegheny river, near the point now occupied by the town of Warren, in Warren county, Pa. The first of the leaden plates was buried at this point. (9). By these persisting inscriptions and proclamations made with much ceremony, they asserted their nominal possession of the

Ohio, regarding the Allegheny as but a continuation of that river. Notwithstanding their endeavors to strengthen the attachment of the Indians to their cause, they found that all along the Allegheny there was a strong bias in their feelings in favor of the English. Continuing their descent of the Allegheny and the Ohio, and entering some of the tributaries of the latter, they deposited at various points these plates, each differing in some minor particulars from the others. When they came to the mouth of the Miami river, they ascended that stream, and thence crossed by a portage to the head waters of the Maumee, descending which they reached Lake Erie and returned to Montreal, arriving there on the 10th of November, 1749.

The way thus opened, the French visited the Allegheny river region, but did not establish permanent posts there. They, however, made constant effort to conciliate the Indians and to arouse them in an antagonism against the English. Their affairs were committed to Joncaire-Chabert, who was vigilant in his labors with the natives. He occupied mostly the house at the mouth of French creek, or Venango, which had been built by John Frazer, a Pennsylvania trader, whom Celoron found there, and whom he drove off. (10).

The Governor-General of Canada, (Marquis de la Jonquiere), having died in 1752, he was succeeded by the Marquis du Quesne. This energetic official was hindered by difficulties in his anxious desire to occupy this region by force, but at length the movements of the English hastened his action. Early in January, 1753, an expedition consisting of three hundred men under command of Mons. Babeer (Babier) set out from Quebec, and journeying by land and ice, arrived at Fort Niagara in April. After resting there fifteen days, they continued their course by water to the south-eastern shore of Lake Erie. Disembarking at Chadakoin [Chautauqua], at the mouth of Chautauqua creek, where Celoron had disembarked four years before, they prepared to build a fort. The command of the expedition was here assumed by Monsieur Morin, who about the end of May, arrived with an additional force of five hundred whites and twenty Indians. (11). The Chautauqua creek had been adopted as the route by Celoron, but now finding it too

shallow to float the canoes or batteaux, he passed further to the west and came to a place which, from the peculiar formation of the lake shore, they named Presqu' Isle, or the Peninsula. This is now the site of the City of Erie. Here the first fort, which was named Fort la Presqu' Isle, was built. (12.) It was constructed of square logs, was about one hundred and twenty feet square, and fifteen feet high, but had no port-holes, and was probably finished in June, 1753.

When the fort was finished it was garrisoned by about one hundred men under command of Captain Depontency. The remainder of the forces commenced cutting a road southward to the headquarters of Le Boeuf river, or French creek. This was a distance of about fifteen miles, and is the site of the present village of Waterford, Erie county, Pa. Here they built a second fort, similar to the first, but smaller. (13.)

The season was too late to build the third fort, which they had been ordered to do; and thereupon, after leaving a large force of their men to garrison these two forts, the rest returned for the winter to Canada. (14.)

The tidings of these things startled the middle colonies, and especially alarmed the Governor of Virginia, who late in the year 1753, despatched a messenger to demand of the French an explanation of their designs. George Washington, then a youth who had but shortly attained his majority, was the person selected for the mission by Governor Dinwiddie. He performed his duty with the greatest tact and to the satisfaction of his government. With seven of a party besides himself, among whom was Christopher Gist (15) a person admirably adapted for such a service, he started out on the 15th of November from Wills creek—the site of Fort Cumberland, in Maryland—which was the limit of the road that had been opened by the Ohio Company. Traversing the country by way of Logstown on the Ohio, below the forks of the river, he with some friendly Indians whom he had engaged to accompany him, pursued the Indian path to Venango. This place an old Indian town, was the advance post of the French. Here he saw the French flag flying over the log house which had been built by Frazer, but from which he had been ejected. It was now occupied by Joncaire. He was hospitably enter-

tained, and was referred to the commanding officer whose headquarters were at Le Boeuf, the fort lately built, a short distance above on French creek. Thither Washington went, and was received with courtesy by the officer, Legardeur de Saint-Pierre. To the message of Dinwiddie, Saint-Pierre replied that he would forward it to the Governor-General of Canada; but that, in the meantime, his orders were to hold possession of the country, and this he should do to the best of his ability. With this answer, Washington retraced his steps with Gist, enduring many hardships and passing through many perils, until he presented his report to the Governor at Williamsburg, the 16th of January, 1754.

Washington, on his way back, early in January, 1754, at Gist's settlement, (16) met seventeen horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Forks of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. These parties were under the auspices of the Ohio Company, which having imported from London large quantities of goods for the Indian trade, and engaged settlers, had established trading posts at Wills creek, (the New Store), the mouth of Turtle creek, (Frazer's), and elsewhere; had planned their fort at the Forks of the Ohio and were proceeding energetically to the consummation of their designs.

A company of militia was authorized by Virginia early in January, 1754, to co-operate with the Ohio Company in their occupancy. William Trent was commissioned, by Governor Dinwiddie, Captain; John Frazer, who had his trading house at Turtle creek on the Monongahela, after being driven from Venango was appointed Lieutenant, and Edward Ward was appointed Ensign. (17.)

Trent was then engaged in building a strong log store-house, loop-holed, at Redstone. He was ordered to raise one hundred men. Returning he left Virginia with about forty men, intending to have his force recruited by the way. His objective point was the Forks; and he was instructed to aid in finishing the fort, already supposed to have been begun by the Ohio Company. He proceeded to Gist's and thence by the Redstone trail to the mouth of Redstone creek; where after having built the store-house called the Hangar, (18)

he proceeded to the Forks of the Ohio, where he arrived on the 17th of February. Here he, with Gist, George Croghan, and others, proceeded shortly to lay out the ground and to have some logs squared and laid. Their tenure, however, was of short duration. The Captain having been obliged to go back to Wills creek, across the mountains for provisions, Lieutenant Frazer being absent at Turtle creek at the time, and Ensign Edward Ward in command, the French, under Contrecoeur, April 16th, 1754, suddenly appearing in great force demanded the surrender of the post. (19.) Resistance was out of the question; and on the day following, having surrendered the post, Ward, with his party ascended the Monongahela to Redstone, now Brownsville, where the store-house had been previously erected.

The French, as soon as the season allowed them to begin operations had come down from Canada in force, and early in the spring had erected a fort at where French creek unites with the Allegheny. This was the third in their series beginning at Lake Erie—Presqu' Isle and Le Boeuf being the other two. This fort was called by the French, Fort Machault, (20) but the English usually referred to it as the French fort at Venango. It was completed in April, 1754, under the immediate superintendence of Captain Joncaire. It was not so large a work as either of the other two, but was suited to the circumstances and for the practical purposes for which it was erected. The object of these forts was not so much to form centres of defensive or aggressive warfare, as to be depots for the stores landed from the lake for transportation to Fort Duquesne which, it was early seen, was to be the real centre of operations. They were not remarkable either for strength or engineering skill; they had no earth-works of importance, and were all of the same plan. The occupants, with the exception of a small garrison, were generally workmen; and this was specially true of Le Boeuf, where canoes and batteaux were prepared for the transportation of troops, munitions and provisions to Fort Duquesne.

This part of the operations of the French was, properly speaking, only the preparation for what they had in view; the

real work was to be done at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. (21.)

The French having duly obtained possession of the Forks of the Ohio, immediately began the erection of a fortification which was strengthened from time to time as danger of an attack increased. It was called Fort Duquesne, in honor of the Governor-General of Canada. (22.)

Orders were despatched from the British cabinet, about this time to the Governors of the Provinces, directing them to resort to force in defense of their rights, and to drive the French from their station on the Ohio.

The King in council, decided that the valley of the Ohio was in the western part of the Colony of Virginia; and that the march of certain Europeans to erect a fort in parts of his dominions was to be resisted; but the cabinet took no effective measures to support the decree. It only instructed Virginia, by the whole or a part of its militia, at the cost of the Colony itself, to build forts on the Ohio; to keep the Indians in subjection; and to repel and drive out the French by force. A general but less explicit circular was also sent to each one of the colonies, vaguely requiring them to aid each other in repelling all encroachments of France on "the undoubted" territory of England. (23.)

The active operations against the French were thus carried on by the Virginians. The Province of Pennsylvania did not co-operate or in any way assist the Colony of Virginia, although the representatives of the Proprietors always asserted that this region was within the limits of their charter grant.

After Washington returned from his embassy to the French, and had made his report, the utmost activity prevailed in Virginia, and the House of Burgesses, relying on the King to protect the boundary of his dominions, voted means to assist their Governor in carrying on an aggressive campaign.

Washington received from Dinwiddie a commission, first as Major, and shortly after as Lieutenant-Colonel, and was ordered with one hundred and fifty men to take command at the Forks of the Ohio, to finish the fort already begun there by the Ohio Company, and to make prisoners, kill or destroy all who interrupted the English settlements. (24.)

While his specific orders were such as we have stated, they had been given prior to the surrender of the post by Ward, and were not applicable to the changed condition of affairs caused by that event.

To more effectively prosecute their campaign, the Virginia Assembly voted an additional sum of money from the public treasury, and the Governor was induced to increase the military force to three hundred men, divided into six companies. Colonel Joshua Fry was appointed to command the whole. With this appointment Washington's commission had been raised to a lieutenant-colonelcy, as stated.

Washington, with his raw recruits raised for this purpose, as soon as the relaxing winter allowed him to move, started from Alexandria, Virginia, April 2d, 1754, with two companies of troops, and arrived at Wills creek, (Cumberland), 17th of April, having been joined on his route by a detachment under Captain Stephen. While remaining here for additions to his forces, he learned of the surrender of the fort under Ward to the French. Agreeing at a council of war that it would be unadvisable for them to advance with the prospect of taking the fort without reenforcements, it was resolved to advance to the mouth of Redstone creek on the Monongahela, make a road passable thus far, and there raise a fortification. This point was only 37 miles from the Forks of the Ohio; but the undertaking, with the forces at his command, was one of peril, and its results uncertain and not possible to be foreseen. However, on the 25th of April, 1754, he sent a detachment of 60 men to open a road. The main body of his forces joined this detachment on the 1st of May. The road had to be cut as they proceeded, trees felled, rocks removed. Forging deep streams, cutting an opening through the mountains, dragging the few cannon, and while the season was cold and wet, without tents, without a supply of clothes, often in want of provisions, their progress was thus very slow and toilsome. On the 9th of May, he reached a place called the Little Meadows, (25) which was about one-third the distance to the mouth of Redstone creek, and about half the distance to the place called the Great Meadows. His intention was to reach Redstone, there to take up a strong position, await the arrival of Colonel Fry

with reenforcements, and from thence descend the Monongahela to the Forks. Here more than two days were spent in bridging the Little Yough. Having effected a passage through the mountains, he reached, May 18th, the Youghiogheny. This place is called the Great Crossings. They remained here several days, while Washington, with five men in a canoe, descended the river to see if it was navigable. (26.)

His hopes and his voyage ended at the Ohio-Pyle* Falls. They crossed this river without bridging, and on May 24th, they arrived at the Great Meadows. (27.) On the morning of that day Washington had received word from Tanacharison. (Half King), the Seneca, his friend, to be on his guard, as the French intended to strike the first English whom they should see. He thereupon hastened to this position. i (28.)

That same evening the Half-King's warning was confirmed by a trader, who told him the French were at the crossings of the Youghiogheny. (29.) Washington immediately began to fortify.

On the 27th, Christopher Gist came in from his place, and reported that a detachment of 50 men had been seen at noon the day before, and that he afterwards saw their tracks within five miles of the camp.

Seventy-five men were immediately despatched in pursuit of this party, but they returned without having discovered it, but between 8 and 9 o'clock that night, a messenger came in from Half-King, (Tanacharison), who was then camped with his followers, six miles off, with the report that he had followed the tracks of some Frenchmen to an obscure retreat; and he believed all the party were concealed within a short distance. Fearing a stratagem, Washington put his ammunition in a place of safety; and leaving it under the protection of a strong guard, he set out in the darkness and rain with 40 men, and reached the camp of his friendly Indians late in the night. A council was held. It was agreed that they should march together and attack the enemy in concert; and that to do this they should proceed in single file after the manner of the Indians. Early in the morning they discovered the position of the enemy. A plan of attack was agreed upon: the English

*Obiopyle (Hadden).

occupied what might be called the right wing; the Indians the left. He thus advancing came so near the French without being discovered, that the surprise was a success. The French flew to their arms. The firing continued on both sides about fifteen minutes. The French were defeated, with the loss of their whole party. Ten men were killed, including Jumonville, their commander, one was wounded; La Force, Drouillon, two cadets, and seventeen others were made prisoners. The Indians scalped the dead. Washington's loss was one killed and two or three wounded. The wing where Washington fought received all the enemy's fire, and it was that part of the line where the one was killed and the others wounded. He was not harmed. This engagement, fought in the darkness of the morning of May 28th, 1754, was the first engagement of war in which Washington took part. (30.)

The prisoners were marched to the Great Meadows, and from thence conducted over the mountains. Two days after this affair Colonel Fry died at Wills creek. The chief command then devolved on Washington. As soon as the news of the capture of the party under Jumonville reached Fort Duquesne, a strong party was organized to advance against the English. Washington lost no time in enlarging the intrenchment and erecting palisades. This fortification he called Fort Necessity. (31.) With the arrival of Major Muse with the residue of the Virginia regiment, and of Captain Mackay of the Royal army, with his company of 100 men from South Carolina, the force then numbered about 400 men. Leaving Captain Mackay with one company to guard the fort, Washington with the rest pushed over Laurel Hill, cutting the road with extreme labor through the wilderness, to Gist's plantation. (32.) This was about 13 miles distant, and two weeks were consumed in the work. (33.) On June 27th, 70 men under Captain Lewis were detached, and sent forward, to clear the road from Gist's. Ahead of these was another party under Captain Polson, who were to reconnoitre.

During this time there was the greatest activity at Fort Duquesne. On the 28th a force of about 600 French, and some Indians whose numbers were later increased, left that post to confront the English. Washington had knowledge of these

things, and on this day a council of war was held at Gist's. It was resolved to have all the forces concentrate at this point, where already some labor had been expended in throwing up intrenchments. But later news confirming the superiority in number of the enemy, made it apparent that a stand here was inexpedient. The forces all fell back to Fort Necessity. Their private baggage was left behind, and the horses of the officers were laden with ammunition and public stores—the soldiers of the Virginia regiment dragging their nine swivels by hand over the rough stony road. The men belonging to the Independent Company looked on, offering no aid, as it was not incumbent on them as King's soldiers to perform such service.

It was not Washington's intention at first to halt but to withdraw to a stronger point and await a reenforcement. But the men were so exhausted by their labor and from lack of sustaining nourishment, that they could not draw the swivels or carry the baggage on their backs further. They had been eight days without bread. Nor were the supplies of food at Fort Necessity adequate to sustain the march. It was thought best, therefore, to await both supplies and reenforcements. (34.) Hearing of the arrival at Alexandria of two Independent Companies from New York, some days before, it was supposed that they might by this time have reached Wills creek, and an express was despatched to urge them up.

Washington with his party reached the Great Meadows on the 1st of July. The royal troops had done nothing in his absence to make the stockade tenable. He immediately set his men to work to strengthen the fortification. The little intrenchment was a glade between two eminences covered with trees, except within sixty yards of it. On the 3d of July, about noon, seven hundred French, (35) with probably more than one hundred Indians came in sight, and took possession of one of the eminences. The rising ground was covered with large trees. These offered shelter to the assailants, and from behind them they could fire in security on the troops beneath. A heavy rain set in. The engagement continued till night-fall, when De Villiers, fearing his ammunition would give out.

proposed a parley. The terms of capitulation that were offered were interpreted to Washington, who did not understand French; and as interpreted were accepted. The next day being the fourth of July, a date which afterward became the most famous in the annals of American history, the English surrendered. By the articles agreed to, they were allowed to retire without insult or outrage from the French or Indians; and to take with them their baggage or stores, except artillery.

At daybreak the garrison filed out of the fort, with colors flying, and drums beating, and one swivel gun. The English flag on the fort was struck, and the French flag took its place; and when the little army of Washington had passed over the mountains homeward, the lillies of France floated over every fort, military post and mission from the Alleghenies westward to the Mississippi.

Notes to Introduction.

(1). In the year 1748, Thomas Lee, one of his Majesty's Council in Virginia, formed the design of affecting settlements on the wild lands west of the Allegheny mountains, through the agency of an association of gentlemen. Before this date there were no English residents in those regions. A few traders wandered from tribe to tribe, and dwelt among the Indians, but they neither cultivated nor occupied the lands. With the view of carrying his plan into operation, Mr. Lee associated himself with twelve other persons in Virginia and Maryland, and with Mr. Hanbury, a merchant in London, who formed what they called "The Ohio Company." Lawrence Washington, and his brother Augustine Washington, (two brothers of George Washington), were among the first who engaged in this scheme. A petition was presented to the King in behalf of the Company, which was approved, and five hundred thousand acres of land were granted almost on the terms requested by the Company.

The object of the Company was to settle the lands and to

carry on the Indian trade on a large scale. Hitherto the trade with the Western Indians had been mostly in the hands of the Pennsylvanians. The Company conceived that they might derive an important advantage over their competitors in this trade from the water communications of the Potomac and the eastern branches of the Ohio, whose head-waters approximated each other. The lands were to be chiefly taken on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kenawha and west of the Alleghenies. The privilege was reserved, however, by the Company of embracing a portion of the lands on the north side of the river, if it should be deemed expedient. Two hundred thousand acres were to be selected immediately, and to be held for ten years free from quit-rent or any tax to the King, on condition that the Company should at their own expense seat one hundred families on the lands within seven years, and build a fort and maintain a garrison sufficient to protect the settlement. [Spark's Washington.—Appendix.

The interests of this Company were subsequently merged in other companies. All persons concerned were losers to a considerable amount.

(2). "As early as the winter of 1669-70 or in the spring of the latter year, Robert Chevalier de la Salle, penetrated to the upper waters of the Allegheny, and descending that stream and the Ohio as far as the falls, where the City of Louisville, Kentucky, now stands, returned. But he has left only the merest reference to this expedition in his writings, so that for a time many denied it altogether, though later investigations have placed it beyond reasonable doubt. But an impassable barrier yet existed to the safe travel and explorations of these parts, in the fierce and treacherous Iroquois or "Five Nations," who were the terror of both the French and Indians from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the banks of the Mississippi."

So well known an explorer as La Salle needs but a short notice. Robert Chevalier de la Salle was born in Rouen, France, in November, 1643. He was a short time with the Jesuits, but withdrew, and came to Canada in 1666, from which time his life was given to exploring the Great Lakes and the Mississippi with its tributaries, till he was killed in Texas, March 19, 1687. For an estimate of his character and

qualities see Parkman's *La Salle* pp. 406, 407; also Charlevoix Vol. iv, pp. 94-95. [Register of Fort Duquesne; translated from the French, with an Introductory Essay and Notes by Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M.]

Throughout this Introduction wherever it has been necessary to make reference to authorities or quote relevant matter, use has been made of the Register. Rev. Lambing in his Introductory Essay and Notes quotes numerous authorities, and as he has greatly abridged the biographical notices therein, they have been of much use to us here.

(3.) Poland Michael Barrin, Marquis de la Galissoniere, was born at Rochfort, France, Nov. 11, 1693; rose through different grades to that of admiral; was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1747—that province being under the management of the Marine Department,—was energetic in maintaining the interests of France; returned to his native land late in 1749; and died at Nemour, Oct. 26th, 1756.

(4.) Celoron de Bienville.—This officer must not be confounded, as is sometimes done, with another officer, Captain Celoron de Blainville. From 1739 to 1741 he had charge of various expeditions and missions in the extreme northwest about Michilimackinac (Mackinack.) Soon after, he was in command at Detroit; he was sent in October, 1744, to command at Fort Niagara. In June, 1747, he is spoken of as commander at Fort St. Frederick on Lake Champlain, but was relieved in November, and was despatched to Detroit with a convoy, in May, 1748, from which he returned in September. He was then trusted with the expedition down the Ohio. In the summer of 1750 he was commander at Detroit, and five years later was again at Fort St. Frederic. His chaplain, Father Bonnecamp, speaks of him as fearless, energetic and full of resources; but the Governor calls him haughty and insubordinate.

(5.) "In the present Register, the officer here mentioned is called 'Monsieur Pierre Claude de Contrecoeur, Esquire, Sieur de Vaudry, Captain of Infantry, Commander-in-Chief of the Forts of Duquesne, Presqu' Isle and the Reviere Au Boeufs.' He was in command of Fort Niagara at the time of which we are now speaking; but he afterward succeeded to the com-

mand of the detachment which had before belonged to M. Saint Pierre. Whether he was in command of the fort at the time of the battle of the Monongahela (Braddock's Defeat), July 9th, 1755, is disputed. See also registry of the interment of *Sieur de Beaujeur* further on. The last day on which the name of *Contracoeur* is found in the Register is March 2, 1755; and the first appearance of that of M. Dumas is, Sept. 18th, of the same year. The number of entries in the Register is so few, indeed, that they cannot be taken as an authority in fixing dates with precision; but where a name is mentioned it is always a high authority. What became of M. *Contrecoeur* after his retiring from Fort Duquesne, I have not been able to learn." [Register, p. 15 n.

Note by Rev. A. A. Lambing, to the Register.—"I have retained the title '*Sieur*,' not finding its exact equivalent in our language. It is sometimes translated '*Sire*,' but whatever may have been the derivation or the original meaning of that term, its present signification forbids such a use of it."

(6.) There were seven brothers of his family, six of whom lost their lives in the American wars. This one commanded an expedition against Fort Necessity in June, 1754. He was afterwards taken prisoner by the English at the capture of Fort Niagara.

(7.) Of the elder *Joncaire*, the father of the one referred to in this place, see interesting particulars in Mr. Parkman's *Frontenac*. He died in 1740, leaving two sons, *Chabert Joncaire*, and *Philip Clauzonne Joncaire*, both of whom were in the French service and were in *Celoron's* expedition. The one who took the most prominent part was *Chabert de Joncaire*, or *Joncaire-Chabert*. He was on the *Allegheny* for the next two years at least, and was at Logstown on May 18th, 1751. Both were taken prisoners at the capture of Fort Niagara. The name is variously spelled by early writers as *John Coeur*, *Jean Coeur*, *Joncoeur*, *Joncaire*, etc.

He acted officially as interpreter between the French and Indians. He was adopted by the Senecas, and had great influence and power over them.

(8.) Near the village of Barcelona, New York.

(9.) These plates were about eleven inches long, seven and

one-half inches wide, and one-eighth of an inch thick. For the inscription of the one which was buried at the Forks of the Ohio, see notes to Fort Duquesne.

Both Celoron and his Chaplain, Father Bonnecamp, a Jesuit kept journals of the expedition, and the latter also drew a map, which is remarkably accurate considering the circumstances. He also took the latitudes and longitudes of the principal points. This map is frequently referred to, as it marks the location of the various tribes and as it gives the Indian names of the streams and of their villages. Father Bonnecamp's map is here reproduced.

(10.) Joncaire in May, 1751, held a council with the Indians at Logstown, but could not induce them to let the French have possession of their lands.

In August, 1749, Governor Hamilton, who had arrived at Philadelphia in November, 1748, sent George Croghan to the Ohio with a message to the Indians, to notify them of the cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and France and to inquire of them the reason of the march of Celoron through their country. In the report of his transactions (Second Arch. vi, 516) it is related that the Indian tribes on the Ohio and its branches, on this side of Lake Erie, were in strict friendship with the English and with the several provinces, and took the greatest care to preserve the friendship then subsisting between them and the English. At that time, he says "We carried on a considerable branch of trade with those Indians for skins and furs, no less advantageous to them than to us."

In April, 1751, the Governor again sent Croghan to the Ohio with a present of goods. In one of the speeches made on the part of the Indians the wish was warmly expressed that the Governor of Pennsylvania would build a fort on the Ohio, to protect the Indians as well as the English traders, from the insults of the French. On the 12th of June, 1752, the Virginia Commissioners who met the Indians at Logstown were requested, even insisted upon, to have their government build a fort at the forks at the same place where they had requested the Pennsylvanians to build one.

(11.) History of Erie County, by Laura G. Sanford * * *

Many of these details are given in the Introduction to the Register, by Rev. Father Lambing.

(12.) See Fort Presqu' Isle.

(13.) See Fort LeBoeuf.

(14.) Deposition of Stephen Coffen. (Second Arch., vi, 184.)

(15.) Gist was the Ohio Company's agent to select the lands and conciliate the Indians. In 1750, Gist, as the Company's surveyor, carried chain and compass down the Ohio as far as the falls at Louisville.

(16.) Washington calls this "at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela." To this Mr. Veech remarks: "The reader must understand, that at this early day, Monongahela was a locality which covered an ample scope of territory. Gist's Plantation, was about sixteen miles from the river, which, when Washington wrote this he had never seen."—The Monongahela of Old, p. 340. n.

(17.) This Company was one of two authorized by Virginia. Washington was Major of the two, and remained behind organizing his force. Trent was Captain of one of these companies.

(18.) Hangard, literally, "storehouse."

(19.) "With the opening of spring, they weré in the field, and, having completed Fort Machault, they descended the Allegheny in a fleet of canoes and batteaux, to the number, variously estimated, but perhaps little less than one thousand French, Canadians and Indians, with eighteen cannon in command of Contrecoeur."—Rev. A. A. Lambing, in Register, p. 24.

"The French flotilla of 300 canoes and 60 batteaux, with 1,400 soldiers and Indians, and 18 cannon."—Wm. M. Darlington, Esq., in Centenary Memorial.

Washington's account agrees with this, only he says "upwards of 1,000 men." Col. Washington to the Governors of Virginia and Penna., 25th April, 1754. Authorities vary as to the number of men in Ward's command. It is mostly put at forty. Bancroft's Hist. U. S., iii, 75, says the force was "only 33 in number." Wm. M. Darlington, in Centenary Memorial, p. 240, says, "Ward having but 41 men, of whom only 33 were soldiers, Ward surrendered the fort." Sparks' Wash-

ington, Vol. ii, p. 4, says, "The whole number of his men was forty-one."

On the 25th of August, 1753, Trent had viewed the ground in the forks on which to build a fort, it being considered preferable to the location at the mouth of Chartiers creek, as originally intended by the Ohio Company.

Ward hearing of the French descending the river on the 13th of April, (1754), he hastened to complete the stockading of the building, and had the last gate finished when the French were seen approaching on the river.—Wm. M. Darlington, Centenary Memorial, 259. See Fort Duquesne.

(20.) See Fort Machault.

(21.) Register of Fort Duquesne, p. 23, and citations there.

(22.) See Fort Duquesne.

(23.) Bancroft Hist. U. S., iii, 73. (Cent. Edition.)

(24.) These are the words of his commission. Officers and men were encouraged by the promise of a royal grant of two hundred thousand acres on the Ohio to be divided amongst them * * * Of the two companies to be raised by Virginia, Capt. Trent was to raise one and Washington the other. Washington was Major and ranking officer. The force was to consist of two hundred men.

(25.) Mention of the Little Meadows is frequently made in connection with the affairs in this region down to the defeat of Braddock. Its location with respect to the other posts on the line of the route was such as to make it an objective and noticeable point. It was about twenty miles west of Fort Cumberland. When Braddock came out on this route, he dispatched Sir John Sinclair and Major Chapman (on the 27th of May, 1755), ahead of the main body of the army to build a fort here. The army was seven days in reaching this place from Cumberland.

At the Little Meadows a division of the army was made; the General and Col. Halket, with select portions of the two regiments, and the other forces, lightly encumbered, going on in advance, being in all about 1,400. Col. Dunbar, with the residue, about 850, and the heavy baggage, artillery and stores, were left to move up by slow and easy marches. Here Washington, stricken down by a fever, was left by Braddock, under

the care of his friend Dr. Craik and a guard, two days in advance of Dunbar, to come on with him if able; the gallant aid requiring from the General a solemn pledge not to arrive at the French fort until he should join him. Washington did not report himself until the day before the battle. [The Monongahela of Old, p. 58, et seq.

(26.) "On the 18th they arrived at the Great Crossings, and remained there several days, while Washington, with five men in a canoe, descended the river to ascertain if it was navigable. His hopes and his voyage ended at the Ohio-Pyle Falls. They crossed the river without bridging." [The Mon. of Old, p. 43.

(27.) The location subsequently of Fort Necessity.

(28.) The French had it reported that this force was sent out to hunt deserters. During this march, Washington had reports almost daily from scouts, traders, Indians and deserters as to the movements of the enemy.

(29.) The Crossings of the Youghiogheny were afterward known as Stewart's Crossings from the circumstance of one William Stewart's living near the place in the year 1753 and part of 1754, he having been obliged finally to leave the country on account of the French taking possession of it. It was the place where Braddock's army crossed.

(30.) See Jumonville's Camp.

(31.) See Fort Necessity.

(32.) Near the town of Connellsville, Fayette county, Pa. Christopher Gist's house was thirteen miles from the Great Meadows, not far from Stewart's Crossings on the Youghiogheny river; five or six miles from Dunbar's camp.*

(33.) As Capt. Mackay bore a king's commission, he would not receive orders from the provincial colonel. He encamped apart from the Virginia troops. Neither would his men do work on the road. To prevent mutiny and a conflict of authority, Washington concluded to leave the royal captain and his company to guard the fort and stores, while he, on the 16th, set out with his Virginia troops, the swivels, some wagons, etc., for Redstone, making the road as he went. [The Monongahela of Old, 848.

(34.) They had milch cows for beef, but no salt to season it. Besides the "chopped flour" which they found at the fort

*Near the present Mount Braddock, Fayette Co.

there were some provisions from the "settlements," but only enough for four or five days. When the French came up they killed all the horses and cattle.

In the sketch of Wendel Brown and his sons, given by Mr. Veech, he says that they were the first white settlers within the limits of Fayette county, having come there as early as 1750 and '51, when the country was an unbroken wilderness. They came from Virginia. "When Washington's little army was at the Great Meadows, or Fort Necessity, the Browns packed provisions to him—corn and beef. And when he surrendered on the 4th of July, 1754, they retired, with the retreating colonial troops across the mountains. [Mon. of Old, p. 209.

The Indians friendly to Washington, such as Half-King, (Tanacharison), and Queen Alliquippa and her son, and their people who took part with the English, crowded into the fort bringing with them their squaws and children. These became consumers of the scanty supplies without being of any relative advantage, thus adding to the complexities of the occasion. They were afraid to return to their homes after the success of the French. Some went back later, but others never returned to their lodges about the Ohio.

(35.) The number here, as in all like engagements, varies in different authorities. Bancroft: Hist. U. S., iii, p. 78, says 600 French with 100 Indians * * * Spark's Washington: "the whole body of the enemy by report amounted to 900 men." * * * The number given above is from the French account.

Washington's loss in this action out of the Virginia regiment, was twelve killed and forty-three wounded. Capt. Mackay's losses were never reported.

The following extracts are taken from the "Papers relating to the French Occupation," and the events are reported from their point of view. "The English having, in 1754, built Fort Necessity, twenty-five leagues [?] from Fort Duquesne, M. de Jumonville was detached with 40 men to go and summon the garrison to retire. He was killed with seven Canadians, and the remainder of his detachment made prisoners of war. On this intelligence, Captain de Villiers, of the troops of the

Marine, was ordered to conduct 700 men and avenge his brother's death; he reduced said fort on the 3d of July by capitulation, and made the garrison prisoners of war." [Second Arch., vi, 439.]

M. Varin to M. Bigot, from Montreal, the 24th of July, 1754, "M. de Villiers had 700 men with him, 600 of whom are French and 100 Indians, who attacked Fort Necessity in broad day." [Second Arch., vi, 168.]

Extract from M. de Villiers' Journal annexed to M. Varin's letter. "The enemy's fire increased toward six o'clock in the evening with more vigor than ever, and lasted until eight. * * * The English had seventy to eighty [?] men killed or mortally wounded, and many others slightly. The Canadians have had two men killed, Desprez, Junior and the Panis, belonging to M. Pean, and seventy wounded, two whereof are Indians."—This report, as is usual with the French reports from this quarter, is greatly exaggerated in their own behalf.

JUMONVILLE'S CAMP.

Washington reached Wills creek with three companies, on the 20th of April, 1754, and two days after Ensign Ward arrived with the intelligence of the surrender of the works at the Forks of the Ohio. Washington immediately sent expresses to the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, asking for reenforcements, and then, after a consultation with his brother officers, resolved to advance, and, if possible, to reach the Monongahela, near where Brownsville now stands, and there erect a fortification. On the 9th of May, he was at Little Meadows, and there received information that Contrecoeur had been reenforced with eight hundred men. On the 18th, he was encamped on the Youghiogheny, near where Smithfield, in Fayette county, now stands. From that point, he, with Lieutenant West, three soldiers, and an Indian, descended the river about thirty miles, hoping to find it navigable, so that he could transport his cannon in canoes, but

was disappointed. He had scarcely returned to his troops, when a messenger from his old friend Tanacharison arrived, with information that the French were marching toward him, with a determination to attack him. The same day he received further information that the enemy were at the crossings of the Youghiogheny, near where Connellsville now stands, about eighteen miles from his own encampment. He then hurried to the Great Meadows, where he made an intrenchment, and by clearing away the bushes prepared a fine field for an encounter. Next day Gist, his old pilot, who resided near the crossings, arrived with the news that a French detachment of fifty men had been at his place the day before.

That same night (May 27th), about nine o'clock, an express arrived from Tanacharison, who was then encamped with some of his warriors about six miles off, with information that the French were near his encampment. Col. Washington, says Sparks, immediately started with forty men to join the Half-King. The night was dark, the rain fell in torrents, the woods were intricate, the soldiers often lost their way groping in the bushes and clambering over rocks and logs, but at length they arrived at the Indian camp just before sunrise (May 28th). A council with Tanacharison was immediately held, and joint operations against the French were determined on. Two Indian spies discovered the enemy's position in an obscure place, surrounded by rocks, and a half mile from the road. Washington was to advance on the right, Tanacharison on the left. Thus they approached in single file, until they were discovered by the French who immediately seized their arms and prepared for action, which was commenced by a brisk firing on both sides, and which was kept up for a quarter of an hour, when the French ceased to resist. Monsieur Jumonville, the commandant, and ten of his men were killed, and twenty-two were taken prisoners, one of whom was wounded. A Canadian escaped during the action. Washington had one man killed and two wounded. No harm happened the Indians. The prisoners were sent to Governor Dinwiddie.

The affair was misrepresented greatly to the injury of Washington. War had not yet been declared, and it was the policy of each nation to exaggerate the proceedings of the other. Hence

it was officially stated by the French Government that Jumonville was waylaid and assassinated, while bearing a peaceful message to Washington.

"Jumonville's camp," says Mr. Veech in Monongahela of Old, "is a place well known in our Mountains. It is near half a mile southward of Dunbar's Camp, and about five hundred yards eastward of Braddock's Road—the same which Washington was then making. The Half-King's camp was about two miles further south near a fine spring, since called Washington's Spring, about fifty rods northward of the Great Rock.

"The Half-King discovered Jumonville's, or La Force's Camp by the smoke which rose from it, and by the tracks of two of the party who were out on a scouting excursion. Crawling stealthily through the laurel thicket which surmounts the wall of rock twenty feet high, he looked down upon their bark huts or "lean-tos;" and, retreating with like Indian quietness, he immediately gave Washington the alarm. There is not above ground, in Fayette county, a place so well calculated for concealment, and for secretly watching and counting Washington's little army as it would pass along the road, as this same Jumonville's Camp."

"It may not be possible to ascertain at this time the precise object for which the party under Jumonville was sent out. The tenor of his instructions, and the manner in which he approached Colonel Washington's camp, make it evident that he deviated widely from the mode usually adopted in conveying a summons; and his conduct was unquestionably such as to create just suspicions, if not to afford a demonstration of his hostile designs. His appearance on the route at the head of an armed force, his subsequent concealment at a distance from the road, his remaining there for nearly three days, his sending off messengers to M. de Contrecoeur, were all circumstances unfavorable to pacific purposes. If he came really as a peaceful messenger, and if any fault was committed by the attack upon him, it must be ascribed to his own imprudence and injudicious mode of conducting his enterprise, and not to any deviation from strict military rules on the part of Colonel Washington, who did no more than execute the duty of a

vigilant officer, for which he received the unqualified approbation of his superiors and of the public."

The following from Evert's History of Fayette County describes the location about 1881:

"Jumonville's Camp is nearly half a mile south of Dunbar's Camp, and 500 yards east of the old Braddock Road. One quarter of a mile south of Dunbar's Camp is Dunbar's Spring, and nearly one-quarter of a mile down the run from the spring, about ten feet from the right bank, is the spot supposed to be Jumonville's grave; then west about twenty yards in a straight line is the camp, half-way along and directly under a ledge of rocks 20 feet high and covered with laurel, extending in the shape of a half-moon half a mile in length in the hill and sinking as it approaches, and dipping into the earth just before it reaches Dunbar's Spring. Thus situated in the head of a deep hollow, the camp was almost entirely concealed from observation. * * * The location is in Wharton township, Fayette county." [History of Fayette County, p. 829.]

FORT NECESSITY.*

The discomfiture of La Force's party and the death of Jumonville, were immediately heralded to Contrecoeur at Fort Duquesne by a frightened, bare footed fugitive Canadian. Vengeance was vowed at once, but it was not yet quite ready to be executed. Washington, however, knowing the impressions which this, his first encounter, would make upon the enemy, at once set about strengthening his defences. He sent back for reinforcements, and had his fort at the Meadows palisaded and otherwise improved. And, to increase his anxieties, the friendly Indians, with their families, and several deserters from the French, flocked round his camp, to hasten the reduction of his little store of provisions. Further embarrassments awaited him.

On the 9th of June, Major Muse came up with the residue of the Virginia regiment, the swivels and some ammunition; but

*A tablet was erected here on July 4, 1908, under auspices of Centennial Celebration Committee. Ed.

it was now ascertained that the two Independent Companies from New York, and the one from North Carolina, that were promised, would fail to arrive until too late. The latter only reached Cumberland after the surrender; while the fixed antipathies to war and the proprietary prerogative, of the Pennsylvania Assembly, had rendered all Governor Hamilton's entreaties for aid from that Province ineffectual. In his extremity, Colonel Washington displayed the same energy and prudence that carried him so successfully through the dangers and disappointments of the Revolution. He hired horses to go back to Wills creek for more balls and provisions, and induced Mr. Gist to endeavor to have the artillery, &c., hauled out by Pennsylvania teams—the reliance upon Southern promises of transport having failed, as it did with Braddock. But no artillery came in time; ten only of the thirty-four pound cannon and carriages, which had been sent from England, having been forwarded to Wills creek, but too late. Washington also took active measures to have a rendezvous at Redstone, of friendly Indians from Logstown and elsewhere below Duquesne; but in this he failed.

On the next day (the 10th), Captain Mackay came up with the South Carolina company; but as he bore a king's commission, he would not receive orders from the provincial colonel, and encamped separate from the Virginia troops; neither would his men do work on the road. To prevent mutiny, and a conflict of authority, Colonel Washington concluded to leave the royal captain and his company to guard the fort and stores, while he, on the 16th, set out with his Virginia troops, the swivels, some wagons, &c., for Redstone, making the road as he went. So difficult was this labor over Laurel Hill, that two weeks were spent in reaching Gist's, a distance of thirteen miles.

On the 27th of June, Washington detached a party of some seventy men under Captain Lewis, to endeavor to clear a road from Gist's to the mouth of Redstone; and another party under Captain Polson, was sent ahead to reconnoitre. Meanwhile Washington completed his movements to Gist's.

The French, in the meantime, were active, and on the 28th a strong force left Fort Duquesne to attack Washington.

It consisted of five hundred French, and some Indians, afterwards augmented to about four hundred. The commander was M. Coulon de Villiers, half brother of Jumonville, who sought the command from Contrecoeur as a special favor, to enable him to avenge his kinsman's "assassination." They went up the Monongahela in periaguas (big canoes), and on the 30th came to the Hangard at the mouth of Redstone, and encamped on rising ground "about two musket shot from it." This Hangard (built the last winter, as our readers will recollect, by Captain Trent, as a store house for the Ohio Company), is described by M. de Villiers as a "sort of fort built with logs, one upon another, well notched in, about thirty feet long and twenty feet wide." Veech says (1858), "It stood near where Baily's mill now is."

Hearing that the object of his pursuit were intrenching themselves at Gist's, M. de Villiers disencumbered himself of all his heavy stores at the Hangard; and, leaving a sergeant and a few men to guard them and the periaguas, rushed on in the night, cheered by the hope that he was about to achieve a brilliant coup de main upon the young "buckskin Colonel." Coming to the "plantation" on the morning of July 2d, the gray dawn revealed the rude half-finished fort, which Washington had there begun to erect. This, the French at once invested, and gave a general fire. There was no response; the prey had escaped. Foiled and chagrined, Villiers was about to retrace his steps, when a half-starved deserter from the Great Meadows came in, and disclosed to him the whereabouts and destitute condition of Washington's forces. Having made a prisoner of the messenger, with a promise to reward, or to hang him, according as his tale should prove true or false, the French commander resolved to continue the pursuit. Upon this we leave him, while we post up Colonel Washington's movements.

Hearing the French approach, Washington, being at Gist's on the 29th, began throwing up intrenchments, with a view to make a stand there. He called in the detachments under Captains Lewis and Polson, and sent back for Captain Mackay and his company. These all came, and upon council held it was determined to retreat. The imperfect intrenchment was

abandoned, and sundry tools and other articles concealed, or left as useless. The lines of this old fortification have been long obliterated, but its position is known by the numerous relics which have been ploughed up. It was, according to Veech, near Gist's Indian hut and spring, about thirty rods east of Jacob Murphy's barn, and within fifty rods of the centre of Fayette county.

The retreat was begun with a purpose to continue it to Wills creeks, but it ended at the Meadows. Thither the swivels were brought back, and under the additional advice and supervision of Capt. Stobo, a ditch and additional dimensions and strength were given to the fort, now named "Fort Necessity." So toilsome was this hasty retreat, there being but two poor teams, and a few equally poor pack horses—that Washington and other officers had to lend their horses to bear burdens, and to hire the men to carry and drag the heavy guns. Captain Mackay's company was too royal to labor in this service, and the Virginians had to do it all. When they reached the Meadows on the 1st of July, their fatigue was excessive. They had had no bread for eight days; they had milch cows for beef, but no salt to season it. Arrived at the fort, they found some relief in a few bags of chopped flour and other provisions from the "settlements," but only enough for four or five days. Thus fortified and provisioned, they hoped to hold out until reinforcements arrived, but they came not.

After a rainy night, early on the morning of July 3d, the enemy approached, strong in numbers and confidence, but fortunately without artillery. A wounded scout announced their approach. The French delivered the first fire of musketry from the woods, at a distance of some four or five hundred yards, doing no harm. Washington formed his men in the Meadow outside the fort, wishing to draw the enemy into an open encounter. Failing in this, he retired behind his lines, and, after irregular ineffective firing during the day, and until after dark, the French commander asked a parley, which Washington at first declined, but when asked again, granted. In this he behaved with singular caution and coolness; anxious lest his almost total destitution of ammunition and provisions should be discovered, yet betraying no fear

or precipitation. The French and Indians had killed or stolen all his horses and cattle, and thus his means of retreat were rendered as meagre as his means of defence. Yet with all these disadvantages, in numbers and resources, he obtained terms of surrender, highly honorable and liberal. Indeed, the French commander seems to have been a very fair sort of man. The articles of capitulation were drawn and presented by him in the French language; and after sundry modifications in Washington's favor, were signed in duplicate, amid torrents of rain, by the dim light of a candle, by Captain Mackay, Colonel Washington, and M. de Villiers.

The French commander professed to have no other purpose than to avenge Jumonville's "assassination" and to prevent any "establishment" by the English upon the French dominions. Hence, the articles of capitulation agreed on allowed the English forces to retire without insult or outrage from the French or Indians, to take with them all their baggage and stores, except artillery, the English colors to be struck at once; and at day-break next morning (July 4th), the garrison was to file out of the fort and march with colors flying, drums beating, and one swivel gun. They were also allowed to conceal such of their effects, as by reason of the loss of their oxen and horses they could not take with them, and to return for them thereafter, upon condition that they should not again attempt any establishment there, or elsewhere west of the mountains. The English were to return to Fort Duquesne the officers and cadets taken at the "assassination" of Jumonville, as hostages, for which stipulation Captains Van Braam and Stobo were given up to the French, as we have before related.

Such were, in substance, the terms of the surrender of "Fort Necessity." But so powerless in all the physicale of military movements had Washington become, that nothing could be carried off but the arms of the men, and what little of other articles was indispensable for their march to Wills creek. Even the wounded and sick had to be carried by their fellows. All the swivels were left. These were the "artillery," which the French required to be given up. It is said that Washington got the French commander to agree to destroy them. This was

not done as to some of them—perhaps they were only spiked; for in long after years, emigrants found and used several of them there. Eventually they were carried off to Kentucky to aid in protecting the settlers of the “bloody ground.”

The French took possession of the fort, and demolished it on the morning of the 4th of July, a day afterwards to become as gloriously memorable in the recollection of Washington, as now it was gloomy.

Washington's loss in the action, out of the Virginia regiment, was twelve killed and forty-three wounded. Capt. Mackay's losses were never reported. The French say they lost three killed and seventeen wounded.

The French, apprehensive that the long expected reinforcements to Washington might come upon them hastily, retired from the scene on the same day, marching “two leagues,” or about six miles. On the 5th they passed Washington's abandoned intrenchment at Gist's, after demolishing it and burning all the contiguous houses. At 10 a. m. next day, they reached the mouth of Redstone, and after burning the Hangard, re-embarked on the placid Monongahela. On the 7th they accomplished their triumphant return to Fort Duquesne, “having burnt down,” says M. de Villiers, in his Journal, “all the settlements they found.”

Washington returned, sadly and slowly, to Wills creek, and thence to Alexandria.

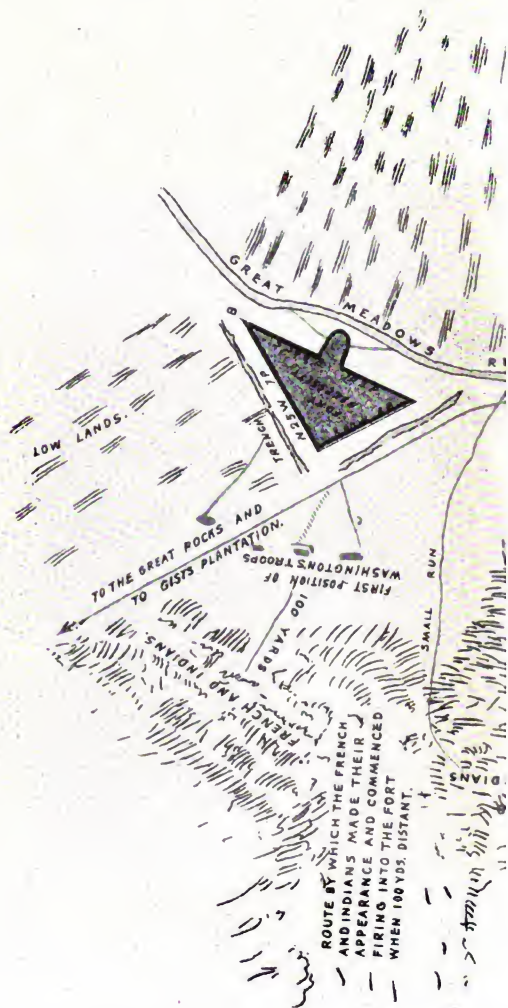
The site of Fort Necessity was the Great Meadows. James Veech, in *The Monongahela of Old*, gives in detail, as the result of his personal investigation, the following:

“The engraving and description of ‘Fort Necessity’ given in Sparks' *Washington* are inaccurate. It may have presented that diamond shape, in 1830. But in 1816, the senior author of these sketches made a regular survey of it, with compass and chain. The accompanying sketch exhibits its form and proportions. (1). As thereby shown, it was in the form of an obtuse angled triangle of 105 degrees, having its base or hypothenuse upon the run. The line of the base was, about midway, sected or broken, and about two perches of it thrown across the run, connecting with the base by lines of the tri-

angle. One line of the angle was six, the other seven perches; the base line eleven perches long, including the section thrown across the run. The lines embraced in all about fifty square perches of land, on nearly one-third of an acre. The embankment then (1816), was nearly three feet above the level of the Meadow. The outside "trenches," in which Captain Mackay's men were stationed when the fight began, (but from which they were flooded out), were filled up. But inside the lines were ditches or excavations, about two feet deep, formed by throwing the earth up against the palisades. There were no traces of "bastions," at the angles or entrances. The junctions of the Meadow, or glade, with the wooded upland, were distant from the fort on the southeast about eighty yards, on the north about two hundred yards, and on the south about two hundred and fifty. Northwestward in the direction of the Turnpike road, the slope was a very regular and gradual rise to the high ground, which is about four hundred yards distant. From this eminence the enemy began the attack, but afterward took position on the east and southeast nearer the fort. One or two field pieces skillfully aimed and fired would have made short work of it.

"A more inexplicable, and much more inexcusable error than that in Mr. Sparks' great work, is the statement of Colonel Burd, in the Journal of his expedition to Redstone, in 1759. He says the fort was round, with a house in it. That Washington may have had some sort of a log, bark-covered cabin erected within his lines, is not improbable; but how the good Lancaster Colonel could metamorphose the lines into a circular form is a mystery which we cannot solve.

"The site of this renowned fort is well known. Its ruins are yet, (1858), visible. It stands on Great Meadow run, which empties into the Youghiogheny. The "Great Meadows," with which its name associates in history, was a large natural meadow or glade, now highly cultivated and improved. The place is now better known by the name of "Mount Washington," on the National Road, ten miles east of Unintown, Fayette county, the old fort being about three hundred yards southward of the brick mansion or tavern house. In by-gone days thousands of travelers have stopped here, or rushed by,





EMBANKMENT AROUND THE FORT WAS 3 FEET HIGH AND DITCH 2 FT. BELOW THE LEVEL LAND. IT IS SAID THE EMBANKMENT A.B.C. WAS MADE BY SINKING POSTS INTO THE GROUND THROWING UP EARTH ON EACH SIDE.

without a thought of its being or history; while a few have thrown a reverential glance upon the classic spot. Washington in all his after life, seems to have loved the place. As early as 1769 he acquired from Virginia a pre-emption right to the tract of land (234) acres, which includes the fort; the title to which was afterwards confirmed to him by Pennsylvania. It is referred to in his last will, and he owned it at his death. His executors sold it to Andrew Parks of Baltimore, whose wife, Harriet, was a relative and legatee of the General. She sold it to the late General Thomas Mason, who sold it to Joseph Huston, as whose property it was bought at sheriff's sale by Judge Ewing, who sold it to the late James Sampey, Esq., whose heirs have recently sold it to a Mr. Facenbaker. An ineffectual effort was made some years ago to erect a monument upon the site. The first battle ground of Washington surely deserves a worthier mark of commemoration than mouldering embankments surmounted by a few decaying bushes."

In reference to the project of erecting a monument spoken of by Mr. Veech above, there is this further information: "On July the 3d, 1854, the corner-stone for a monument was laid with appropriate ceremonies and speeches, by citizens from different places. A handsome view of the surrounding neighborhood, painted by Paul Weber, taken in July, 1854, ornaments the walls of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. The following extract of a letter from Townsend Ward, who with others, was a visitor at the same time with Weber, and printed in the North American of July 3rd, 1854, furnishes a description of the present (then) condition of the fort and country around:

"Fort Necessity is four miles east of Laurel Hill, and about three hundred yards south of the National Road. As we approached the spot, the star-spangled banner floated from its staff, as if in honor of our pilgrimage. The meadow or glade is entirely level—the rising ground approaching the site of the fort one hundred yards on one side, and about one hundred and fifty on the other. Braddock's Road skirts the rising ground to the south. A faint out-line of the breast-work, and a trace of the ditch are yet visible, and now will remain so,

for the rude hand which held the plow that aided during many years to level them, was stayed at the intercession of a lover of the memories of these old places. The creek was dry, and this is all that remains. The artillery which Washington was unable to remove, remained a number of years, and it is said to have been the custom of emigrants who encamped at the fort to use it in firing salutes. At length the pieces, one by one, were carried to Kentucky by some of the emigrants who crossed the mountains."

Sparks' description of the place follows:

"The space of the ground called the Great Meadows, is a level bottom, through which passes a small creek, and is surrounded by hills of a moderate and gradual ascent. This bottom, or glade is entirely level, covered with long grass and small bushes, and varies in width. At a point where the fort stood, it is about two hundred and fifty yards wide, from the base of the one hill to that of the opposite. The position of the fort was well chosen, being about one hundred yards from the upland, or wooded ground, on the one side, and one hundred and fifty on the other, and so situated on the margin of the creek, as to afford easy access to water. At one point, the high ground comes within sixty yards of the fort, and this was the nearest distance to which an enemy could approach under the shelter of trees. The outlines of the fort were still visible, when the spot was visited by the writer in 1830, occupying an irregular square, the dimensions of which were about one hundred feet on each side. One of these was prolonged further than the other, for the purpose of reaching the water in the creek. On the west side, next to the nearest wood, were three entrances, protected by short breast-works, or bastions. The remains of a ditch, stretched round the south and west sides, were also distinctly seen. The site of this fort is three or four hundred yards south of what is called the National Road, four miles from the foot of Laurel Hill, and fifty miles from Cumberland or Wills Creek."

Notes to Fort Necessity.

(1.) The exhibits referred to have never been printed. Mr. Veech compiled his *Monongahela of Old* prior to 1858. A part of it had been published by him in newspapers, but the work itself was printed in sheets which were not bound or put in book form until 1892—then after Mr. Veech's death, and without any alteration. A part of the work—pages 241 and 259—was included in a pamphlet issued in 1857, entitled "Mason and Dixon's line." The edition of 1892 was "for private distribution only." As Mr. Veech was a skilled surveyor and draughtsman, it is much to be regretted that the exhibits are not available."

(2.) "When Washington first camped at the Great Meadows, he had about one hundred and fifty men, soon after increased to three hundred, in six different companies, commanded by Captain Stephen, (to whom Washington there gave a Major's commission), Stobo, Van Braam, Hogg, Lewis, George Mercer and Polson; and by Major Muse who joined Washington with reinforcements of men and with nine swivels, powder and ball, on the ninth of June. He had been Washington's military instructor, three years before, and now acted as quartermaster. Captain Mackay, with the Independent Royal Company, from South Carolina, of about one hundred men, came up on the tenth of June, bringing with him sixty beeves, five days' allowance of flour, and some ammunition, but no cannon, as expected. Among the subordinate officers, were Ensign Peyronie, and Lieutenants Waggoner and John Mercer.

"Besides the illustrious commander, who became a hero, not for one age, but for all time, several of these officers became afterwards, earlier or later, men of note. Stephen was a captain in the Virginia regiment, at Braddock's defeat, and there wounded. He rose to be a colonel in the Virginia troops, and to be a general in the War of the Revolution. Stobo was the engineer of Fort Necessity, and he with Van Braam, were at the surrender, given up as hostages to the French, until the return of the French officers taken in the fight with Jumonville; but the Governor of Virginia refusing to return them, the hostages were sent to Canada. Stobo, after many hairbreadth escapes finally returned to Virginia in 1759, whence

he went to England. Van Braam was a Dutchman, who knew a little French, and having served Washington as French interpreter the year previous, was called upon to interpret the articles of capitulation, at the surrender of Fort Necessity, and has been generally, but unjustly, blamed with having wilfully entrapped Washington to admit that the killing of Jumonville was an assassination. He had been Washington's instructor in sword exercise. He returned to Virginia in 1760, having been released after the conquest of Canada by the English; but the capitulation blunder sunk him. Captain Lewis was the General Andrew Lewis, of Botetourt, in the great battle with the Indians at Point Pleasant, in Dunmore's War of 1774, and was a distinguished general officer in the Revolution, whom Washington is said to have recommended for Commander-in-Chief. He was a Captain in Braddock's campaign, but had no command in the fatal action; and was with Major Grant at his defeat, at Grant's Hill, (Pittsburgh), in September, 1758. Polson was a Captain at Braddock's defeat, and was killed. Of Captain Hogg we know but little. Captain Mackay was a royal officer, and behaved in this campaign with discretion, yet with some hateur. He afterwards aided Colonel Innes, of North Carolina, in building Fort Cumberland, (Wills creek). Peyronie was a French Chevalier, settled in Virginia; was badly wounded at Fort Necessity; was a Virginia Captain in Braddock's campaign, and killed. Waggoner was wounded in the Jumonville skirmish, became a Captain in Braddock's campaign, and behaved in the fatal action with signal good sense and gallantry. Besides these there were Christopher Gist, already named, and D. Thomas Craik, the friend and family physician of Washington, until his death.

Of the Indians whose names are familiar from their connection with our history, there were Tanacharison, the Half-King of the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois, a fast friend of Washington and the English; Monacatootha, alias Scarayoody,* also a Six Nation chief; Queen Alliquippa and her son,

*The accepted spelling of the name "Scarayoody" is "Scaroady." This Oneida Chief had charge of the Iroquois affairs on the Ohio, similar to that of Shikellamy on the Susquehanna. But he was given special oversight of the Shawnee. He succeeded Tanacharison in this office in 1754, upon the latter's death. Both of these Deputies were called "Half King" by the English. Scaroady was called Monacatuatha, or Monakutha, by the Delaware. He is mentioned by this name in the various records of Braddock's expedition, in which he took part. He was friendly to the British during the French and Indian War. (Donahoe.)

and Shingass, a Delaware chief." [The Monongahela of Old. By James Veech].

The Captain Mackay above mentioned was Æneas Mackay who after the services referred to became in 1773, one of His Majesty's justices for Westmoreland County, Penna. At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War he was appointed Colonel of the Eighth Penn'a Regiment in the Continental Line, but died early in the war in New Jersey.

"It was a subject of mortification to Colonel Washington that Governor Dinwiddie refused to ratify the capitulation, in regard to the French prisoners. The Governor thus explained his conduct in a letter to the board of trade: 'The French, after the capitulation entered into with Colonel Washington, took eight of our people and exposed them to sale, and, missing thereof, sent them prisoners to Canada. On hearing of this, I detained the seventeen prisoners, the officer, and two cadets, as I am of opinion, as they were in my custody, Washington could not engage for their being returned. I have ordered a flag of truce to be sent to the French, offering the return of their officer and two cadets for the two hostages they have of ours.' This course of proceeding was not suitable to the principles of honor and sense of equity entertained by Colonel Washington, but he had no further control of the affair.

"The hostages were not returned, as was requested by the Governor's flag of truce, and the French prisoners were detained in Virginia, and supported and clothed at the public charge, having a weekly allowance for that purpose. The private men were kept in confinement, but Drouillon and the two cadets were allowed to go at large, first in Williamsburg, then in Winchester, and last at Alexandria, where they resided when General Braddock arrived. It was then deemed improper for them to go at large, observing the motions of the general's army, and the governor applied to Commodore Képel to take them on board his ships; but he declined, on the ground that he had no instructions about prisoners. By the advice of General Braddock, the privates were put on board the transports and sent to England. Mr. Drouillon and the cadets were passengers in another ship at the charge of the

colony. La Force having been only a volunteer in the skirmish, and not in a military capacity, and having previously committed acts of depredation on the frontiers, was kept in prison in Williamsburg. Being a person of ready resources, and an enterprising spirit, he broke from prison and made his way several miles into the country, when his foreign language betrayed him, and he was taken up and remanded to close confinement.

"Van Braam and Stobo were conveyed to Quebec, and retained there as prisoners till they were sent to England by the Governor of Canada."

The following is from Evert's History of Fayette county, and refers to the locality as it was about 1881:

"Mr. Facenbaker, the present occupant, came to the property in 1856, and cut a ditch, straightening the windings of the run, and consequently destroying the outline. The ditch is outside the base-line, through the out-thrown two perches. A lane runs through the southeast angle. The ruins of the fort or embanked stockade, which it really was, is three hundred yards south of Facenbaker's residence, or the Mount Washington stand, in a meadow, on waters of Great Meadow Run, a tributary of the Youghiogheny. On the north, two hundred yards distant from the works, was wooded upland; on the northwest a regular slope to high ground about four hundred yards away, now cleared, then woods; on the south, about two hundred and fifty yards to the top of a hill, now cleared, then woods, divided by a small spring run breaking from a hill on the southeast, eighty yards away, then heavily, and still partially, wooded. A cherry tree stands on one line and two crab-apples on the other. The base is scarcely visible, with all trace gone of line across the run. Mr. Geoffrey Facenbaker says he cleared up a locust thicket there and left a few trees standing, and that it was the richest spot on the farm. About four hundred yards below, in a thicket close to his lower barn, several ridges of stone were thrown up, and here he thinks the Indians buried their dead. He found in the lane in ditching, logs five feet under ground in good preservation."

"The site of the fort has not been desecrated by the plow

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since it came into the possession of the Facenbaker family. Mr. Lewis Facenbaker is the present owner."

The location is in Wharton township, Fayette county.

FORT DUQUESNE.

Capt. William Trent, holding his commission from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, began the erection of a fort at the Forks of the Ohio river, (1) under the auspices of the Ohio Company, on Sunday, Feb. 17th, 1754. (2). The fort was not yet completed, when the French under Contrecoeur, (3) April 16th, 1754, appeared in sight, coming down the Allegheny river, in large numbers. They landed from their boats, drew up on the shore, and Le Mercier, commander of the artillery, with two drummers, one of them as an interpreter for the French, and a Mingo Indian, called The Owl, as an interpreter for the Indians, was sent by his superior to demand the surrender of the post. (4). Capt. Trent and Lieut. Frazer being absent, Edward Ward, Ensign, in command, the fort was by him given over to the French. Their object in descending the rivers from Canada was to secure this post and to erect thereat a fortification, regarding it within the limits of their territory of Louisiana. (6).

They immediately erected a fortification which was strengthened as time went on and the danger of attack increased. It was called Fort Duquesne, in honor of the Governor-General of Canada. (7). It was probably completed early in the summer, (8) but in the papers submitted herewith its condition at various times will be noted. It was located in the Point, at the extreme end of the neck of land between the rivers, upon plans made by M. de Chevalier de Mercier, captain of artillery who had been the designer and engineer of a number of such like fortifications for the French in their Canadian possessions. He is represented as an officer of considerable ability, but a leech on the public purse; one of the large class who came to the New World with the determination of getting rich at any cost.

It was understood that this overt act of war would be followed by prompt action on the part of England and the colonies, especially that of Virginia. Already a force of volunteer militia had been called out by the Governor of Virginia for the special purpose of aiding the Ohio Company to retain this post. Some of these were on the way and were west of Wills creek when Trent was forced to surrender. It was learned by the French through the active agency of their Indian allies and the vigilant efforts of their own soldiers that the Virginians, notwithstanding this backset, were advancing toward this point with the evident intention of fighting for it. Small detachments were thereupon sent out from the fort to harass and impede the little army which, under young Washington, was proceeding on the trail made by the Ohio Company the year previous, and on the Indian path which led from the termination of that trail westward. (9).

Captain Trent had been directed by the Governor of Virginia to occupy this point directly after he was assured of the intentions of the French from the report of Washington. Trent's small detachment was therefore merely the advance of a stronger force which was authorized by the Virginia authorities to proceed westward as soon as organized and equipped, to occupy this and other posts which were expected to be established. This force, however, could not be raised and equipped immediately, but the work of doing so progressed as circumstances permitted. The Virginia Assembly voted a thousand pounds towards supporting the expedition and authorized more men to be raised. Colonel Joshua Fry, an English gentleman, was to be in chief command; Washington, whose commission had been advanced to that of lieutenant-colonel, was second in command. Ten cannon and other military equipments which had arrived recently from England, were sent to Alexandria for the use of the expedition. (10).

Washington, with two companies which he had raised by his individual exertions, marched from Alexandria on the 2nd of April, 1754, and arrived at Wills creek (Cumberland, Md.), April 17th. He had been joined on his way by Captain Stephen. His forces amounted to one hundred and fifty men. Here he

learned of the surrender of Trent. At a council of war it was concluded that it would be impossible to attack successfully the fort occupied by the French, without reinforcements; but it was determined, pursuant to the instructions which had been given by Governor Dinwiddie in contemplation of this event, to proceed to the store-house which had been erected for the Ohio Company the year previous at the mouth of Redstone creek on the Monongahela (Brownsville). This point was regarded a favorable one for operations against the fort at the Forks. With this object he proceeded forward, opening the road where necessary and taking such precautions as the occasion required. Having effected the crossing of the mountain ranges with difficulty, he reached the Youghiogheny where he was delayed until he constructed a bridge for its passage. Learning that the French had sent out a force to oppose him—which force was largely in excess of his own—he hastened forward to the Great Meadows, at which place he erected Fort Necessity. The events which have been narrated elsewhere more in detail, then followed. The first collision between the French and Virginians occurred when Washington, guided and aided by the friendly Indian, Tanacharison, called otherwise, Half-King, on the morning of the 28th of May, 1754, surprised and attacked Jumonville with his party who had been sent out to spy his movements and to intercept his progress. It is a circumstance to be noted that while the disposition of the Virginians from the Forks of the Ohio has been generally recognized as the beginning of that colossal and eventful war which was so fatal to the power and glory of France throughout the world, and especially in America, yet no less noteworthy is the fact that the first gun fired in the first collision of arms was by the order of Washington and under his immediate command.

Thence followed the affair of Fort Necessity itself, the result of which left the French in undisputed possession of Fort Duquesne and of the region of country which it controlled.

It was with truth related at the time, that the events which then transpired in the vicinity of Fort Duquesne were talked

of in Paris, and that the name of Washington was then heard first in Europe.

The French did not underestimate the importance of this post, or the necessity of holding it at all hazards. Its garrison from the first was large; and it became immediately upon its occupancy the chief post on their line of frontier from Lake Erie southward. This importance it maintained as long as it was under their domination.

To make themselves more secure the French worked on the Indians of this region by every device. They were eminently successful in their dealings with them, and they had little trouble to make them their allies and dependants. There had grown a feeling of distrust on the part of the Indians of the Virginians, and an antagonism against them by the tribes along the rivers; they were losing their ancient regard for the Pennsylvanians on account of the manner in which they had been duped out of their hunting-grounds, and they were thus the more easily prevailed upon by plausible argument and by substantial evidence of friendship, to become the allies of the French. Many tribes were sustained by bountiful donations; the post was frequented by chiefs and warriors who came from distant tribes, and quite a settlement of natives was gathered in huts around the Fort, to whom were served rations from the public stores. To this point the representatives of the tribes came and were here fed in time of need. Here traders and governmental agents carried on the exchange of furs and peltry; and from here went forth those predatory bands, sometimes led by Frenchmen or Canadians, which carried terror, destruction and death to the border settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. To here were carried the captives taken in these ventures, whence they were from time to time sent to other posts, or to Canada. And this continued as long as the place remained in their possession; that is to say, from the time of its occupancy in the spring of 1754 until its abandonment on the approach of the army under Forbes, in the fall of 1758. (11).

The history of this post under the French is to be learnt largely from the documents which relate to the military affairs of French-Canada, from the accounts which from time to time,

were detailed by escaped captives, or from statements made by captured prisoners. As these documents are brought to light, more information is being obtained; and doubtless the time will come when a most satisfactory account can be given of its history in detail.

The first description we have of the fort is that by Captain Robert Stobo, one of the two hostages given by Washington at the surrender of Fort Necessity, who was taken by the French to Fort Duquesne, from where, after being detained for some time, he was sent into Canada, but ultimately returned to Virginia. (12).

Stobo, shortly after his capture, wrote two letters to the Governor of Virginia, which were entrusted to two friendly Indians, and each was safely delivered. He enclosed the plan of the fort; and this plan and the description of it furnished by him were regarded, from a military point of view, as of great value. They were carefully kept and were given to Gen. Braddock when he took command of the expedition against Fort Duquesne, and they were found among his effects on the field of battle, and with other papers were forwarded by the French authorities to the proper depository of such official documents in Canada. (13). In the letter of July 28th, 1754, after speaking of the affairs of the neighboring Indians, he says: "On the other side, you have a draft of the Fort, such as time and opportunity would admit of at this time. The garrison consists of two hundred workmen, and all the rest went in several detachments to the number of one thousand, two days hence. Mercier, a fine soldier, goes; so that Contrecoeur, with a few young officers and cadets, remain here. A lieutenant went off some days ago, with two hundred men, for provisions. He is daily expected. When he arrives, the garrison will. La Force is greatly wanted here—(14) no scouting now. He certainly must have been an extraordinary man amongst them—he is so much regretted and wished for."

In the letter of July 29th, he says: "There are about two hundred men at this time, two hundred more expected in a few days; the rest went off in several detachments to the amount of one thousand, besides Indians. The Indians have great liberty here; they go out and in when they please with-

out notice. If one hundred trusty Shawanese, Mingoes and Delawares were picked out, they might surprise the fort, lodging themselves under the platform behind the palisades by day, and at night secure the guard with the tomahawks. The guard consists of forty men only, and five officers. None lodge in the fort but the guard, except Contrecoeur, the rest in bark cabins around the fort."

A description of the fort as it was in the summer of 1754 is given by Thomas Forbes, a French soldier who was at the fort at that time, and is as follows:

"At our arrival at Fort DuQuesne (from Le Boeuf) we found the Garrison busily engaged in completing that Fort and Stockadoing it round at some distance for the security of the Soldiers Barracks (against any Surprise) which are built between the Stockadoes and the Glacis of the Fort.

"Fort Due Quesne is built of square Logs transversely placed as is frequent in Mill Dams, and the Interstices filled up with Earth; the length of these Logs is about sixteen Feet which is the thickness of the Rampart. There is a Parapet raised on the Rampart of Logs, and the length of the Curtains is about 30 feet, and the Demigorge of the Bastions about eighty. The Fort is surrounded on the two sides that do not front the Water with a Ditch about 12 feet wide and very deep, because there being no covert way the Musquetteers fire from thence having a Glacis before them. When the News of Ensign Jumonville's Defeat reached us our company consisted of about 1,400. Seven hundred of whom were ordered out under the command of Captain Mercier to attack Mr. Washington, after our return from the Meadows, a great number of the Soldiers who had been labouring at the Fort all the Spring were sent off in Divisions to the several Forts between that and Canada, and some of those who came down last were sent away to build a Fort some where on the head of the Ohio, so that in October the Garrison at Du Quesne was reduced to 400 Men, who had Provisions enough at the Fort to last them two years, notwithstanding a good deal of the Flour we brought down in the spring proved to be damaged, and some of it spoiled by the rains that fell at the Time. In October last I had an opportunity of relieving myself and retiring, there were not then

any Indians with the French but a considerable number were expected and said to be on their march thither." (15).

When the advance of the Virginians was repelled after the capture and occupancy of the place by Contrecoeur, the forces were moved about; some were sent to Niagara and others to points along the Allegheny and Ohio. The force here was ample, although it differed at times. Francis Charles Bouviere, a deserter from the French fort at Niagara, in a deposition made the 28th of December, 1754, stated that he had served with other soldiers in the garrison at Quebec until the beginning of the last winter, when he embarked along with six hundred men, Canadians and soldiers, on the expedition against the English at Ohio, and then after attacking and taking the fort which the English had begun, their commander, Contrecoeur, ordered four hundred men, of which he was one, to return to Niagara, detaining two hundred men with him in the fort. (16).

Another deserter stated that he was one of a very large number of soldiers who had been brought over from France, the most of whom were sent to the French fort commanded by Contrecoeur, on the Ohio; that the soldiers after their arrival were employed in digging mines in order to blow up the English on their approach to attack them, and that they talked of making mines all about the fort at a great distance; that the French had heard the English were making great preparations against them; that there were numbers of French Indians in the camp with the French who spoke French, and were extremely attached to them; that the French said they would by force compel the English to join with them; that they offered the lands about the fort to the Canadians and soldiers, and gave seed for their encouragement to settle there, and that there were about forty families who had accepted the terms and were settling the lands. (17.)

During the summer and fall of 1754, the frontiers were kept in constant alarm at the prospects of attack from that quarter. (18.) The French would seem to have been very desirous that the reports of what they contemplated doing should be carried out from the fort, and care was taken not to allow the

effect of these reports to suffer from want of exaggeration. The accounts on the part of the French coming from various sources differ; and it will readily be admitted that many of them are not plausible.

George Croghan, Indian agent, reporting to Governor Hamilton, Sept. 27th, 1754, the result of his inquiries at that time, says: "I have had many accounts from Ohio all which agree that the French have received a reenforcement of men and provisions from Canada, to the fort in particular. Yesterday an Indian returned here, whom I had sent to the fort for intelligence; he confirms the above accounts and further says there was about sixty French Indians came there while he was there, and they expected better than two hundred more every day. He says that the French designed to send those Indians with some French in several parties to annoy the back settlements, which the French say will put a stop to any English forces marching out this fall to attack them. This Indian, I think, is to be believed, if there can be any credit given to what an Indian says." (19.)

In anticipation of an early campaign of the English and colonists, the force at Duquesne was very largely increased during the late fall of 1754. At one time it is probable there were at least one thousand regular soldiers there and several hundred Indians of various tribes. At the same time there were many other soldiers stationed at the forts up the Allegheny and on Lake Erie, ready for moving promptly when the occasion arrived.

Governor Sharp reports to Governor Morris from Annapolis, December 10th, 1754, as follows—"I acquaint you that I have just now received intelligence from Wills Creek, of the arrival of 1,100 French, and 70 Arondacks at the French on Monongahela, and that there are 400 French, and 200 Canawages and Ottaways more at the head of Ohio ready to come down thither. As soon as the Arondacks came to the Fort the Commandant divided them into three detachments, and sent them against the back settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland or Virginia. (20.)

Croghan reports to Governor Morris, November 23rd, 1754, that "Four days ago an Indian man called Caughenstain, of

the Delaware nation, who had been gone six weeks to the French fort as a spy, returned and brings an account that there was 1,100 French came to the fort on Ohio and 70 French Indians called Orundox, and that there was more French at the head of Ohio and 300 Indians of the Coniwagas and Out-aways, which was expected every day when he left the Fort. They have brought eight more canoes with them. He says that the French sent out three small parties of Indians against the English settlements before he left that, but where they are destined he could not find out." (21.)

Governor Morris, speaking to the Assembly, December 3, 1754, refers to the condition of the Province as follows: "From the letters and intelligence I have ordered to be laid before you it will appear that the French have now at their Fort at Mohongialo above a thousand regular troops besides Indians; that they are well supplied with provisions, and that they have lately received an additional number of cannon; that their upper forts are also well garrisoned and provided." (22.)

This information was based probably on reports made some time prior thereto. When it became evident that no operations would be carried on that winter, most of the regular force was returned to Canada, leaving what was necessary for garrison duty. (23.) In April of 1755 there were said to be not two hundred French and Indians, and that their great dependence for the next summer seemed to be on the numerous tribes of Indians who had engaged to join them. (24.)

The aggressive campaigns on the part of the British which opened in 1755 against Niagara and Crown Point as well as Fort Duquesne, necessitated the retention in Canada of most of those forces which otherwise would have been sent to Duquesne. And therefore at no time after the fall or early winter of 1754 until after Braddock's defeat were the French forces so large there as they were shortly after its acquisition. They were then in expectation of a formidable movement on the part of the English. The number, however, was far in excess of that which was actually required; and upon the withdrawal of Washington and his Virginians after the surrender at Fort Necessity, there being then no immediate occasion for such

a strong garrison, the men were temporarily withdrawn to other posts. But the invasion of territory which the British Government and its colonists asserted belonged to them, was a matter which the government of France knew would be the cause of war. And the event justified these anticipations.

From the State Papers pertaining to the government of Canada as a French province we get some information about affairs here at the time preceding the defeat of Braddock. The Marquis Duquesne to Vaudreuil, writing on the 6th of July, 1755, from Quebec, says: "By sieur de Contrecoeur's letter of the 24th of May last, the works of Fort Duquesne are completed. It is at present mounted with six pieces of cannon of six, and nine of two @ three pound ball; it was in want of neither arms nor ammunition, and since Sieur de Beaujeu's arrival, it must be well supplied, as he had carried with his brigade succors of every description.

"I must explain to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that much difficulty is experienced in conveying all sorts of effects as far as Fort Duquesne; for, independent of the Niagara carrying place, there is still that of Presqu'isle, six leagues in length. The latter fort, which is on Lake Erie, serves as a depot for all the others on the Ohio; the effects are next rode to the fort on the River au Boeuf, where they are put on board pirogues to run down to Fort Machault, one-half of which is on the River Ohio, and the other half in the River au Boeuf, and serves as a depot for Fort Duquesne. This new post has been in existence only since this year, because it has been remarked that too much time was consumed in going in one trip from the fort on the River au Boeuf to Fort Duquesne, to the loss of a great quantity of provisions which have been spoiled by bad weather. 'Tis to be hoped that, by dispatching the convoys opportunity [? opportunely] from Fort Machaults, everything will arrive safe and sound in twice twenty-four hours; besides it will be much more convenient at Fort Duquesne to send only to Fort Machaults for supplies.

"The Marquis de Vaudreuil must be informed that, during the first campaigns on the Ohio, a horrible waste and disorder prevailed at Presqu'isle and Niagara carrying places, which

A.D. 1755.



cost the King immense sums. We have remedied all the abuses that have come to our knowledge, by submitting these portages to competition. The first is at forty sous the piece, and the other, which is six leagues in extent, at fifty. But we do not think the contractors can realize anything in consequence of the mortality among the horses and other expenses to which they are subject.

"Had we been favored with any tranquility, nothing would have been easier than to supply Fort Duquesne, by having the stores at Fort Presqu'isle filled during the summer, the horses could have rode the supplies during the winter to that of the River au Boeuf, whence they might be sent down the Ohio [Allegheny] on the first melting of the ice; but continual and urgent movements up to the present time have not afforded leisure to ride the effects in winter, and the horses are dying, which has determined us to give orders to draw from the Ohio as many of them as possible.

"Fort Duquesne could in less than two years support itself, since, in the very first year, 700 minots [a minot is a measure containing about three bushels] of Indian corn have been gathered there, and, from the clearings that have been made there since, it is calculated that if the harvest were good, at least 2,000 minots could be saved. Peas are now planted, and they have two cows, one bull, some horses and twenty-three sows with young." (25.)

On the 25th of November, 1754, Major-General Edward Braddock was commissioned General-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in North America and received his instructions touching his duties with relation to the encroachments of the French. In this year also was held the Council at Albany. Early the next year, 1755, both governments sent reenforcements of men and large quantities of war munitions, to America; each force under convoy of a fleet.

Before the declaration of war, and before the breaking off of negotiations between the courts of France and England, the English ministry had formed a plan of assailing the French in America on all sides at once, and repelling them, by one bold push, from all their encroachments.

The original plan was not followed out in detail as contem-

plated but was somewhat altered as to the points of attack when operations were begun. A provincial army was to advance upon Acadia, a second was to attack Crown Point, and a third Niagara; while General Braddock with two regiments which had lately arrived in Virginia, aided by a strong body of provincials, was to dislodge the French from Fort Duquesne.

Gen. Braddock sailed, Jan. 14, 1755, from Cork for America, with the Forty-fourth and Forty-eighth Regiments of royal troops, each consisting of five hundred men, one of them commanded by Col. Dunbar and the other by Sir Peter Halket. He arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, on the 20th of February. (26.)

In a council held at the camp there on the 14th of April, 1755, at which, besides himself and Hon. Augustus Keppel, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in North America, there were present the Governors of Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, Maryland and Pennsylvania, three expeditions were then resolved on, the first of which was against Fort Duquesne, under the command of Gen. Braddock in person, with the British troops, with such aid as he could derive from Maryland and Virginia. There were afterwards added two independent companies from New York.

Gen. Braddock, at length, amply furnished with every thing necessary for the expedition, and confident of success, wrote to his friend Gov. Morris of Pennsylvania, from Fort Cumberland, on the 24th of May, that he should soon begin his march for Fort Duquesne, and that if he took the fort in the condition it then was, he should make what additions to it he deemed necessary, and leave the guns, ammunition and stores belonging to it with a garrison of Virginia and Maryland forces. But in case, as he apprehended, the French should abandon and destroy the fortifications, with the guns, stores and ammunitions of war, he would repair or construct some place of defence for the garrison which he should leave; but that Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland must immediately supply the artillery, ammunition, stores and provisions for the use and defence of the garrison left in the fort, as he should take all that he now had, and all that he should find

in the fort along with him, for the further execution of his plan.

Having completed his arrangements, he sent forward on the 27th of May, Sir John Sinclair and Major Chapman, with a detachment of five hundred men to open the roads, and advance to the Little Meadows, erect a small fort, and collect provisions. On the 8th of June, the first brigade under Sir Peter Halket followed, and on the 9th the main body of the army, with the Commander-in-Chief, left Fort Cumberland, and commenced its march towards Fort Duquesne. He crossed the Allegheny Mountains at the head of two thousand, two hundred men, well armed and supplied, with a fine train of artillery. In addition, to these, Scarrooyada, who had succeeded Half-King, a sachem of the Delawares, joined him with between forty and fifty friendly Indians; and the heroic Captain Jack, with George Croghan, the English Indian interpreter, who visited his camp, accompanied by a party, increasing the number of Indian warriors to one hundred and fifty, proposed to accompany the army as scouts and guides. These might have been of great use to him, in this capacity, and might have saved the army from ambuscade and defeat. But he slighted and rejected them; and as the offer of their services was rather despised than appreciated, they left him in disgust; and retired to their fastnesses among the mountains of the Juniata.

On the seventh day after he left Fort Cumberland, he reached the Little Meadows, at the western base of the Allegheny Mountains, where the advance detachment under Sir John Sinclair, Quarter-Master General of the army, had before arrived. Here a council of war was called to determine upon a plan of future operations. Col. Washington who had entered the army as volunteer Aid-de-camp, and who possessed a knowledge of the country and the service to be performed, had at a previous council urged the substitution of pack-horses for wagons, in the transportation of the baggage. This advice was not taken at that time; but before the army reached the Little Meadows it was found that, besides the difficulty of getting the wagons along at all, they often formed a line of three or four miles in length; and the soldiers guarding them were so dis-

persed, that if an attack had been made either in front, center, or rear, the part attacked must have been cut off, or totally routed before it could be sustained by any other part of the army. Washington again renewed his advice. He earnestly recommended that the heavy artillery and baggage should remain with a portion of the army, and follow by easy marches; while a chosen body of troops, with a few pieces of light cannon and such stores as were absolutely necessary, should press forward to Fort Duquesne. He enforced his counsel by referring to the information received of the march of five hundred men to reenforce the French, whose delay was caused by the low state of the waters, which cause would be removed by the rains, which in ordinary course, might be immediate.

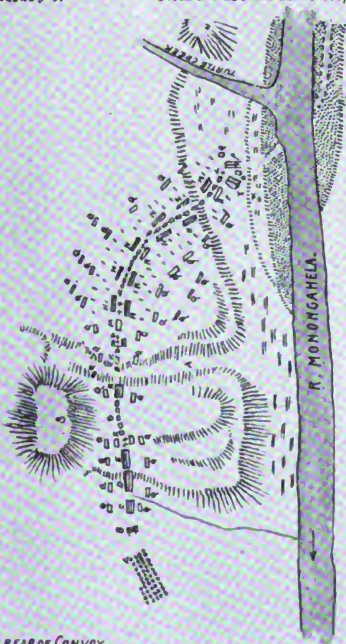
This advice prevailed. Twelve hundred men with twelve pieces of cannon were selected from the different corps. These were to be commanded by Gen. Braudock, in person, assisted by Sir Peter Halket, acting as Brigadier General, Lieut. Col. Gage, Lieut. Col. Burton and Maj. Sparks. It was determined to take their thirty carriages including those that transported the ammunition, and that the baggage and provisions should be carried upon horses. The General left the Little Meadows on the 19th of June, with his select body of troops, leaving Col. Dunbar and Maj. Chapman to follow by easy marches with the residue of the two regiments, some independent companies, the heavy baggage and the artillery.

The benefit of these prudent measures was not lost on the fastidiousness and presumption of the Commander-in-Chief. "Instead of pushing on with vigor, regardless of a little rough road, he halted to level every mole hill, and to throw bridges over every rivulet," occupying four days in reaching the Great Crossings of the Youghiogheny, only nineteen miles from the Little Meadows. Mr. Peters, Secretary of the Colony of Pennsylvania, and one of the Commissioners to open the road from Fort Loudon to the forks of the Youghiogheny, strongly advised him that rangers should precede the army for its defence. But this advice was treated with contempt, and when on his march, Sir Peter Halket proposed that the Indians which were in the army should be employed in reconnoitering the woods

SKETCH OF BATTLE FIELD OF THE 9TH OF JULY UPON THE
MONONGAHELA, SEVEN MILES FROM FORT DU QUESNE,
SHOWING DISPOSITION OF TROOPS WHEN THE ACTION BEGAN.

T. FRAZIER'S House

T. FRAZIER'S HOUSE



CATTLE AND PACK HORSES

E-WORKING PARTY COMMANDED BY SR. JNO. ST. CLAIR D.Q.M.G.

- (6) WAGONS WITH POWDER AND TOOLS.
- H REAR GUARD OF ADVANCED PARTY.
- I LIGHT HORSE LEADING THE CONVOY.
- K SAILORS AND PIONEERS WITH TOOLS ETC.
- L THREE FIELD PIECES.

BETWEEN THEM.

BRADDOCK'S BATTLE FIELD, JULY 8, 1755.-I.

and passages on the front and flanks, he rejected this prudent suggestion with a sneer. When Dr. Franklin, in his interview at Frederick, ventured to say, that the only danger he apprehended to his march, was from the ambuscades of the Indians—he contemptuously replied: “These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the King’s regular and disciplined troops, Sir, it is impossible they should make any impression.”

At the Little Meadows, Col. Washington was taken seriously ill with a fever, and rendered unable to proceed any farther. He was thereupon left at the camp of Col. Dunbar.

On the 8th of July, the General arrived with his division, all in excellent health and spirits, at the junction of the Youghiogeny and Monongahela rivers. At this place Col. Washington rejoined the advanced division, being but partially recovered from the attack of fever, which had been the cause of his remaining behind. The officers and soldiers were now in the highest spirits, and firm in the conviction that they should within a few hours victoriously enter the walls of Fort Duquesne.

The steep and rugged grounds on the north side of the Monongahela prevented the army from marching in that direction, and it was necessary in approaching the fort, now about fifteen miles distant, to ford the river twice, and to march part of the way on the south side. Early on the morning of the 9th, all things were in readiness, and the whole train passed over the river a little below the mouth of the Youghiogeny, and proceeded in perfect order along the southern margin of the Monongahela. Washington was often heard to say during his life time, that the most beautiful sight he had ever beheld, was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on their right and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspirited with cheering hopes and confident anticipations.

In this manner they marched forward till about noon, when

they arrived at the second crossing place, ten miles from Fort Duquesne. They halted but a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. As soon as they had crossed, they came upon a level plain, elevated but a few feet above the surface of the river, and extending northward nearly half a mile from its margin. Then commenced a gradual ascent at an angle of about three degrees, which terminated in hills of a considerable height at no great distance beyond. The road from the fording place to Fort Duquesne led across the plain and up this ascent, and thence proceeded through an uneven country, at that time covered with wood. (27.)

By the order of march, a body of three hundred men, under Col. Gage, made the advance party, which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came the General with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. At one o'clock the whole had crossed the river, and almost at this moment a sharp firing was heard upon the advance parties, who were now ascending the hill, and had got forward about a hundred yards from the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musketry was poured in upon their front, which was the first intelligence they had of the proximity of an enemy; and this was suddenly followed by another on their right flank. They were filled with the greatest consternation, as no enemy was in sight, and the firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. They fired in return, however, but quite at random, and obviously without effect, as the enemy kept up a discharge in quick and continued succession.

The General advanced speedily to the relief of these detachments; but before he could reach the ground which they occupied, they gave way and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion, and striking the whole mass with such a panic that no order could afterwards be restored. The General and the officers behaved with the utmost courage, and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order; but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own offi-

ers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia Provincials were the only troops who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution never excelled. They adopted the Indian mode of warfare, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the General, who endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manoeuvring on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half of the whole army which had crossed the river in so proud an array only three hours before were killed or wounded; the General himself had received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers had fallen by his side.

The rear was thrown into confusion, but the main body, forming three deep, instantly advanced. The commanding officer of the enemy having fallen, it was supposed from the suspension of the attack, that the assailants had dispersed. The delusion was momentary. The fire was renewed with great spirit and unerring aim, and the regular troops beholding their comrades drop round them, and, unable to see the foe, or tell from whence the fire came, which caused their death, broke and fled in utter dismay. Gen. Braddock, astounded at this sudden and unexpected attack, lost for the time his self-possession, and gave orders neither for a regular retreat, nor for his cannon to advance and scour the woods. He remained on the spot where he first halted, directing the troops to form into regular platoons, against a foe dispersed through the forest, behind trees and brushes, whose every shot did fatal execution upon his men. The colonial troops, whom he had contemptuously placed in the rear, instead of yielding to the panic which disordered the regulars, offered to advance against the enemy, until the British regiments could form, and bring up the artillery. But the regulars could not again be brought to the charge. They would obey no orders, but gathered themselves into a body, ten or twelve deep, and loaded, fired, shot down the officers and men before them. Two-thirds of the killed and

wounded in this fatal action received their shot from the cowardly and panic-stricken regulars. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their good behavior; advancing in bodies, sometimes separately, hoping by such example, to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose.

The conduct of the Virginia troops was worthy of a better fate. They boldly formed and marched up the hill, but only to be fired at by the frightened royal troops. Captain Waggoner, of the Virginia forces, brought eighty men up to take possession of a hill, on the top of which a large fallen tree was lying of three or four feet in diameter, which he intended to use as a bulwark. He marched up and took possession, with shouldered arms, and with the loss of only three men killed by the enemy. As soon as his men discharged their pieces upon the Indians in the ambuscade, which was exposed to him from their position, and when this movement might have driven the enemy from their coverts, the smoke of the discharge was seen by the British soldiery, and they fired upon the gallant little band, so that they were obliged to leave their position and retreat down the hill, with the loss of fifty killed out of eighty. The Provincial troops then insisted upon being allowed to adopt the Indian mode of warfare, and to shelter themselves behind trees; but General Braddock denied this request, and raged and stormed with great vehemence, calling them cowards and dastards. He even went so far as to strike them with his drawn sword for attempting to adopt this mode of warfare. He had four horses killed under him, and at last, on the fifth, received a mortal wound through the arm and lungs, and was carried from the field of battle.

A large portion of the regular troops had now fired away their ammunition, in an irregular manner, at their own friends, and had run off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition and stores. Some of them did not stop until they reached Dunbar's camp, thirty-six miles distant. Sixty-four out of eighty-five officers, and one half of the privates were killed or wounded. Every field officer, and every one on horseback, except Col. Washington,—who had two horses killed under him, and four bullets through his coat,—was either slain or carried

from the field disabled by wounds, and no hope remained of saving anything except by retreat. Washington then at the head of the Provincial troops, formed and covered the retreat with great coolness and courage.

The defeat was complete; the carnage great. Seven hundred and fourteen men were killed. The wagoners each took a horse from the teams and rode off in great haste; the example was followed by the soldiers; the rout became general; all order was disregarded, and it was with difficulty that Gen. Braddock and the wounded officers were brought off. All the artillery, ammunition, baggage and stores, together with the dead and dying, were left upon this fatal field, a prey to savage spoilers and the beasts of the forest. All the Secretary's papers, with all the Commanding General's orders, instructions, and correspondence, together with twenty-five thousand pounds in money, fell into the hands of the French.

The fugitives not being pursued, arrived at Dunbar's camp, and the panic they brought with them instantly seized him and all his troops. And although he had now about one thousand men, and the enemy which had surprised and defeated the detachment under Gen. Braddock, did not much exceed seven hundred Indians and French together, instead of proceeding and endeavor to recover some of the lost honor, he ordered all the stores, ammunition, artillery and baggage, except what he reserved for immediate use, to be destroyed. Some of the heavy cannon he buried, and these have never been found. This he did in order that he might have more horses to assist his flight towards the settlements. More than half of the small arms were lost.

Arriving at Fort Cumberland, he was met with requests from the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, that he would post his troops on the frontier, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; but he continued his hasty march through the country, not thinking himself safe until he arrived at Philadelphia. In their first march, from their landing, till they got beyond the settlements, the British troops had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people if they remonstrated.

Gen. Braddock having died in the night of the 13th of July, the day after Col. Dunbar had commenced his retreat, he was buried in the road, for the purpose of concealing his body from the Indians. He was wrapped in his cloak. The spot is still pointed out within a few yards of the National Road, and about a mile west of the site of Fort Necessity at the Great Meadows. The French sent out a party as far as Dunbar's camp, and destroyed everything that was left. Col. Washington being in very feeble health, retired to Mount Vernon.

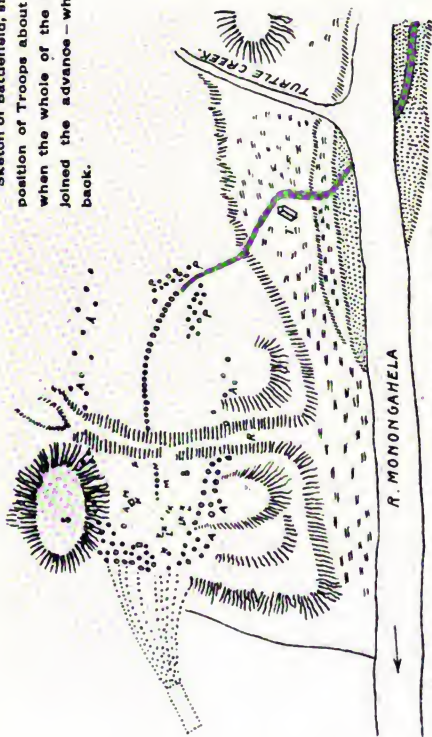
The loss of the French was slight, but fell chiefly on the officers, three of whom were killed and four wounded. Of the regular soldiers, all but four escaped untouched. The Canadians suffered still less, in proportion to their numbers, only five of them being hurt. The Indians, who won the victory, bore the principal loss. Of those from Canada, twenty-seven were killed and wounded, while casualties among the western tribes are not reported. All of these last went off the next morning with their plunder and scalps, leaving Contrecoeur in great anxiety lest the remnant of Braddock's troops, reinforced by the division under Dunbar, should attack him again. His doubts would have vanished had he known the condition of his defeated enemy.

Pitiable, indeed, was the condition of the defeated General and of those who remained near him. In the pain and languor of a mortal wound, Braddock showed unflinching resolution. His bearers stopped with him at a favorable spot near the Monongahela; and here he hoped to maintain his position till the arrival of Dunbar. By the efforts of the officers about a hundred men were collected around him; but to keep them was impossible. Within half an hour they abandoned him, and fled like the rest. Gage, however, succeeded in rallying about eighty beyond the other fording place; and Washington, on an order from Braddock spurred his jaded horse towards the camp of Dunbar to demand wagons, provisions, and hospital stores.

Fright overcame fatigue. The fugitives toiled on all night, pursued by spectres of horror and despair; hearing still the war-whoops and the shrieks; possessed with one thought of escape from this wilderness of death. In the morning some

NO. 2.

Sketch of Battlefield, showing dis-
position of Troops about 2 o'clock,
when the whole of the main body
joined the advance - when beaten
back.



- A.- FRENCH AND INDIANS BEHIND TREES AROUND THE ENGLISH.
- F.- TWO FIELD PIECES OF THE ADVANCED PARTY ABANDONED.
- C.D.E.H.K.M.N.Q.- THE WHOLE BODY OF BRITISH JOINED WITH LITTLE OR NO ORDER,
BUT ENDEAVORING TO MAKE FRONTS TOWARDS THE ENEMY'S FIRE.
- L.- THE THREE FIELD PIECES OF THE MAIN BODY.
- P.- THE REAR GUARD DIVIDED BEHIND TREES.

order was restored. Braddock was placed on a horse; then the pain being insufferable, he was carried on a litter, Captain Orme having bribed the carriers by the promise of a guinea and a bottle of rum apiece. Early in the succeeding night, such as had not fainted on the way reached the deserted farm of Gist. Here they met wagons and provisions, with a detachment of soldiers sent by Dunbar, whose camp was six miles farther on; and Braddock ordered them to go to the relief of the stragglers left behind.

At noon of that day a number of wagoners and packhorse-drivers had come to Dunbar's camp with wild tidings of rout and ruin. More fugitives followed; and soon after a wounded officer was brought in upon a sheet. The drums beat to arms. The camp was in commotion; and many soldiers and teamsters took to flight, in spite of the sentinels, who tried in vain to stop them. There was a still more disgraceful scene on the next day, after Braddock, with the wreck of his force, had arrived. Orders were given to destroy such of the wagons, stores and ammunition as could not be carried back at once to Fort Cumberland. Whether Dunbar or the dying General gave these orders is not clear; but it is certain that they were executed with shameful alacrity. More than a hundred wagons were burned; cannon, coehorns and shells were burst or buried; barrels of gunpowder were staved, and the contents thrown into a brook, provisions were scattered through the woods and swamps. Then the whole command began its retreat over the mountains to Fort Cumberland, sixty miles distant. This proceeding, for which, in view of the condition of Braddock, Dunbar must be held answerable, excited the utmost indignation among the colonists. If he could not have advanced, they thought, he might at least have fortified himself and held his ground till the provinces could send him help; thus covering the frontier, and holding French war parties in check.

Braddock's last moment was near. Orme, who though himself severely wounded, and who was with him till his death, told Franklin that he was totally silent all the first day, and at night said only: "Who would have thought it?"—that all the next day he was silent again, till at last he muttered,

"We shall better know how to deal with them another time," and died a few minutes after. He had nevertheless found breath to give orders at Gist's for the succor of the men who had dropped on the road. It is said, too, that in his last hours "he could not bear the sight of a red coat," but murmured praises of "the blues," or Virginians, and said that he hoped he should live to reward them. He died at about eight o'clock in the evening of Sunday, the thirteenth of July. Dunbar had begun his retreat that morning, and was then encamped near the Great Meadows. On Monday the dead Commander was buried in the road; and men, horses, and wagons, as we have seen, passed over his grave, effacing every sign of it, lest the Indians should find and mutilate the body.

We have in the Narrative of Captain James Smith an account of what occurred in the fort on the morning of the 9th of July, when the French sallied forth to battle, and what he witnessed when he returned. His account is as follows:

"Some time after I was there [Fort Duquesne], I was visited by the Delaware Indian already mentioned, who was at the taking of me, and could speak some English. I asked what news from Braddock's army? He said the Indians spied them every day, and he showed me by making marks on the ground with a stick, that Braddock's army was advancing in very close order, and that the Indians would surround them, take trees, and (as he expressed it,) shot um down all one pigeon.

"Shortly after this, on the 9th day of July, 1755, in the morning, I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the door, which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood upon the wall and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gate; where were barrels of powder, bullets, flints, &c., and every one taking what suited; I saw the Indians also march off in rank entire—likewise the French Canadians, and some regulars. After viewing the Indians and French in different positions, I computed them to be about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out against Braddock with so small a party. I was then in high hopes that I would soon see them

fly before the British troops, and that General Braddock would take the fort and rescue me.

"I remained anxious to know the event of this day; and, in the afternoon, I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news.

"I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch, I went to one of them and asked him, what was the news? He told me that a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one man left alive before sun-down. Some time after this I heard a number of scalp haloos, and saw a number of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, &c., with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that, another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another company with a number of wagon horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broken loose.

"About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, with their faces and part of their bodies blackened. These prisoners they burned to death on the bank of Allegheny river opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with fire brands, red-hot irons, &c., and he screamed in a most doleful

manner,—the Indians in the meantime yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry. In the morning after the battle, I saw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort; the same day I also saw several Indians in British officers' dress, with a sash, half moons, laced hats, &c., which the British then wore.

"A few days after this the Indians demanded me, and I was obliged to go with them."

As pertinent to this narration, the papers following are taken from the French reports of this campaign and they are inserted here for the purpose of showing it from their point of view.

From a "Journal of the Operations of the Army from 22d of July to 30th of September, 1755:"

"July 16th.—The enemy had three armies, one destined for the Beautiful river, where they were defeated. The corps was three thousand strong, under the command of General Braddock [Braddock], whose intention was to besiege Fort Duquesne; they had considerable artillery, much more than was necessary to besiege forts in this country, most of which are good for nothing, though they have cost the King considerable. M. de Beaujeu, who was in command of that fort, notified of their march, and much embarrassed to prevent the siege with his handful of men, determined to go and meet the enemy. He proposed it to the Indians who were with him, who at first rejected his advice and said to him: No, Father, you want to die and sacrifice yourself; the English are more than four thousand, and we are only eight hundred, and you want to go and attack them. You see clearly that you have no sense. We ask until to-morrow to make up our minds. They consulted together; they never march without doing so. Next morning M. de Beaujeu left his fort with the few troops he had, and asked the Indians the result of their deliberations. They answered him: They could not march. M. de Beaujeu, who was kind and affable, and possessed sense, said to them: I am determined to go and meet the enemy. What! will you allow us to go alone? I am sure of conquering them. The Indians, thereupon, decided to follow him. This detachment

was composed of 72 Regulars, 146 Canadians and 637 Indians. The engagement took place within four leagues of the fort on the 9th day of July, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until five. M. de Beaujeu was killed at the first fire. The Indians, who greatly loved him, avenged his death with all the bravery imaginable. They forced the enemy to fly with a considerable loss, which is not at all extraordinary. The Indian mode of fighting is entirely different from that of us Europeans, which is good for nothing in this country. The enemy formed themselves into battle array, presented a front to men concealed behind trees, who at each shot brought down one or two, and thus defeated almost the whole of the English, who were for the most part veteran troops that had come over the last winter. The loss of the enemy is computed at 1,500 men. M. de Brandolk, their General, and a number of officers have been killed. 13 pieces of artillery, a great quantity of balls and shells, cartridge boxes, powder and flour have been taken; 100 beeves, 400 horses, killed or captured, all their wagons taken or broken. Had not our Indians amused themselves plundering, not a man would have escaped. It is very probable that the English will not make any further attempt in that direction, inasmuch as, in retiring, they have burnt a fort they had erected for their retreat. We have lost three officers, whereof M. de Beaujeu is one, 25 soldiers, Canadians or Indians; about as many wounded."

An account of the battle of the Monongahela, 9th of July, 1755:

"M. de Contrecoeur, Captain of Infantry, Commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, having been informed that the English were taking up arms in Virginia for the purpose of coming to attack him, was advised, shortly afterwards, that they were on the march. He despatched scouts, who reported to him faithfully their progress. On the 17th instant he was advised that their army, consisting of 3,000 regulars from Old England, were within six leagues of this fort. That officer employed the next day in making his arrangements; and on the 9th detached M. de Beaujeu, seconded by Messrs. Dumas and de Lignery, all three Captains, together with four Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 20 Cadets, 100 Soldiers, 100 Canadians and

600 Indians, with orders to lie in ambush at a favorable spot, which he had reconnoitred the previous evening. The detachment, before it could reach its place of destination, found itself in presence of the enemy within three leagues of that fort. M. de Beaujeu, finding his ambush had failed, decided on an attack. This he made with so much vigor as to astonish the enemy, who were waiting for us in the best possible order; but their artillery, loaded with grape (a cartouche), having opened its fire, our men gave way in turn. The Indians, also, frightened by the report of the cannon rather than by any damage it could inflict, began to yield, when M. de Beaujeu was killed. M. Dumas began to encourage his detachment. He ordered the officer in command of the Indians to spread themselves along the wings so as to take the enemy in flank, whilst he, M. de Lignery and the other officers who led the French, were attacking them in front. This order was executed so promptly that the enemy, who were already shouting their "Long live the King" thought now only of defending themselves. The fight was obstinate on both sides and the success long doubtful; but the enemy at last gave way. Efforts were made, in vain, to introduce some sort of order in their retreat. The whoop of the Indians, which echoed through the forest, struck terror into the hearts of the entire enemy. The rout was complete. We remained in possession of the field with six brass twelves and sixes, four howitz-carriages of fifty, eleven small royal grenade mortars, all their ammunition, and, generally, their entire baggage. Some deserters, who have come in since, have told us that we had been engaged with only 2,000 men, the remainder of the army being four leagues further off. These same deserters have informed us that the enemy were retreating to Virginia, and some scouts, sent as far as the height of land, have confirmed this by reporting that the thousand men who were not engaged, had been equally panic-stricken and abandoned both provisions and ammunition on the way. On this intelligence, a detachment was despatched after them, which destroyed and burnt everything that could be found. The enemy have left more than one thousand men on the field of battle. They have lost a great portion of the artillery and ammunition, provisions, as also their General,

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whose name was Mr. Braddock, and almost all their officers. We have had three officers killed; two officers and two cadets wounded. Such a victory so entirely unexpected, seeing the inequality of the forces, is the first of M. Dumas' experience, and of the activity and valor of the officers under his command."

After making allowance for the exaggeration which is manifest in the French official reports, the battle, the victory, and the results were wonderful things for them. No one can help but feel a sort of admiration at the intrepid bravery of those officers who led their forces against such odds, and the devotion of those followers who went out as to a certain death. Of this motley force Mr. Parkman says:

"The garrison consisted of a few companies of the regular troops stationed permanently in the colony, and to these were added a considerable number of Canadians. Contrecoeur still held the command. Under him were three other captains, Beaujeu, Dumas, and Ligneris. Besides the troops and Canadians, eight hundred Indian warriors, mustered from far and near, had built their wigwams and camp-sheds on the open ground, or under the edge of the neighboring woods,—very little to the advantage of the young corn. Some were baptised savages settled in Canada,—Caughnawages from Saut St. Louis, Abenakis from St. Francis, and Hurons from Lorette, whose chief bore the name of Anastase, in honor of that Father of the Church. The rest were unmitigated heathens,—Pottawattamies and Ojibwas from the northern lakes under Charles Langlade, the same bold partisan who had led them, three years before, to attack the Miamis at Pickawillany; Shawanoes and Mingoes from the Ohio; and Ottawas from Detroit, commanded, it is said, by that most redoubtable of savages, Pontiac. The law of the survival of the fittest had wrought on this heterogeneous crew through countless generations; and with the primitive Indian, the fittest was the hardiest, fiercest, most adroit, and most wily. Baptised and heathen alike, they had just enjoyed a diversion greatly to their taste."

That Fort Duquesne was built by Contrecoeur as the Commander of the expedition and the chief officer in this region,

and that it was under his command for a time, has never been called in question. But since the discovery of the Register (28) and other documents of a later period, a dispute has arisen as to who the actual commander of the fort was at the time of the battle of Braddock's Field.

On this subject the Rev. Father Lambing, in his translation of the Register says:

"It was formerly generally asserted that he [Contrecoeur] was in command at the time of the battle of the Monongahela, more commonly known as Braddock's Defeat; and that he was succeeded early in the spring of 1756 by M. John Daniel, Esquire, Sieur Dumas, Captain of Infantry. It was further stated that he was by no means disposed to favor Beaujeu's proposed attack upon Braddock's army. But the discovery of the Register, now published, would appear to prove this long entertained opinion erroneous; for in the entry of the latter's death, he is said to be "commander of Fort Duquesne and of the army." But on the other hand, there is not wanting evidence which would go to show that Contrecoeur was in command. He was commander of the fort from the date of its construction, but in the winter of 1754-5, he asked to be relieved, and the Marquis Duquesne, the Governor-General, dispatched Captain Beaujeu to relieve him, ordering him at the same time to remain at the fort until after the engagement with the English."

Mr. Francis Parkman, after giving the matter special attention in view of the statements made on the basis of the baptismal register and elsewhere, has added a lengthy note as an appendix to the latest edition of his *Montcalm and Wolfe*, in which he says:

"It has been said that Beaujeu, and not Contrecoeur, commanded at Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's Expedition. Some contemporaries, and notably the chaplain of the fort, do, in fact, speak of him as in this position; but their evidence is overborne by more numerous and conclusive authorities, among them Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, and Contrecoeur himself, in an official report."

In the reports referred to by Mr. Parkman, the Governor of Canada states that Contrecoeur was the Commandant at the

Fort on the 8th of July, and that he sent out a party which was commanded by Beaujeu, to meet the English. In the autumn of 1756, the Governor in asking the Colonial Minister to procure pensions for Contrecoeur and Ligneris, stated that the former gentleman had commanded for a long time at Fort Duquesne—from the first establishment of the English and their retirement from Fort Necessity to the defeat of the army under Gen. Braddock.

For his conduct on the 9th of July, Dumas was early promoted to succeed Contrecoeur in the command of Fort Duquesne. Here he proved himself an active and vigilant officer, his parties ravaging Penna., and penetrating far into the interior. A letter of instructions signed by him, on 23d of March, 1756, was found in the pocket of the *Sieur Donville*, who, being sent to surprise the English at Fort Cumberland, got the worst of it and lost his own scalp. This letter concludes in a spirit of humanity honorable to its writer.

M. de Ligneris relieved Dumas of the command some time late in 1756, as he is named as the commander on the 27th of December of that year. De Ligneris retained command until the French were expelled from the soil of Penna. He was one of the last to leave with his men from the burning Fort Duquesne, whence he retired to Fort Machault, (*Venango*), where we hear of him later.

We have the following description of the fort from one John McKinney, who, having been taken prisoner by the Indians was carried first to Fort Duquesne and thence to Canada, from whence he made his escape and came to Philadelphia, where he made this statement in February, 1756:

"Fort Duquesne is situated on the east side of the *Monongahela*, in the fork between that and the *Ohio*. It is four square, has bastions at each corner; it is about fifty yards wide—has a well in the middle of the Fort, but the water bad—about half the Fort is made of square logs, and the other half next the water of stockadoes; there are intrenchments cast up all round the Fort about 7 feet high, which consists of stockadoes drove into the ground near to each other, and wattles with poles like basket work, against which earth is thrown up, in a gradual ascent; the steep part is next the

Fort, and has three steps all along the intrenchment for the men to go up and down, to fire at the enemy—These intrenchments are about four rods from the Fort, and go all around, as well on the side next the water as the land; the outside of the intrenchment next the water joins to the water. The Fort has two gates, one of which opens to the land side, and the other to the water side, where the magazine is built; that to the land side is, in fact, a draw-bridge, which in daytime serves as a bridge for the people, and in the night is drawn up by iron chains and levers.

“Under the draw-bridge is a pit or well, the width of the gate, dug down deep to water; the pit is about eight or ten feet broad; the gate is made of square logs; the back gate is made of logs also, and goes upon hinges, and has a wicket in it for the people to pass through in common; there is no ditch or pit at this gate. It is through this gate they go to the magazine and bake-house, which are built a little below the gate within the intrenchments; the magazine is made almost under ground, and of large logs and covered four feet thick with clay over it. It is about 10 feet wide, and about thirty-five feet long; the bake-house is opposite the magazine; the waters sometimes rise so high as that the whole Fort is surrounded with it, so that canoes may go around it; he imagines he saw it rise at one time near thirty feet. The stockadoes are round logs better than a foot over, and about eleven or twelve feet high; the joints are secured by split logs; in the stockadoes are loop holes made so as to fire slanting to the ground. The bastions are filled with earth solid about eight feet high; each bastion has four carriage guns about four pound; no swivels, nor any mortars that he knows of; they have no cannon but at the bastion. The back of the barracks and buildings in the Fort are of logs placed about three feet distant from the logs of the Fort; between the buildings and the logs of the Fort, it is filled with earth about eight feet high, and the logs of the Fort extend about four feet higher, so that the whole height of the Fort is about 12 feet.

“There are no pickets or palisadoes on the top of the Fort to defend it against scaling; the eaves of the houses in the Fort are about even with the top of the logs or wall of the

Fort; the houses are all covered with boards, as well the roof as the side that looks inside the Fort, which they saw there by hand; there are no bogs nor morasses near the Fort, but good dry ground; a little without musket shot of the Fort, in the fork, is a thick wood of some bigness, full of large timber.

"About thirty yards from the Fort, without the intrenchments and picketing, is a house, which contains a great quantity of tools, such as broad and narrow axes, planes, chisels, hoes, mattocks, pick-axes, spades, shovels, &c., and a great quantity of wagon-wheels and tire. Opposite the Fort, on the west side of the Monongahela, is a long, high mountain, about a quarter of a mile from the Fort, from which the Fort might very easily be bombarded, and the bombardier be quite safe; from them the distance would not exceed a quarter of a mile; the mountain is said to extend six miles up the Monongahela, from the Fort; Monongahela, opposite the Fort, is not quite a musket shot wide; neither the Ohio nor the Monongahela can be forded, opposite the Fort. The Fort has no defence against bombs. There are about 250 Frenchmen in this Fort; besides Indians, which at one time amounted to 500; but the Indians were very uncertain; sometimes hardly any there; that there were about 20 or 30 ordinary Indian cabins about the Fort.

"While he was at Fort Duquesne, there came up the Ohio from the Mississippi, about thirty batteaux, and about 150 men, loadened with pork, flour, brandy, tobacco, peas, and Indian corn; they were three months in coming to Fort Duquesne, and came all the way up the falls without unloading."

The description of Fort Duquesne by Parkman, contrasting the period of the French occupancy with our own time, may aptly be reproduced. (29).

"Fort Duquesne stood on the point of land where the Allegheny and Monongahela join to form the Ohio, and where now stands Pittsburgh, with its swarming population, its restless industries, the clang of its forges, and its chimneys vomiting foul smoke into the face of heaven. At that early day a white flag fluttering over a cluster of palisades and embankments betokened the first intrusion of civilized man upon a scene which, a few months before, breathed the repose of a virgin

wilderness, voiceless but for the lapping of waves upon the pebbles, or the note of some lonely bird. But now the sleep of ages was broken, the bugle and drum told the astonished forest that its doom was pronounced and its days numbered. The fort was a compact little work, solidly built and strong, compared with others on the continent. It was a square of four bastions, with the water close on two sides, and the other two protected by ravelins, ditch, glacis, and covered way. The ramparts on these sides were of squared logs, filled in with earth, and ten feet or more thick. The two water sides were enclosed by a massive stockade of upright logs, twelve feet high, mortised together and loopholed. The armament consisted of a number of small cannon mounted on the bastions. A gate and draw-bridge on the east side gave access to the area within, which was surrounded by barracks for the soldiers, officers' quarters, the lodgings of the commandant, a guard-house, and a store-house, all built partly of logs and partly of boards. There were no casements, and the place was commanded by a high woody hill beyond the Monongahela. The forest had been cleared away to the distance of more than a musket shot from the ramparts, and the stumps were hacked level with the ground. Here, just outside the ditch, bark cabins had been built for such of the troops and Canadians as could not find room within; and the rest of the open space was covered with Indian corn and other crops."

It is now known that the French had little hope of preserving this fort from its threatened attack. Vaudreuil writes to Machault from Montreal, 24th of July, 1755—before he had news of the defeat of Braddock:

"Fort Duquesne is really threatened. On the 7th of this month the English were within 6 or 8 leagues of it; I am informed by letter that they number 3,000, being provided with artillery and other munitions for a siege.

"I would not be uneasy about this fort, if the officer in command there had all these forces; they consist of about 1,600 men, including regulars, militia and Indians,—with which he would be in a condition to form parties sufficient and considerable to annoy the march of the English from the first moment he had any knowledge thereof; these parties would

have harrassed and assuredly repulsed them. Everything was in our favor in this regard, and affording us a very considerable advantage.

"But, unfortunately, no foresight had been employed to supply that fort with provisions and munitions of war, so that the Commandant, being in want of the one and the other, is obliged to employ the major portion of his men in making journeys to and fro for the purpose of transporting those provisions and munitions, which cannot even reach him in abundance, in consequence of the delay at the Presq'isle portage and the lowness of the water in the River Au Boeuf.

"I must also observe that Fort Duquesne has never been completed; on the contrary, 'tis open to many capital defects, as is proved by the annexed plan.

"'Tis true that the Commandant, urged by the officers of the garrison, who perceived all the defects, took upon himself early in the spring, to demand sub-engineer de Lignery of the Commandant at Detroit, which officer had put the fort in the best condition he was able, without, however, daring to make any alterations in it.

"I dread with reason, my Lord, the first intelligence from that fort, I shall be agreeably surprised if the English have been forced to abandon their expedition." (30).

The defeat of Braddock left the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia in unutterable gloom. With one accord the Indian tribes rose against the English. From now on until late in 1758, when the French departed, there was one continuous series of surprises, attacks, of killings, and of captivity. There was one episode, however, which for a time brought relief to the northwestern frontier of Pennsylvania; and was partially effective in staying the maulauding of the savages. This was the attack on the Indian town of Kittanning, on the Allegheny, by Colonel John Armstrong in September of 1756. The substantial advantage which he gained by this adventure was timely and of the greatest consequence to those settlements which were nearest to this harborage; but its advantages were not so noticeable on the more southern frontiers which were open to the savages who harbored about Fort Duquesne.

Governor Morris, in his message to the Assembly, July 24th, 1755, in anticipation of this condition of affairs, says: "This unfortunate and unexpected change in our affairs [he alludes to Braddock's Defeat] deeply affects every one of his Majesty's colonies, but none of them in so sensible a manner as this province; while having no militia it is hereby left exposed to the cruel incursions of the French and barbarous Indians, who delight in shedding human blood, and who made no distinction as to age or sex; to those that are armed against them, or such as they can surprise in their peaceful habitations, all are alike the objects of their cruelty—slaughtering the tender infant and frightened mother, with equal joy and fierceness. To such enemies, spurred by the native cruelty of their tempers, encouraged by their late success, and having now no army to fear, are the inhabitants of this province exposed; and by such may we now expect to be overrun, if we do not immediately prepare for our own defence." (31.)

Later in the fall in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, Governor Morris says that the mischiefs done by these merciless Indians in this province since my last letter are inconceivable. All our settlements contiguous to Maryland, westward of the ending of the temporary line, are broken up, and many of their houses burned. The same ravages have been committed in the Big and Little Cove; and then these savages finding the people there armed and on the march against them, quitted their depredations on the west side of Susquehanna, crossed that river and fell on the rich vale of Tulpyhoccon,* murdering and burning plantations, as low as within six miles of Mr. Weiser's house. (32.)

The following is from the Abstract of Dispatches received from Canada, officially, from Vaudreuil, Governor-General of the Colony, and they set forth the methods of the French during the winter and early spring of 1756. (33).

"The Governor remained at Montreal, in order to be in a more convenient position to harass the English during the winter, and to make preparations for the next campaign. With this double object he directed his efforts principally to gaining the Indians, and flatters himself that he has generally succeeded.

*Should be Tulpehocken, a corruption of Tulpewi-hacki, meaning "land of turtles." (Donehoo.)

"All the Nations of the Beautiful River have taken up the hatchet against the English. The first party that was formed in that quarter, since the last report Vaudreuil had sent in the month of October (1755), was composed of two hundred and fifty Indians, to whom the Commandant at Fort Duquesne had joined some Frenchmen at the request of those Indians.

"This party divided themselves into small squads, at the height of land, and fell on the settlements beyond Fort Cumberland; defeated a detachment of twenty regulars under the command of two officers. After these different squads had destroyed or carried away several families, pillaged and burnt several houses, they came again together with the design of surprising Fort Cumberland, and accordingly lay in ambush during some time; but the Commandant of the fort, who no doubt was on his guard, dared not show himself. This party returned to Fort Duquesne with sixty prisoners and a great number of scalps.

"The second detachment, which consisted of a military Cadet, a Canadian and Chaouanons, (Shawanese) took two prisoners under the guns of Fort Cumberland, whither the party had been sent by the Commandant of Fort Duquesne, to find out what was going on there.

"The third, made up of a Canadian and several Chaouanons, destroyed eleven families, burned sixteen houses and one mill, and killed a prodigious number of cattle. The Indians returned on horseback.

"The fourth party was composed of one hundred and twelve Delaware (Loups). They struck in separate divisions. Thirteen returned, first, with twenty-one scalps and six prisoners. The remainder of the party took such a considerable number of scalps and prisoners that these Indians sent some to all the nations to replace their dead.

"Vaudreuil reported only what these four parties did. A number of others had marched with equal success. Some had actually been on the war path as far even as Virginia.

"The Commandant of Fort Duquesne had informed Vaudreuil that the Delawares settled beyond the mountains which separated them from the English, had, on his invitation, just removed their villages so as to unite with their brethren, our

allies; that the old men, the women and children, had already gone with the baggage, and that the warriors were to form the rear guard and, on quitting, to attack the English."

The following extracts, taken from the same sources, give the French version of the affairs as they transpired on our frontiers and about Fort Duquesne while it continued in their occupancy:

"The latest news from Fort Duquesne is to the 9th of May, 1756. (34). No English movements of any importance yet in that quarter. Our Indians, together with some of our detachments, made many successful forays. Thirty scalps have been sent us, and the commissions of 3 officers of the English regiment raised in the country, who have been killed. The Upper country Indians carried off entire families, which obliges the English to construct several pretended forts; that is to say, to enclose a number of dwellings with stockades. Our Upper Indians appear well disposed towards us, notwithstanding the presents and solicitations of the English. M. Dumas, an officer of great distinction in the Colony, commands at Fort Duquesne and on the River Ohio. We have lost, in one detachment, Ensign Douville, of the Colonial troops.

* * * * *

Fort Duquesne is not worth a straw. A freshet nearly carried it off a short time ago.

* * * * *

"Letters of the 23d of March assure us that the Indians have, since Admiral Braddock's defeat, disposed of more than 700 people in the Province of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina, including those killed and those taken prisners.

"The Delawares and Chouanons, Indian Nations of the Beautiful River, some of whose chiefs have been put to a cruel death by the English, to whom they had gone on an embassy, are enraged to an extraordinary degree, and would not make any prisoners were it not for the continual recommendations of the Commandants to commit as few murders as possible.

"In April, there had been in those parts twenty detachments of Delawares and Chouanons; these were joined by more than sixty Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations who have committed frightful ravages. The only resource remain-

ing to the inhabitants was to abandon their houses, and to remove to the sea coast. Three forts have been burnt, among the rest one containing a garrison of forty-seven men, which was besieged by a party of forty Indians under the command of M. Douville, a Colonial Cadet. The garrison was summoned to surrender, but having refused, the fort was set on fire in the night; the garrison then attempted to escape, and the Indians gave no quarter. M. Douville lost his life on that occasion.

"Detachments have been continually in the field. (35).

* * * * *

"Quite an untoward revolution has been experienced in the direction of the Beautiful River. The winter there is always very mild; this year it has been exceedingly cold; and as the Indians of that quarter are not in the habit of walking on snow shoes, and still less of going to the enemy when the latter can track them in the snow, Captain Dumas, Commandant at Fort Duquesne, has not been able to have them out, as frequently as he desired. Nevertheless, he has continually kept parties in the field, both in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and has placed officers and cadets at the head of some of them.

"M. de Vaudreuil does not innumerate the scalps they have brought in, nor the prisoners they have taken, but it appears that the number of the one and the other has been considerable; that they have destroyed whole families; that several villages on the frontiers of the two Colonies have been abandoned by their inhabitants, who have removed into the towns; that a great many houses and a number of barns filled with grain have been burnt in the country; that a considerable amount of cattle has been killed; that some of the little forts whereof the English have formed, as it were, a chain along the frontiers, have been attacked and burnt, and that a great many people had perished in the flames, and that we have not, so to speak, experienced any losses in all those forays. Ensign Douville is the only officer killed."

* * * * *

Vaudreuil reporting to Machault on the 8th of August, 1756, what had occurred at Fort Duquesne since his dispatch of the 10th of June, says: (36).

"A detachment under the command of *Sieur de Celoron de Blainville*, fell in with some of the early scouts at this side of Fort Cumberland. These two parties met unexpectedly and fired point blank; the enemy immediately fell back; we killed three of them whose scalps have been carried off by the Indians, but we lost *Sieur de Blainville*, one Huron, one Delaware and one Onondaga.

"Five Chaouanons had a similar adventure a little nearer Fort Cumberland. They scalped three English. One of their men was killed.

"A party from different tribes having divided, returned in squads with a number of scalps.

"*Sieur de Rocheblave* with another Cadet, a corporal, a militiaman, and twenty Chaouanons, knocked at the gate of a small fort, three leagues from Fort Cumberland, where there remained some families and thirty militia. He killed four Englishmen, whom the Indians scalped, wounded three, who dragged themselves into the fort, and took three prisoners.

"In Pennsylvania, Indian parties have destroyed a great many cattle and burnt many settlements.

"A detachment under the command of *M. de Celoron* had a fight near Cresaps Fort, in the rear of Cumberland; killed eight Englishmen whose scalps the Indians were not able to secure, finding themselves in the dusk of the evening under the musketry of the fort. We have had two Indians killed and one wounded.

"Finally, *M. Dumas* writes me that he has been occupied for more than eight days nearly in receiving scalps; that there is not an English party but loses some men, and that it was out of his power to render me an exact report of all the attacks our Indians made."

* * * * *

"Our continual incursions have placed it out of the power of Virginia not only to undertake anything without, but even to construct any fort to protect herself. On the 8th of June, the grass was growing in the roads communicating with Cumberland. Expresses no longer came any farther than Winchester, on account of our Indians, who are always in the field. Not a grain of Indian corn has been planted between

that post and Kaneguiglk, [Conococheague], twenty-five leagues distant from it toward the sea. The entire frontier of the three Provinces is in the like condition. Although the greatest portion of the Upper Nations have returned, M. Dumas' force consists, nevertheless, of eight hundred and ten men."

* * * * *

"M. de la Chauvignerie has formed a party of twenty-nine Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, among whom are some belonging to the Grand Village. He has sent them to M. Dumas who will not fail to make them strike." (37).

* * * * *

Particulars of the campaign of 1756 in New France, transmitted on the 28th of August of the same year:

"The news from Fort Duquesne and Beautiful River are very favorable. M. Dumas has laid waste, with his Indians, a good part of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. In vain did these Provinces which have no Indians to aid them, levy and pay a thousand men, at the opening of this campaign, who dressed and painted themselves in the Indian fashion; in vain did they send them to scour the woods; they have not been the less constrained to abandon more than 60 leagues of country together with the crops and cattle." (38).

* * * * *

On the 8th of June, 1757, Lieutenant Baker, with five soldiers and fifteen Cherokee Indians, returned from an expedition to Fort Duquesne. They had fallen in with a party of three French officers and seven men on the headwaters of Turtle Creek, about twenty miles from that fort. They killed five of the Frenchmen and took one officer prisoner. This officer gave the information that Captain Lignery then commanded at the fort, and that there were at that place, six hundred troops and two hundred Indians. (39).

The garrison during the winter of 1756 and 1757—from the report of a Delaware prisoner—was said to consist of two hundred, the greater part French. In the front part of the fort, along the Monongahela, was a large mine of powder laid, as the last resource of the garrison. Two sides of the Fort, the one in front and the other along the Monongahela, were built strong. It was well supplied from up and down the

river; they had a large stock of provisions, and had planted a large field of corn. The armament was thirteen guns, heavy artillery, and six swivels. Four sentries kept watch on the bastions, and two sentries were planted a mile from the Fort.

From the Examination of Michel La Chauvignerie, Junior, made on the 26th of October, 1757, it would seem that in the June preceding, there were about one thousand five hundred men there, of whom five hundred were regulars; and the rest were employed in carrying provisions and in going to and fro from one post to another, which required great numbers; that there were about twenty cannon, some mortars, four bastions and a dry ditch; that there were then a great number of English prisoners at Fort Duquesne, although the prisoners were constantly being sent away to Montreal; that these prisoners were used as prisoners of war when they arrived there, and were fed as the soldiers were; but that the Indians kept many of the prisoners amongst them, chiefly young people whom they adopted and brought up in their own way, and that those prisoners whom the Indians kept with them became so well satisfied and pleased with the way of living that they did not care to leave them, and were often more brutish, boisterous in their behaviour, and loose in their manners than the Indians. It was thought they affected that kind of behaviour through fear and to recommend themselves to the Indians; the French who were mixed with the Indians seemed also to behave in the like manner. (40).

It would readily be concluded, if one's attention were confined to the reports from the French side alone, that the situation of the colonies at this time was miserable in the extreme. From 1755 to the close of the campaign of 1758, defeat followed defeat, and the French were everywhere in the ascendant. Deep gloom and despondancy hung over the people; but new life and energy, however, came to all of the English-speaking world when, in June, 1757, William Pitt was created Premier of England. Round him all parties drew together; for his patriotism, his talents, and his ability were well known, and he had the genius to subdue men to his will. His letters to the colonies, it has been said, were well adapted to produce

union, energy and action in the provinces, especially of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, for he told them that England would soon send to their assistance a powerful army to act in concert with the provincial troops against the common enemy. The Assemblies responded, and voted large sums for that purpose; and the respective Governors were authorized to issue commissions for officers as high as colonel in the colonial army to be formed and reorganized. Pennsylvania resolved to place two thousand seven hundred men at the disposition of the English commanders.

Early in the spring of 1758, Admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax with about twelve thousand British troops. There was now the most formidable army enlisted in the defense of the colonies that had ever been seen in America. Fifty thousand men were in arms, of whom twenty thousand were Provincials. (41.)

The plan of campaign of 1758 embraced three expeditions. The first against Louisburgh, in the island of Cape Breton; the second against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third against Fort Duquesne.

The command of the expedition against Duquesne was given to Brig.-Gen. John Forbes. His force amounted to about seven thousand men, consisting of twelve hundred Highlanders, three hundred and fifty Royal Americans, two thousand seven hundred Provincials from Pennsylvania, one hundred from Delaware (then called the Lower Counties), one thousand six hundred from Virginia, two hundred and fifty from Maryland, one hundred and fifty from North Carolina, and about one thousand wagoners and laborers. The twelve hundred Highlanders were divided into four companies, and the three hundred and fifty Royal Americans into four companies also.

It had been determined, after some dissent among the officers and against the protestations of the Virginians, that the route of the expedition from Philadelphia should be through Pennsylvania; but the final decision as to this route was not reached until the advance of the army had arrived at Raystown, (Bedford); and it was finally so determined on the earnest representations and requests of Colonel Bouquet, who was satisfied

from a military point of view, of the expediency of this route; in which view he was encouraged by the Pennsylvanians. The Virginians wanted the expedition to go out by way of the Braddock road.

Forbes could not keep up with the army on account of his illness. The advance under Bouquet was making its way over the Laurel Hill when Forbes was between Carlisle and Shippensburg. When the Loyalhanna, at the western base of the Laurel Hill, was reached, a fortified camp was formed and a fort was erected called Fort Ligonier. The position was secured by strong works of ample extent.

Instead of marching like Braddock, at one stretch to Fort Duquesne, burdended with a long and cumbrous baggage-train, it was the plan of Forbes to push on by slow stages, establishing fortified magazines as he went, and at last, when within easy distance of the fort, to advance upon it with all his force. It was, therefore, his purpose to gather all the army about this point at the Loyalhanna preparatory to making another step forward.

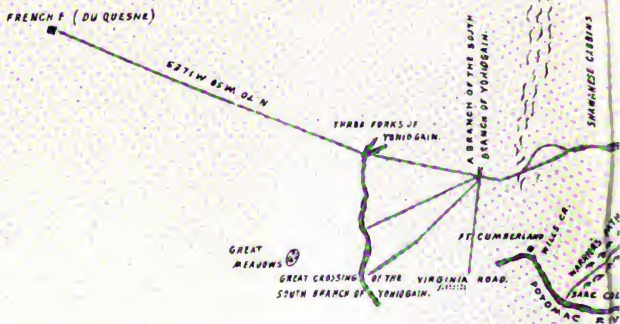
During this time notable things were occurring about the stockade at the Loyalhanna, or in connection with the operations of detachments of the army, to which reference is made in the mention of Fort Ligonier, whereat will also be found some particulars of the expedition itself.

Before the arrival of Forbes at the Loyalhanna, Bouquet had sent out Major Grant, of the Highland regiment, with thirty-seven officers, and eight hundred and five privates, to reconnoitre the fort and adjacent country. His instructions were to approach not too near the Fort, and in no event to take the risk of an attack.

Grant camped the first day on the banks of the Nine Mile Run, ten miles west of the camp on the Loyalhanna; the second day he proceeded further, and on the third, to within twelve or thirteen miles of the Fort. Although the French and Indians were constantly watching the movements of the army, yet Grant succeeded in coming within sight of the Fort, after marching near fifty miles without being discovered.

The detachment halted here until three o'clock in the afternoon. The troops then quietly marched to a point about two

A MAP OF PART OF THE PROVINCE
OF PENNSYLVANIA WEST OF THE
RIVER SUSQUAHANNAH



COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE LONDON,
FOR W. M. DARLINGTON ESQ. J. A. BURT APRIL 1862.

WEST PENNSYLVANIA AND
FROM MR. DARLINGTON'S

miles from the Fort, where they left their baggage under charge of Captain Bullitt, two subalterns, and fifty men. It was already dark, and late in the night, Major Grant appeared with his troops at the brow of the fatal hill which still bears his name, between the two rivers, about a quarter of a mile from the fort.

From the apparent stillness of the enemy's quarters, and from not having met with either French or Indians on the march, Major Grant supposed that the forces in the fort must be comparatively small, and at once determined to make an attack. Two officers and fifty men were accordingly directed to approach the fort and fall upon the French and Indians that might be lying out, if not in too great number. They saw none nor were they challenged by the sentinels. As they returned they set fire to a large storehouse, but the fire was discovered and extinguished.

At break of day Major Lewis was sent with two hundred men, principally American regulars and Virginian volunteers, to take post about half a mile back, and lie in ambush in the road on which they had left their baggage, under the pretension of fears that the enemy would make a bold attempt to capture it. But the secret was—that Major Grant who was jealous of Major Lewis, wished to have the glory of capturing an enemy who had so signally repulsed General Braddock, with his thousands.

Four hundred men were posted along the hill facing the fort, to cover the retreat of Captain McDonald's company, who marched with drums beating toward the enemy, in order to draw a party out of the fort; as Major Grant believed that there were not two hundred men including Indians in the garrison.

As soon as the garrison were aroused from their slumbers by the music of the invaders, both French and Indians sallied out in great numbers to the attack. Their whole force was immediately separated into three divisions. The first two were sent directly under cover of the banks of the river to surround the main body under Major Grant; the third was delayed awhile to give the others time, and then displayed themselves before the fort, as if exhibiting their whole strength.

The attack then commenced, and Captain McDonald was immediately obliged to fall back upon the main body, and Major Grant received and returned a most destructive fire. At this moment he suddenly found himself flanked on all sides by the detachments from the banks of the river. The struggle became desperate. The Provincial troops concealing themselves behind trees made a good defense, but the Highlanders who stood exposed to the enemy's fire without cover, fell in great numbers, and at last gave way and fled. The Provincials, not being supported and being overpowered by numbers were compelled to follow.

Major Grant retreating to the baggage where Captain Bullitt was posted with his forty Virginians, again endeavored to rally the flying soldiers. He entreated them in the most pathetic manner to stand by him, but in vain, as the enemy were close at their heels. As soon as the enemy came up, Captain Bullitt attacked them with great fury for awhile, but not being supported and most of his men killed, he was obliged to give way. The resistance shown by this little company served to check the pursuers, and gave an opportunity to many retreating to make their escape. Major Grant and Captain Bullitt were the last to desert the field. They separated, and Major Grant was taken prisoner.

In this conflict, which took place on the 14th of September, 1758, two hundred and seventy were killed, forty-two wounded and several taken prisoners. It was, says Washington, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia, "A very illconcerted, or a very ill-executed plan, perhaps both; but it seems to be generally acknowledged, that Major Grant exceeded his orders and that no disposition was made for engaging."

The following letter, but recently made public, written by Major Grant immediately after this affair, to General Forbes, gives his version of it. As the account is from a new point of view and goes into details, it is but fair to allow the officer who has been the object of much animadversion, to be heard in his own behalf. This letter, which is merely Grant's Report of the Affair of September 14, 1758, is to General Forbes,

and is found in the work of Mr. Darlington, called "Fort Pitt," the same being chiefly a collection of historical documents:

"Sir:—If it had been in my power to write sooner, you will do me justice to believe that I should have troubled you long before this time with an account of the detachment which marched the 9th of September from the Camp of Loyal Hanna.

We were lucky enough not to be discovered in our march though several scouting parties passed very near us. We got to an advantageous post on the 12th, about three in the afternoon, which, according to the information of all our guides, was ten to twelve miles from the French Fort. I thought it was a proper place to encamp in, as I did not think it advisable to go nearer, for fear of being discovered; but I afterward found that our guides were much mistaken about the distance, for, as near as I can judge, the camp is about sixteen miles from the top of the Hill, where we were to take post. The 13th, at break of day, I sent Major Lewis, with 200 men, and our Indians, with orders to post men in ambuscade, about five miles from the fort, which was all the precaution I could take to prevent our being discovered in the camp. I flattered myself that, if a reconnoitering party was sent out, it might possibly fall into the ambuscade, and, in that case, in all probability they must have been killed or taken; and, if they had sent, in the event our plans succeeding, a second party from the fort, would have found the whole party ready to receive them. I ordered Mr. Chew to march with a party of fifteen or twenty men to reconnoitre the ground and to try, without exposing himself or the men, to draw a party of the enemy into the ambuscade.

He only went with three Indians, who soon left him, and, by that means, in place of returning to Major Lewis' about ten o'clock as I expected, he was obliged to conceal himself till night came on, and he joined me upon the march about eleven o'clock at night. But I would not be understood to reflect upon him; he is a good, brisk young lad. About three in the afternoon I marched forward to the rest of the detachment, and I found Major Lewis advantageously posted about

four miles from our camp. The post, I was assured, was not seven miles from the fort, though I found it was about twelve. After giving orders to the troops, and particular instructions to the captains, I proceeded about six in the evening towards the fort, expecting to get to the top of the Hill about eleven at night; but, as the distance was so much greater than I imagined, it was after two in the morning before we got there. The instructions, when I left Loyal Hanna, were that a particular party should be sent to attack each Indian fire, but, as these fires had not been made, or were burnt out before we got to the ground, it was impossible to make any disposition of that kind. Major Lewis was informed of every particular of our project before we marched from Loyal Hanna, and was told there that he was to command the troops that were to be sent upon the attack. As I was to continue upon the height to make a disposition for covering his retreat (which we did not desire to be made in good order) and for forming the rear guard in our march from the fort, you will easily believe that he and I had frequent conversations upon the march about our plan of operations. I sent for him the moment the troops arrived upon the hill opposite the fort, and told him that as we had been misinformed by the guides in regard to the distance, and had got there much later than we expected, it was impossible to make the projected disposition of a party of men for the attack on each fire; but that it was possible to continue another day without being discovered, and that as the night was far advanced there was no time to be lost. I therefore ordered him to march directly, with 100 Americans, [Royal Americans, 60th Regiment] 200 Highlanders and 100 Virginians, and to attack anything that was found about the fort. I gave orders that no attention should be paid to the sentries, who probably would challenge, and, in case they were fired upon they were not to return it upon any account—but to march on as fast as possible—and were not to fire a shot until they were close to the enemy; and that after they discharged their pieces they were to use their bayonets without loading a second time. I told the Major that I would order all our drums and pipes to beat the retreat when it was time for the troops to relieve, that I was indifferent what order they

came back in, that it was the same thing to me if there was not three of them together, provided they did the business they were sent upon. The Major had not half a mile to march into the open plain where the fort stands, the 400 men under his command had a white shirt over his clothes to prevent mistakes and that they might even at a distance distinguish one another. I saw the Americans and Highlanders march off and gave directions that the Virginians should fall in the rear. Sending a greater number of men might possibly I thought, occasion confusion, and I was of opinion that 400 men were quite sufficient to carry the service into execution. I was absolutely certain we were not discovered when the troops marched from the hill. I thought our loss must be considerable, and never doubted but that everything would succeed beyond our most sanguine expectations.

"After posting the remaining part of the troops in the best manner I could, I placed myself and the drums and pipes at the head of the Highlanders who were in the centre and exactly opposite the fort. During the operation the time passed. The day advanced fast upon us, I was turning uneasy at not hearing the attack begin, when to my great astonishment Major Lewis came up and told me 'that it was impossible to do anything, that the night was dark, that the road was bad, worse than anything I had ever seen, that there were logs of wood across it, that there were fences to pass, that the troops had fallen into confusion and that it was a mercy they had not fired upon one another, that they had made so much noise he was sure they must be discovered and that it was impossible for the men to find their way back through those woods.' These were really the words he made use of; this behavior in an officer was new to me; his conduct in overturning a long projected scheme and in disobeying such positive orders was so unaccountable that I could not speak to him with common patience, so that I just made answer to his last words, that the men according to the orders that had been given would have found their way back to the drums when the retreat beat. So I left him and went as fast as I could to Major McKenzie and Mr. Fisher to see what the matter was and to give directions for the attack if the thing was practicable. I found

the troops in the greatest confusion I ever saw men in, which in truth was not surprising, for the Major had brought them back from the plain when he returned himself and everybody took a road of their own. I found it was impossible to think of forming them for an attack, and the morning was too far advanced to send for the other troops from the other places where they were posted; thus I was reduced, after all my hopes of success, to this melancholy situation. That some thing at least might be attempted, I sent Lieutenants Robinson and McDonald with fifty men, to make an attack at a place where two or three fires had been seen burning the night before. I desired them to kill a dozen of Indians if possible, and I would be satisfied. They went directly to the place they were ordered, and finding none of the Indians they set fire to the house, but it was daylight before they could return. I mention this last circumstance that it might appear clearly to you, it was not in my power to send a greater number. The surprise was complete, the governor knew nothing of us or our march, and in all probability the enterprise must have succeeded against the camp as well as against the Indians if the attempt had been made. So favorable an opportunity, I dare say never was lost.

"The difficulties which Major Lewis had represented to me to be insurmountable appeared to me, as they certainly were, absolutely imaginary. I marched about twelve miles that night with an advance guard and flanking parties before it without the least confusion. The Major had not a mile to march to the fort and above two-thirds of that was in an open plain, and I can safely declare that there was no part of the road in getting into the plain worse than what I had passed without any great difficulty in coming up the hill. I made no secret to the people who were then about me that I was so much dissatisfied with the Major's conduct that I was determined to carry him back to the camp in arrest, that he might answer to you for his behavior. Several officers heard me say so. Mr. Bentinck, if he escaped, has no doubt informed you that such was my intention. However, I did not think it advisable to take any step of that kind till we were out of reach of the enemy. I therefore sent Major Lewis the 14th, at break of

day, with the American and Virginians to reenforce Captain Bullet, whom I had left with about fifty men as a guard upon our horses and provisions within two miles of the fort, directly upon the road by which we were to return to our camp. I was afraid the enemy might possibly send a detachment that way to take possession of some passes to harass us in our march or perhaps to endeavor to cut us off in case we were forced to make a retreat, and I directed the Major to place these troops in ambuscade that he might have all the advantage possible of any party that could be sent out. About 7 in the morning after the fog was gone and the day cleared up, it was found impossible to make a plan of the fort from the height where the troops were posted, and as Col. Bouquet and I had settled that a plan should be taken "*a la barke de la Garrise*" in case an attempt did not succeed in the night.

"I sent Mr. Rhor with Captain McDonald and a hundred men to take the place, with directions not to expose himself or the troops. About the same time, being informed that some of the enemy's Indians had discovered Captain McKenzie, who was posted upon the left, almost facing the Monongahela, in order to put on a good countenance and to convince our men they had no reason to be afraid, I gave directions to our drums to beat the Reveille. The troops were in an advantageous post, and I must own I thought we had nothing to fear. In about half an hour after, the enemy came from the fort in different parties without much order, and getting behind trees, they advanced briskly and attacked our left, where there were 250 men. Captain McDonald and Lieutenant Campbell were soon killed, Lieutenant McDonald was wounded at the same time, and our people being overpowered gave way where those officers had been killed. I did all in my power to keep things in order, but to no purpose; the 100 Pennsylvanians who were posted upon the right at the greatest distance from the enemy, were off without orders, without firing a shot; in short, in less than half an hour all was in confusion, and as soon as that happened we were fired upon from every quarter.

"I endeavored to rally the troops upon every rising ground, and I did all in my power in that melancholy situation to make the best retreat I could. I sent an officer to Major Lewis to

make the best disposition he could with the Americans and Virginians till I could come up, and I was in hopes to be able to make a stand there, and at least make a tolerable retreat. Unfortunately, upon hearing the firing the Major thought the best thing that could be done was to march to our assistance, unluckily, they did not take the same road by which I marched the night before and by which they had passed that morning, and as I retired the same way I had advanced, I never saw them when I found Captain Bullet and his fifty men alone. I could not help saying to him that I was undone. However, though there was a little or rather no hopes left, I was resolved to do the best I could, and whenever I could get anybody to stay with me made a stand, sometimes with 100 and sometimes with 50, just as the men thought proper, for orders were to no purpose. Fear had then got the better of every other passion, and I hope I shall never see again such a panic among troops—till then I had no conception of it.

“At last, inclining to the left with about fifty men, where I was told a number of the Americans and Highlanders had gone, my party diminished insensibly, every soldier taking the road he liked best, and I found myself with not above a dozen men and an officer of the Pennsylvanians who had been left with Captain Bullet. Surrounded on all sides by the Indians, and when I expected every instant to be cut to pieces, without a possibility of escaping, a body of the French with a number of their officers came up and offered me quarters, which I accepted of. I was then within a short league of the fort; it was then about 11 o'clock, and, as far as I can judge, about that time the French troops were called back and the pursuit ended. What our loss is you best know, but it must be considerable. Captains McDonald and Monroe, Lieutenants Alex. McKenzie, Collin Campbell and Wm. McKenzie, Lieutenants Rider and Ensign Jenkins and Wollar are prisoners. Ensign J. McDonald is prisoner with the Indians; from what I hear they have got two other officers, whose names or corps I know not. Mr. Rhor and the officer who conducted the Indians were killed. Major Lewis and Captain McKenzie are prisoners. I am not certain that Lieutenant McKenzie was killed, but I have seen his commission, which makes it very probable.

I spoke to Lieutenant McDonald, senior, after he was wounded and I think he could hardly make his escape. I wish I may be mistaken. This is the best account I can give you of our unlucky affair. I endeavored to execute the orders which I had received to the best of my power; as I have been unfortunate the world may possibly find fault in my conduct. I flatter myself that you will not. I may have committed mistakes without knowing them, but if I was sensible of them I most certainly should tell you in what I thought I had done wrong. I am willing to flatter myself that my being a prisoner will be no detriment to my promotion in case vacancies should happen in the army, and it is to be hoped that the proper steps will be taken to get me exchanged as soon as possible.

"P. S.—As Major Lewis is prisoner, I thought it was right to read to him that part of this letter which particularly concerns him. He says when he came back to speak to me, that he gave no orders for the troops to retire from the plain. That Captain Saunder who was the next officer to him, can best account for that step; for they did retire, and I took it for granted that it was by the Major's orders, till he assured me of the contrary. Mr. Jenkins, of the Americans, is a pretty young lad, and has spirit. He is the oldest ensign, and is much afraid that being a prisoner will be a detriment to his promotion. He begs that I may mention him to you, and I could not think of refusing him."

The following extracts bearing on this affair are taken from the French Archives. M. Daine to Marshal de Belle Isle, from Quebec, on the third of November, 1758, says:

"We learn by a courier sent from the Beautiful River to the Marquis de Vaudrenil that the vanguard of the English, consisting of one thousand of their best troops, destined for the attack on Fort Duquesne, would have surprised M. de Lignery, Commandant of that fort, that the detachment having taken an unexpected route, had not some Englishmen in advance made a noise and set fire to a barn at a distance. The sentries having heard that noise and seen the fire, awoke our men, who were asleep, crying out "Aux Armes!" In a moment they proceeded against the enemy and pressed them so vigorously that

the action lasted scarcely half an hour. The English having taken to their heels, were pursued during two hours; the English lost at least six hundred to seven hundred men; four hundred have remained on the field of battle; the remainder have been massacred by our Indians, who have brought off a great many scalps, which makes it to be presumed that very few escaped.

"We have taken prisoners, the Commandant, four officers and one hundred soldiers, and have lost only eight men and eight wounded, who fortunately, have not fallen into their hands." (42.)

From another dispatch it is reported:

"A detachment of eight hundred English, partly Regulars, partly Militia, had marched very secretly from Pennsylvania to within a quarter of a league of Fort Du Quesne, by a very different road from General Braddock's. Their object was to attack, in the night, the Indians encamped around the fort, guiding themselves by the fires the latter are accustomed to have in front of their huts. But these fires being extinguished, and the night already advanced when the English arrived they could not execute that attack; they posted themselves at day-break on a mountain near Fort Duquesne, and made arrangements to facilitate its reconnoissance by an engineer whom they had brought along.

"But the troops of the Marine and the Canadians, to the number of seven to eight hundred men, did not give them time. They pounced suddenly and from all sides on the English, and immediately threw them into disorder. Our Indians, who at first had crossed the river, fearing to be surprised, then returned and also charged right vigorously. It was nothing but a rout on the part of the enemy. Five hundred of them have been killed or taken, and almost all the officers. On our side, only 8 men have been killed or wounded." (43.)

Montcalm says (44):

"We have just received news from Fort Duquesne of the 23d of October. Captain Aubry, of the Louisiana troops, has gained a somewhat considerable advantage there on the fifteenth. The enemy lost on the occasion one hundred and fifty men, killed, wounded and missing; they were pursued as far

as a new fort called Royal Hannon, which they built at the head of the River d'Attique. We had only two men killed and seven wounded."

Exulting over their unlooked for success, the French believed that a successful attack could be made on the camp of the army at the Loyalhanna, and that by venturing out with all their forces, they could, in the discomfiture of the English, end all hostilities as they had done in the time of Braddock. The entire force, therefore, of the French and their Indian allies sallied through the woods and with some light cannon vigorously assailed the forces there. The engagement was long sustained, but the attack availed nothing; and at last the assailants suddenly withdrew back to Fort Duquesne.

This battle at the Loyalhanna is a noteworthy affair, and important in its consequences. It is now apparent, since access is had to the secret papers of the French-Canadian Government, that the vaunted stronghold of Fort Duquesne was never able really to withstand an investment or an attack. The French had beaten Braddock with their Indians; and they hoped to defeat the English under Forbes in the same way. In this light it is interesting to note the actual condition of this famous fortress at the time immediately preceding its demolition and abandonment.

M. Daine to M. de Cremlle in July, 1758, speaks as follows (45): "I had the honor to communicate to you, in my short dispatch of the 22d of June, the intelligence that the Marquis de Montcalm had just then put me in possession of as to the proposed projects of the enemy to march in force to the Oyo River and to attack Fort Duquesne. In fact, everything was to be apprehended and little to be hoped. We were too bare in that quarter, and the fort is not capable of a good defense. By the avowal of M. Dumas, who has been in command there, it is fit only to dishonor the officer who would be intrusted with its defense."

Among the particulars contained in the dispatches from Vaudreuil, Governor-General of the Colony, and from other sources appear the following:

"Respecting the Beautiful river; the Commandant of Fort

Duquesne has advised M. de Vaudreuil that that fort will not be in a condition to resist an attack with artillery. That Commandant is Captain Dumas; the same that happened to be in command at the affair against General Braddock after Sieur de Beaujeu's death.

"He has observed to M. de Vaudreuil, that to go out to meet the enemy and give him battle appeared inevitable. M. de Vaudreuil had not yet given any positive orders on that point; they were to be transmitted after mature reflection. He was to send him, also, very early in the season, all the assistance he had demanded, both in men, provisions, &c.

"In order that M. Dumas may not be straitened in any of his operations, M. de Vaudreuil has issued his commands to all the posts convenient to the Beautiful river, to forward some Indians and Frenchmen to Fort Duquesne." (46.)

"M. Dumas proposes to harass the enemy by trying to oblige them to keep on the defensive. But whenever advised of their marching against him, he is to call his forces together again in order to proceed to meet them, as, in the present state of the fort, it would be impossible to make any resistance for any length of time, were he to allow himself to be besieged in it." (47.)

"I do not think the English will attack M. de Lingeris* [then Commandant of Fort Duquesne]; but though they make some movements this year, I have neglected nothing to place him in a condition to resist them, for, independent of his garrison, of the Militia and Nations inhabiting the Beautiful river, and of the Militia I have sent him from the Colony, he has actually at his disposal, some Militia and some Indian Nations of Illinois; and, for greater security, I [Vaudreuil] issued orders in the month of April to the Commandants of Niagara and of all the posts on the Beautiful river, to send their forces in rotation, from one post to the other, and to keep themselves always in readiness to afford each other mutual assistance. This gives me reason to hope that, should the English organize any expedition they will fail." (48.)

"Fort Duquesne, in its present condition, could not offer any resistance to the enemy; 'tis too small to lodge the garrison necessary on such an occasion. A single shell would be suffi-

*Ligneris.

cient to get it so on fire, too, that 'twould be impossible to extinguish it because the houses are close. The garrison would then find itself under the painful necessity of abandoning that fort. Besides, 'tis so near the confluence of the Beautiful river with the Malangaillee, [Monongahela], that it is always exposed to be entirely submerged by the overflowing of the rivers. M. de Ligneris is having such repairs done to that fort as it is susceptible of, regard being had to its bad situation; but that will not enable us to dispense with the erection of a new fort, I have incontrovertibly established thereof, in my letters of 1755 and 1756." (49.)

No accurate number of the French soldiers and Indians at Fort Duquesne at this conjuncture can be had. The number was constantly changing. Bouquet in a letter to Forbes dated 17th of September, says that the number of French, (in which he probably includes French and Indians), varies from three thousand to twelve thousand. Bigot (the Intendant or Commissary General) says that three thousand five hundred daily rations were delivered at Fort Duquesne throughout the summer. (50.) The only satisfactory way the French had of keeping tale of the Indians was by the number of rations furnished, rations being given to them as to their regular soldiers.

In October the number had fallen to one thousand one hundred and eighty, which included Indians. On September 22d Frederick Post reported the garrison to consist of about one thousand four hundred men; and he was of opinion that there would be full three thousand French and Indians, almost all Canadians, who would be ready to meet the army under Forbes. (51.) He would probably have been nearly right had not other things intervened between this time and the arrival of Forbes, of which he had no suspicion.

The militia of Louisiana and the Illinois left the fort in November and went home. The Indians of Detroit and the Wabash would stay no longer and, worse yet, the supplies destined for Fort Duquesne had been destroyed by Bradstreet at Fort Frontenac. Hence, Ligneris, the Commandant, was compelled by prospective starvation to dismiss the greater part of his force, and await the approach of his enemy with those that remained. (52).

The French had always depended on the aid of the Indians to hold this place. But it was the custom of the Indians after a battle, whether successful or not, to go home. Colonel James Smith, at that time a prisoner who had been adopted into one of their tribes, in his very valuable narrative, says that after the defeat of Grant, the Indians held a council, but were divided in their opinions. Some said that General Forbes would now turn back, and go home the way that he came, as Dunbar had done when Braddock was defeated; others supposed that he would come on. The French urged the Indians to stay and see the event; but as it was hard for the Indians to be absent from their squaws and children at this season of the year, a great many returned home to their hunting. After this, the remainder of the Indians, some French regulars, and a great number of Canadians, marched off in quest of General Forbes. They met his army near Fort Ligonier, and attacked them, but were frustrated in their designs. They said that Forbes' men were beginning to learn the art of war and that there were a great number of American riflemen along with the red coats who scattered out, took trees, and were good marksmen; therefore they found they could not accomplish their designs, and were obliged to retreat. When they returned from the battle to Fort Duquesne, the Indians concluded they would go to their hunting. The French endeavored to persuade them to stay and try another battle. The Indians said if it was only the red coats they had to do with, they could soon subdue them, but they could not withstand Ashalecoa, or the Great Knife, which was the name they gave the Virginians.

These things, however were unknown to the English. The whole army of Forbes having at length arrived at the Loyalhanna, went into quarters, and as the season was now advancing rapidly it was the intention to remain there during the winter. The fate of Braddock was ever before the eyes of Forbes and his men; and it was distinctly within the remembrance of some, chief among whom was Washington. The knowledge of the actual condition of affairs having reached Forbes, he concluded, late as it was, to advance. On the 13th of November, Colonel Armstrong with one thousand men was

sent forward to assist Colonel Washington in opening the road. On the 17th General Forbes followed. He had no opposition in his march, although as the weather was extremely disagreeable, being rainy and chilly, and the road having to be cut as the army proceeded, his progress was necessarily slow. The wagons and all the artillery, except a few light pieces, were left behind. The force consisted of two thousand five hundred picked men who marched without tents or baggage, and burdened only with knapsacks and blankets. In addition to these were the force of Pioneers, and the wagoners and provincials engaged on the roads. Friendly Indians were kept out as scouts, and the greatest vigilance was exercised to avoid surprise. Washington and Colonel Armstrong had opened a way by cutting a road to within a day's march of the fort. On the evening of the 24th, the detachment encamped among the hills of Turtle Creek. That night they were informed by one of the Indian scouts, that he had discovered a cloud of smoke above the fort, and soon after another came with certain intelligence that it was burnt and abandoned by the enemy. A troop of horse was sent forward immediately to extinguish the burning. At midnight the men on guard heard a dull and heavy sound booming over the western woods. In the morning the march was resumed, the strong advance guard leading the way. Forbes came next carried in his litter and the troops followed in three parallel columns, the Highlanders in the center under Montgomery, their Colonel, and the Royal Americans and Provincials on the right and left, under Bouquet and Washington. Thus, guided by the tap of the drum, at the head of each column, they moved slowly through the forest, over damp, fallen leaves, crisp with frost, beneath an endless entanglement of bare gray twigs, that sighed and moaned in the bleak November wind. It was dusk when they emerged upon the open plain and saw Fort Duquesne before them, with the background of wintry hills beyond the Monongahela and Allegheny. (53.)

Out of the papers that are available bearing upon this particular occasion we have selected the one from Capt. John Haslet to the Rev. Dr. Allison, as best answering our present

purpose. It is dated Fort Duquesne, No. 26th, 1758, and reads as follows (54):

"I have now the pleasure to write you from the ruins of the fort. On the 24th, at night, we were informed by one of our Indian scouts, that he had discovered a cloud of smoke above the place, and soon after another came in with certain intelligence, that it was burnt and abandoned by the enemy. We were then about fifteen miles from it; a troop of horse was sent forward immediately to extinguish the burning, and the whole army followed. We arrived at 6 o'clock last night, and found it in a great measure destroyed. There are two forts, about two hundred yards distant, the one built with immense labor, small, but a great deal of very strong works collected into very little room, and stands on the point of a narrow neck of land at the confluence of the two rivers. 'Tis square, and has two ravelins, gabions on each corner, &c. The other fort stands on the bank of the Allegheny, in form of a parallelogram, but nothing so strong as the other; several of the outworks are lately begun and still unfinished. There are, I think, thirty stacks of chimneys standing, the houses all burnt down. They sprung one mine, which ruined one of their magazines. In the other we found sixteen barrels of ammunition, a prodigious quantity of old carriage iron, barrels of guns, about a cart load of scalping knives, &c. They went off in such haste, that they could not make quite the havoc of their works they intended. We are told, by the Indians, that they lay the night before last at Beaver Creek; forty miles down the Ohio from here. Whether they buried their cannon in the river, or carried them down in their batteaux, we have not yet learned. A boy twelve years old, who has been their prisoner two years, who escaped on the 2d inst., tells us they carried a prodigious quantity of wood into the fort, that they had burned five of the prisoners they took at Major Grant's defeat, on the parade, and delivered others to the Indians, who were tomahawked on the spot. We have found numbers of dead bodies within a quarter of a mile of the fort, unburied, as so many monuments of French humanity. A great many Indians, mostly Delawares, are gathered on the island last night and this morning, to treat with the General,

and we are making rafts to bring them over. Whether the General will think of repairing the ruins, or leaving any of the troops here, I have not heard. Mr. Beatty is appointed to preach a thanksgiving sermon for the remarkable superiority of his Majesty's arms. We left all our tents at Loyal Hannan, and every conveniency except a blanket and knapsack."

Of this event Mr. Bancroft says: "Armstrong's own hand raised the British flag on the ruined bastions of the fortress. As the banner of England floated over the waters, the place, at the suggestion of Forbes, was with one voice called Pittsburgh. It is the most enduring monument to William Pitt. America raised to his name statues that have been wrongfully broken, and granite piles of which not one stone remains upon another; but, long as the Monongahela and Allegheny shall flow to form the Ohio, long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, his name shall stand inscribed on the gateway of the west."

"The twenty-sixth," Mr. Bancroft continues, "was observed as a day of public thanksgiving for success. The connection between the seaside and the world beyond the mountains was established forever; a vast territory was secured; the civilization of liberty and commerce and religion was henceforth to maintain the undisputed possession of the Ohio."

The French had made preparations for destroying and abandoning the place, and when the English were within fifteen miles of the fort, the French had uncovered their houses, and laid the roofs around the fort to set it on fire, and made ready to go off upon the approach of the enemy. (55.)

There had been fortifications as Captain Haslet says above, about two hundred yards distant from each other. One constructed with immense labor, at great expense,—small but strong, and calculated to concentrate great powers of resistance within a small space, stood on the point of land at the confluence of the two rivers. The other stood on the bank of the Allegheny, and was built in the form of a parallelogram.

not so strong as the first, and its outworks having the appearance of being unfinished.

There were two magazines, one of which was blown up and ruined by the springing of a mine of powder. The report of this explosion had been heard by those on duty at the camping-place of the army. The other magazine contained the material enumerated in the letter of Captain Haslet, quoted above. Their cannon was removed, (56.)

The following incident, among others which occurred on the day of the taking possession of this place by General Forbes, was related on the authority of a Captain commanding a company of provincials on that day: (57.)

"Upon their arrival at Fort Duquesne, they entered upon an Indian race path, (58) upon each side of which a number of stakes, with the bark peeled off, were stuck into the earth, and upon each stake was fixed the head and kilt of a Highlander who had been killed or taken prisoner, at Grant's defeat.

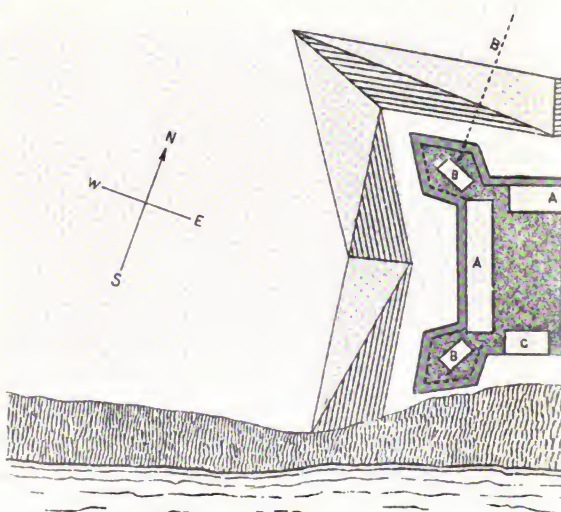
"The Provincials, being front, obtained the first view of these horrible spectacles, which it may readily be believed, excited no very kindly feelings in their breasts. They passed along, however, without any manifestation of their violent wrath. But as soon as the Highlanders came in sight of the remains of their countrymen, a slight buzz was heard in their ranks, which rapidly swelled and grew louder and louder. Exasperated not only with the barbarous outrages upon the persons of their unfortunate fellow-soldiers who had fallen only a few days before, but maddened by the insult which was conveyed by the exhibition of their kilts, and which they well understood, as they had long been nicknamed the "petticoat warriors" by the Indians, their wrath knew no bounds.

"Directly a rapid and violent tramping was heard, and immediately the whole corps of the Highlanders, with their muskets abandoned, and broad swords drawn, rushed by the Provincials, foaming with rage, swearing vengeance and extermination upon the French troops who had permitted such outrages. But the French had fled, and the wrath of the exasperated Highlanders at the escape of the French subsided into a sullen and relentless desire for vengeance."

The first Fort

A PLAN OF THE FORT FOR 220 MEN
BUILT IN DECEMBER 1758 WITHIN 400 YARDS
OF FORT DU QUESNE

- A. SOLDIERS BARRACKS
- B. OFFICERS HOUSE
- C. STORES OF PROVISION
- D. DITTO FOR INDIAN GOODS.

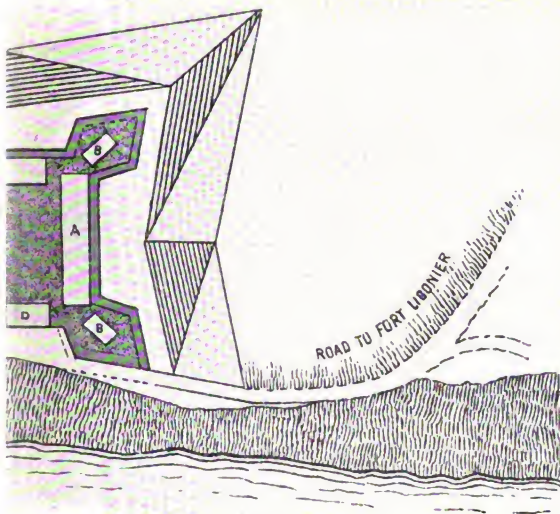


MONONGHELA

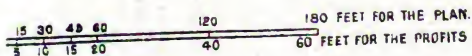


THE ABOVE PLAN &? (SEE PLAN

Fort Pitt, 1758.



RIVER 400 YARDS WIDE



OF FORT AUGUSTA)

After the taking of Fort Duquesne, General Forbes sent out a detachment to search for the relics of Braddock's army, and bury the remains of the dead. This service was performed—a service pathetic and mournful in the highest degree. Some times the detachment found skeletons lying across the trunks of trees, sometimes skulls and bones scattered on the ground, and in other places they saw the blackness of ashes amidst the relics—the awful evidence of torture of the unfortunate wounded. (59).

On abandoning the fort, the Indians were scattered to their several places of abode: Of the French, about one thousand went down the Ohio to the Illinois country, another one hundred passed by land to Presqu' Isle, and the remaining two hundred with Ligneris the Commandant went up the Allegheny to Venango. Fort Machault (Venango) was strengthened, and it was proposed to remain there until spring, and defend the place, if attacked. With the opening of the river, an attempt was made, as we shall see, to retake the site of Fort Duquesne, which failed. (60).*

FORT PITT.

Thus at last this point of land which had been the cause of the loss of many lives and of much treasure, fell into the hands of the English; and again the cross of St. George flew over the spot where the fleur-de-lis of St. Louis had floated for four tempestuous years.

General Forbes in reporting to Governor Denny immediately after his taking possession, says:

"As the conquest of this country is of the greatest consequence to the adjacent provinces, by securing the Indians our real friends for their own advantage, I have therefore sent for their head people to come to me, when I think, in few words and in few days to make everything easy.

*The chief reason why the French abandoned Fort Duquesne, was because their Indian allies, who had been instrumental in defeating Braddock in 1755, were kept away at this time by the efforts of Christian F. Post. Post went to Kuskuski, to Sawcunk and to Fort Duquesne and urged the Indians to remain away from the fort and let the French and British fight the matter out for themselves. This the Indians did. By the time the army of General Forbes had reached within striking distance all of the Indian allies had deserted Fort Duquesne. Consult Archives of Penna., III, 530, where Post's account of his mission of peace is given. Also an article in "The Penn-Germania," January, 1913, vol. II, No. 1, (Donehoo.)

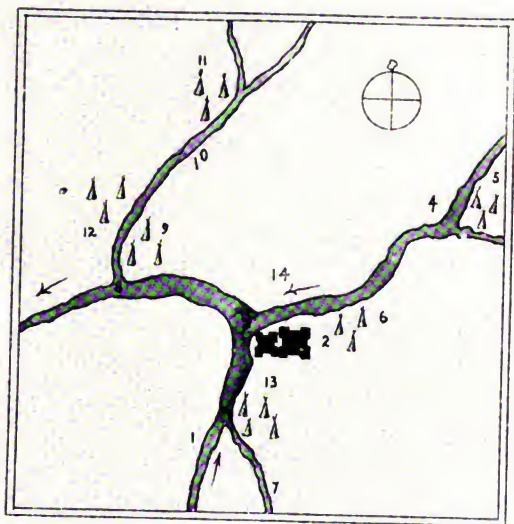
"I shall be obliged to leave about two hundred men of your provincial troops to join a proportion of Virginians and Marylanders, in order to protect this country during winter, by which time I hope the provinces will be sensible of the great benefit of this new acquisition, as to enable me to fix this noble, fine country to all perpetuity under the dominion of Great Britain.

"I beg the barracks may be put in good repair and proper lodging for the officers, and that you will send me with the greatest despatch, your opinion how I am to dispose of the rest of your provincial troops; for the ease and convenience of the provinces and inhabitants. You must also remember that Col. Montgomery's battalion of one thousand three hundred men and four companies of Royal Americans, are, after so long and tedious campaign, to be taken care of in some winter quarters." (61).

The name for the fortification which it was intended to build after the place was secured, had been determined upon before that event occurred. With one accord the name of Fort Pitt was applied to the intended fort. Pittsburgh, as the name of the place, appeared the next day after its occupancy. On November the 26th, Forbes in reporting the capture of the place to Lieutenant-Gov. Denny, in the letter which we have already quoted, dated it from Fort Duquesne, "or now Pitts-Bourgh." (62).

It is a noticeable circumstance that in the correspondence which appears in the *Penna. Gazette*, and in official communications bearing date at this place, not only during its occupancy as an English outpost and later as the most important place in Western Pennsylvania during colonial times, and then as headquarters of the Western Department during the Revolution, the name of the place, "Pittsburgh," was used more frequently than that of Fort Pitt. (63).

Gen. Forbes immediately began the erection of a new fort near the site of the old one. The work was proceeded in with all possible activity. It was getting late in the season. The enemy had withdrawn, it is true, but their whereabouts were not definitely known. Most of them had gone up the river to Fort Machault; some of them had gathered at the strong-hold at Loggstown, down the Ohio. The post was watched by spies



FORT PITT AND ITS ENVIRONS.

JANUARY 1759.

REFERENCES TO THE ABOVE SKETCH OF FORT DU QUESNE, NOW PITTSBURGH,
WITH THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 MONONGAHELA RIVER. | 9 LOGS TOWN. |
| 2 FORT DU QUESNE OR PITTSBURGH. | 10 BEAVER CREEK. |
| 3 THE SMALL FORT. | 11 KUSKUSKIAH CHIEF TOWN OF THE SIX NATIONS. |
| 4 ALLEGHENY RIVER. | 12 SHINGOES TOWN. |
| 5 ALLEGHENY INDIAN TOWN. | 13 ALLIQUPPA. |
| 6 SHANAPINS. | 14 SENNAKAAS. |
| 7 YOUGHIOGHENY RIVER. | |
| 8 OHIO OR ALLEGHENY RIVER. | |

and Indians, and thus the situation was not one of absolute confidence or security.

The character of the structure and the location of the new fort were probably determined upon before Forbes left on his return for Philadelphia, which he did on the 3d of December. The work was located on the bank of the Monongahela at the south end of what, later, was West street in the city of Pittsburgh, and between West street and Liberty, within two hundred yards of Fort Duquesne. It has been described as "a small square stockade, with bastions." (64). It was intended only for temporary use, and for the present accommodation of a garrison of two hundred men. With this number, when it was completed, Col. Hugh Mercer, was placed in command; and the army marched back to the settlements.

The fort, so called, was completed probably about the first of January, 1759. Col. Mercer, under date of January 8, 1759, reported the garrison to consist then of about two hundred and eighty men, and that the "works" were capable of some defense, though huddled up in a very hasty manner, the weather being extremely severe. (65).

On March the 17th, 1759, the garrison is reported as follows: There were ten commissioned officers, eighteen non-commissioned officers, three drummers, three hundred and forty-six rank and file, fit for duty, seventy-nine sick, three (unaccounted) making a total of four hundred and twenty-eight. Twelve had died since the 1st of January. In respect of their commands, they were divided as follows: Royal artillery, eight; Royal Americans, twenty; Highlanders, eighty; Virginia regiment, ninety-nine; First Batt'n Penna., one hundred and thirty-six; Second Batt'n Penna., eighty-five.

Between the one-fifth and one-sixth of the force, were sick. (66).

On July the 9th, 1759, the officers at the place were the following:

Colonel Hugh Mercer; Captains Waggoner, Woodward, Prentice, Morgan, Smallman, Ward and Clayton; Lieutenants Mathews, Hyidler, Biddle, Conrod, Kennedy, Sumner, Anderson, Hutchins, Dangerfield and Wright of the train; Ensigns Crawford, Crawford and Morgan.

This structure, as stated, was intended for temporary use only. The one to succeed it was intended to be an imposing fortress and such as would last for all time. Work was expected to be begun upon it within the coming year. General Forbes having died, March 13th, 1759, shortly after his return to Philadelphia, was succeeded by General John Stanwix as commander of His Majesty's regular troops, and those to be raised by the Provinces, for the Southern Department. The announcement of the appointment of Stanwix and of the death of Forbes, was made by Gen. Amherst, Commander-in-Chief, on the 15th of March, 1759.

The importance of this post as it appeared to the great William Pitt, after whom the fort and the succeeding city, were called, is manifest from an expression of his opinion in a letter dated at Whitehall, Jan. 23d, 1759, just 60 days after the taking of Fort Duquesne. The letter shows also the intention of the Ministry. (67).

"I am now to acquaint you," says he "that the King has been pleased, immediately upon receiving the news of the success of his arms on the river Ohio, to direct the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces, in North America, and Gen. Forbes, to lose no time in conserting the proper and speediest means for completely restoring if possible, the ruined Fort Duquesne to a defensible and respectable state, or for erecting another in the room of it of sufficient strength and every way adequate to the great importance of the several objects of maintaining his Majesty's subjects in the undisputed possession of the Ohio; of effectually cutting off all trade and communication this way, between Canada and the western and southwestern Indians; of protecting the British colonies from incursion to which they have been exposed since the French built the fort and thereby make themselves masters of the navigation of the Ohio, and of fixing again the several Indian nations in their alliance with and dependance upon his Majesty's government."

Gen. Amherst having received instructions of a like tenor from Secretary Pitt, acquainted the Gover of the fact, and requested the co-operation of the Province with Stanwix to that end. (68.)

During the early summer of 1759, the greatest apprehension was felt on account of the project which the French had in view, of descending from Fort Machault for an attack on Fort Pitt. A large force was collected there, which, if circumstances had not intervened to divert their operations, would probably have been adequate to capture the place. But the urgent necessity of the French at Niagara, which place was invested by the English, compelled them to abandon their project. (69.)

General Stanwix, soon after his appointment as the Commander of this department, arranged to go to Fort Pitt, and there begin the construction of a permanent fortification, and such a one as would be a credit to his government, and insure a permanent defense of the province in those parts. He had, however, much trouble with the Pennsylvania authorities to get what he regarded as the necessary supplies and a sufficient number of men and artificers. The season was going by, and he was becoming impatient. From his camp at Fort Bedford, the 13th of August, 1759, he wrote to Governor Denny. (70.)

"It is with reluctance that I must trouble you again upon this subject, but being stopped in my march, for want of a sufficient and certain succession of carriages, I am obliged to have recourse to you to extricate me out of this difficulty."

At the same time he addressed a circular letter to the managers for wagons in each county, saying, in part (71):

"The season advances fast upon us, and our magazines are not half full. All our delays are owing to want of carriages. The troops are impatient to dislodge and drive the enemy from their posts on this side the Lake, and by building a respectable fort upon the Ohio, secure to his Majesty the just possession of that rich country."

Around the garrison at this time many Indians had collected who were now the dependants of the English, being brought thither upon invitations to attend conferences and councils, of which there had been several since the English occupancy of the place. The treaty of July, 1759, was attended by great numbers. These had to be fed, nor did they show indication of departing so long as there was a sufficiency of provisions.

Col. Mercer complains, on the 6th of August, 1759, (72) that on account of this drain upon their supplies, the garrison had been brought to great straits, and he had been obliged to reduce the garrison to three hundred and fifty, and even with that number, could scarcely save an ounce between the convoys. On the same date Mercer reports that Captain Gorden, chief engineer, had arrived, with most of the artificers, but that he would not fix on a spot for constructing the fort until the arrival of the General, but that they were preparing the materials for building with what expedition so relatively few men were capable of.

General Stanwix arrived at Pittsburgh, late in August, 1759, with materials, skilled workmen and laborers, for the purpose, and on the 3d day of September, the work of building a formidable fortification commenced, in obedience to the orders of William Pitt, Secretary of State.

Colonel Mercer reports September 15th, 1759. "A perfect tranquillity reigns here since General Stanwix arrived, the works of the new fort go on briskly, and no enemy appears near the camp or upon the communication. The difficulty of supplying the army here, obliges the General to keep more of the troops at Ligonier and Bedford than he would choose; the remainder of the Virginia regiment joins us next week. Colonel Bird is forming a post at Redstone Creek, Col. Armstrong remains some weeks at Ligonier, and the greater part of my battalion will be divided along the communication to Carlisle." (73.)

Gen. Stanwix to Governor Hamilton in a letter dated "Camp at Pittsburgh, 8th Decr., 1759," (74) reports that "the works here are now carried on to that degree of defence which was at first prepared for this year, so that I am now forming a winter garrison which is to consist of 300 provincials, one-half Pennsylvanians the other Virginians, and 400 of the first battalion, of the Royal American Regiment, the whole to be under the command of Major Tulikens when I leave it. These I hope I shall be able to cover well under good barracks and feed likewise, for 6 months from the first of January; besides artillery officers and batteaux men, Indians too must be fed, and they are not a few that come and go and trade here and will expect

provisions from us, in which, at least at present they must not be disappointed."

Gen. Stanwix remained at Fort Pitt until the spring of 1760. In the fall of 1759 was held a conference with the Indians which was most satisfactory in its results. It was the policy of the English Government, in which it was seconded by the Provinces of Pennsylvania and Virginia, that the officers of the army as well as the authorities of the Provinces should use every effort to conciliate the Indians and keep them on good terms. Accordingly, Colonel Bouquet, representing Forbes, with Col. Armstrong and several officers, George Croghan, Deputy agent to Sir Wm. Johnson, with Henry Montour, as interpreter met with the chiefs of the Delaware Indians, at Pittsburgh, on December 4th, 1758, after their occupancy of the post. At this meeting the Indians were assured of the peaceful intentions of the King of England and his people toward them. i(75.)

Col. Mercer in January (3d-7th), 1759, held a conference with nine chiefs of the Six Nations, Shawanese and Delawares, from the upper Allegheny, (76) and a very important conference was held here in July, beginning on the 4th, (1759), by George Croghan, Esq., Deputy Agent to Gen. Sir Wm. Johnson, Bart., his Majesty's Agent and Superintendent for Indians Affairs in the Northern District of North America, with the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, and Wyandottes, who represent eight nations, Ottawas, Chipawas, Potowatimes, Twightwees, Cuscuskees, Keckepos, Schockeyes, and Musquakes. (77.)

Here, General Stanwix met the representatives of of the Six Nations, Shawanese, Delawares and other Indian tribes, on the 25th of October, 1759, There were present on the part of the English, Brig.-Gen. Stanwix, with sundry gentlemen of the army; George Croghan, Esq., Deputy Agent to Sir William Johnson; Captain William Trent and Captain Thomas McKee, Assistants to George Croghan; Captain Henry Montour was interpreter. At these various conferences the Indians were represented by their prominent chieftans, of whom may be mentioned, Guyasuta, The Beaver, King of the Delawares, Shingas, The Pipe, Gustalogo, and Killbuck. (78.)

Many private conferences were held to which the Indians came in and promised to be eternal friends with the whites. The Indians, indeed, never hesitated to come when they wanted something to eat and drink, and a supply of ammunition and blankets.

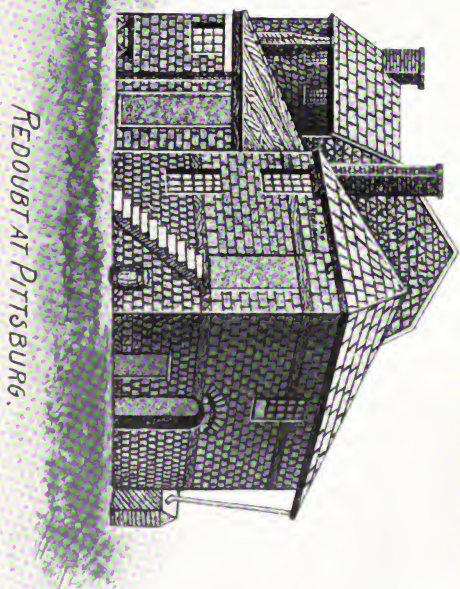
General Stanwix to Governor Hamilton from Fort Pitt, March 17th, 1760, says (79): "As soon as the waters are down I propose to leave this post for Philadelphia, which I can do now with great satisfaction, having finished the works all round in a very defenceable manner, leave the garrison in good health, in excellent barracks, and seven months wholesome, good provisions from the 1st of April next; the rest of the works may be now finished under cover, and [the men] be only obliged to work in proper weather, which has been very far from our case this hard winter and dirty spring—so far as it is advanced—but we have carried the works as far into execution as I could possibly propose to myself in the time, and don't doubt but it will be finished as soon as such work can be done, so as to give a strong security to all the Southern Provinces, and answer every end proposed for his Majesty's service."

Although Fort Pitt was occupied in 1760, it was not finished until the summer of 1761 under Col. Bouquet. It occupied all the ground between the rivers, Marbury (now Third Street), West Street and part of Liberty. Its stone bomb-proof magazine was removed when the Penna. Railway Company built its freight depot in 1852. (80.)

"The work," says Neville B. Craig, (81) "was five sided, though not all equal, as Washington erroneously stated in his journal in 1770. The earth around the proposed work was dug and thrown up so as to enclose the selected position with a rampart of earth. On the two sides facing the country, this rampart was supported by what military men call a revetment—a brick work, nearly perpendicular supporting the rampart on the outside, and thus presenting an obstacle to the enemy not easily overcome. On the other three sides, the earth in the rampart had no support, and, of course, it presented a more inclined surface to the enemy—one which could be readily ascended. To remedy, in some degree, this defect

The drawing of the Redoubt is from Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania. It is there said that it is a "view as it now (1843) appears. In looking at the drawing, the reader should understand that the Redoubt is merely the square building in front. It is situated north of Penn Street, about forty-six feet west of Point Street, a few back from Brewery Alley."

The Redoubt in the above drawing is shown from another point of view than the drawing of current date. The windows, the steps, and at least the door to the left, are to be taken as modern innovations.



BOUQUET'S REDOUBT AT FORT PITT.

in the work, a line of pickets was fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch which would, of course, be filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage.

"In summer, however, when the river was low the ditch was dry and perfectly smooth, so that the officers and men had a ball-alley in the ditch, and against the revetments.

"This ditch extended from the salient angle of the north bastion—that is the point of the fort which approached nearest to Marbury street, back of the south end of Hoke's row—down to the Allegheny where Marbury street strikes it.

"This part of the ditch was, during our boyhood, and ever since, called Butler's Gut, from the circumstance of Gen. Richard Butler and Col. Wm. Butler residing nearest to it—their houses being the same which now [1848] stand at the corner on the south side of Penn and east side of Marbury. Another part of the ditch extended to the Monongahela, a little west of West street, and a third debouche into the river was made just about the end of Penn street.

"The redoubt, which still remains near the point, the last relic of British labor at this place, was not erected until 1764.* The other redoubt, which stood at the mouth of Redoubt Alley, was erected by Col. Wm. Grant; and our recollection is, that the year mentioned on the stone tablet was 1765, but we are not positive on that point."

Gen. Stanwix remained at Pittsburgh until March 21st, 1760. From a communication dated from the fort at Pittsburgh, on that date, and printed in the Penna. Gazette as a part of the current news, the following information is obtained:

"This day Major-Gen. Stanwix set out for Philadelphia, escorted by thirty-five chiefs of the Ohio Indians and fifty of the Royal Americans. The presence of the General has been of the utmost consequence at this post during the winter, as well for cultivating the friendship and alliance of the Indians, and for continuing the fortifications and supplying the troops here and on the communications. The works are now quite perfected, according to the plan, from the Ohio to the Monongahela, and eighteen pieces of artillery mounted on the bastions that cover the isthmus; and case-mates, barracks and store-houses are

*Now in possession of Pittsburgh Chapter D. A. R. Tablet erected 1908.

also completed for a garrison of one thousand men and officers, so that it may now be asserted with very great truth, that the British dominion is established on the Ohio. The Indians are carrying on a vast trade with the merchants of Pittsburgh, and instead of desolating the frontiers of these colonies, are entirely employed in increasing the trade and wealth thereof. The happy effects of our military operations are also felt by [many] of our poor inhabitants, who are now in quiet possession of the lands they were driven from on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

"When Gen. Stanwix left Fort Pitt there were present as a garrison seven hundred, namely, one hundred and fifty Virginians, one hundred and fifty Pennsylvanians and four hundred of the First Battalion of Royal Americans." (82).

The war between England and France having terminated to the advantage of the English by the surrender of Montreal, the last post held by the French, on 8th of September, 1759, the English in the fall of 1759 and in 1760 took possession of the surrendered posts.

General Monckton, as the chief officer of this department, arrived at Fort Pitt on the 29th of June, 1760. Immediately on his arrival he gave orders for the march of a large detachment of the army to Presqu' Isle, (now Erie). This movement was made for the purpose of taking possession of the upper posts as well as those along the frontier to Detroit and Mackinaw. On the 7th of July, 1760, four companies of the Royal Americans, under command of Colonel Bouquet, and Captain McNeil's company of the Virginia Regiment, marched for Presqu' Isle. These were followed in a few days after by Col. Hugh Mercer, with three companies of the Penna. Regiment, under Captains Biddle, Clapham and Anderson, and later two other companies of the same regiment, under Captains Atlee, and Miles, followed.

A news item dated from Philadelphia the 31st of July, 1760, gave information that Maj. Gladwin had arrived at Presqu' Isle with four hundred men from the northward, and that our troops from Pittsburgh would be at the same place by the 15th July, 1760. (83).

The town of Pittsburgh began, in all probability, with the

occupancy of the place by the English in the fall of 1758. That is to say that from the first there was, near the fort, a collection of rude cabins occupied by traders, purveyors of the army and settlers. The name of the town, we have seen, was contemporary with the name of the fort. The mention made of the town by Col. James Burd in his Journal is probably the first authentic mention with regard to its inhabitants, available. Col. Burd in command of the Augusta Regiment—as the Penna. Regiment under his command was then called—arrived at Pittsburgh on Sunday, 6th July, 1760, and remained there on duty until November following. In his Journal is the following (84):

“21st, Monday. [July, 1760.]

To-day numbered the Houses at Pittsburg, and made a Return of the number of People—men, women & children—that do not belong to the army:

Number of houses,	146
Number of unfinished houses,	19
Number of Hutts,	36
	<hr/>
Total,	201
	<hr/>
Number of Men,	88
Number of Women,	29
Number of Male Children,	14
Number of Female Children,	18
	<hr/>
Total,	149
	<hr/>

“N. B.—The above houses Exclusive of those in the Fort; in the fort five long barricks and a long casimitt [casement].”

During the winter of 1760 and 1761, Col. Vaughan, with the regiment, known as his Majesty's regiment of Royal Welsh Volunteers, were garrisoning the several posts within the communication to Pittsburgh. (85). These troops being wanted by Gen. Amherst for other service, he requested the Governor to make a requisition of provincial troops to take their place.

This request met with the usual result. Gen. Monckton in a letter to Governor Hamilton, from Fort Pitt, September 26th, 1760, expressed his sorrow to find that there was a likelihood of the requisition meeting with so much difficulty, and again represented the necessity of keeping up a body, of at least four hundred of the Penna. troops, to assist in garrisoning the forts in that department for the ensuing winter. (86).

This matter was laid before the Council but the House being then on the point of dissolution, declined to agree to this measure at once, and deferred its consideration to the next Assembly. (87). On the 17th of October, the Assembly's Answer to the Governor's message was delivered. The reason which they gave for acceding to this request was that since the reduction of Canada and the withdrawal of the French home, there remained nothing for the regular troops in the pay of the "Nation" to do but garrison these posts, from which circumstances they concluded that it was not necessary to engage additional men. (88).

The Assembly thus not doing anything, Gen. Monckton appealed to Gen. Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief, who addressed the Governor, Feb. 27th, 1761, saying that as it was indispensably necessary that Vaughan's regiment should be removed from their present quarters to Philadelphia, it was requisite to send in their stead for the security and protection of the country, to the several forts and posts within the communication to Pittsburgh, a sufficient number of men properly officered. He requested that three hundred, so officered, should be raised by the Assembly for that purpose. (89). The Governor laid the matter before the Assembly. On March the 13th, 1761, the bill being passed, was handed to the Governor, who concurred. (90).

Gen. Monckton had left Pittsburgh, Monday, the 27th of October, 1760. (91). He, however, had charge of this department for some time thereafter. Amherst, under date of 22d of March, 1761, acquainted the Governor that Gen. Monckton would set out from New York on the day following, on his way to Phila., in order to station the three hundred men voted by the Assembly, and to put Vaughan's regiment in motion. (92).

Little of interest occurred here from this time until Pontiac's

war, in 1763. Treaties were held, as we have seen, from time to time with the Indians. Gen. Monckton had held a conference of great moment at the camp on the 12th of August, 1760. Many representatives were present. The tribes were well treated. A great store or trading-house, was set up by the Governor, at Pittsburgh, and one at Shamokin, (Sunbury), where the Indians were furnished with all sorts of goods, at a "cheap rate." (93).

Through almost the entire year of 1762—until late in the fall of that year—there was nothing to indicate anything but a lasting friendship from the Indians about the region of the Ohio. Beaver and Shingas, had sent word by Frederic Post, whose message was delivered to the Governor, Feb. 11th, 1762, that it was their desire to cultivate the friendship of their brethren, the English. (94). Later in the year, Beaver, and the other Indians with him, entered into solemn engagement to deliver up all the whites whom they held as prisoners, at Fort Pitt. Col. Burd and Josiah Davenport were commissioned to receive them. (95).

The preliminaries of a treaty of peace between France and Great Britain, (as well as other powers), were interchanged on the 3d of November, 1762, and the definite treaty was signed on the 10th of February, 1763. Under this, the whole of the territory between the Allegheny and the Mississippi, together with Canada, passed from the French to the English. In the meantime the greatest Indian uprising in history was being planned by one of the most remarkable savages of whom there is account. This was Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas. He had been, both from interest and inclination, a firm friend of the French. During the war he had fought on the side of France. It is said that he commanded some of his tribe, when he was yet a young man, at the defeat of Braddock. (96).

It was a momentous crisis for the Indian race. The English were masters; the French were conquered. This, to one of a mind of the vigor and strength of Pontiac's, meant the loss of all their hunting grounds and the extinguishment of their race. To the Indians were reserved the great privilege of annihilating the English race. His vivid imagination conceived things impossible to be realized. The idea came to him

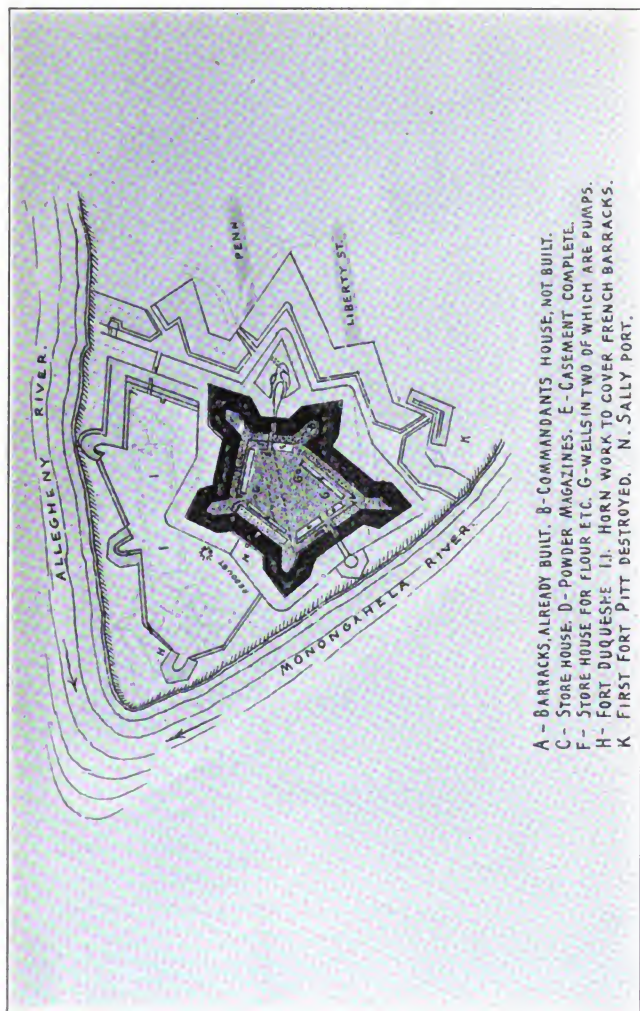
of uniting all the tribes into a confederation of war; to attack all at once the English posts on the frontier from Mackinaw to Fort Pitt, and thus by wresting all their conquests from them, regain for the French as their friends the places from whence they had been displaced, and to restore to the native tribes their rightful heritage.

Toward the close of 1762 he thereupon sent ambassadors to the different nations of savages. These visited the country of the Ohio and its tributaries, passed northward to the region of the Upper Lakes, and the borders of the River Ottawa and far southwards towards the mouth of the Mississippi. Bearing with him the war belt of wampum, broad and long, as the importance of the message demanded, and the tomahawk stained red in token of war, they went from camp to camp, and village to village. Everywhere the message was approved. The blow was to be struck at a certain time in the month of May following, to be indicated by the changes of the moon. The tribes were to rise together, each destroying the English garrison in its neighborhood, and then, with a general rush, the whole were to turn against the settlements of the frontier.

The tribes, then banded together against the English, comprised, with a few unimportant exceptions the whole Algonquin stock, to whom were united the Wyandotts, the Senecas, and several tribes of the lower Mississippi. The Senecas were the only members of the Iroquois confederacy who joined in the league, the rest being kept quiet by the influence of Sir Wm. Johnson, whose utmost exertions, however, were barely sufficient to allay their irritation. (97).

Preparations having been thus made all the outposts which were garrisoned by English blood, were assailed about the same time. Within a short period, of the twelve garrisoned forts which were severally attacked, nine fell. Among those taken were Venango, Le Boeuf, P'resqu' Isle;—Detroit, Niagara and Fort Pitt alone remained.

In Pennsylvania at this time, Bedford might be regarded the frontier. Between that point and Fort Pitt about midway was Fort Ligonier on the Loyalhanna. Between Bedford and Ligonier at the western side of the Alleghenies was a stockaded station called Stony Creek. About midway between Ligonier



PLAN OF FORT PITT, 1761.

and Fort Pitt, near Bushy Run was Byerly's station. These were all on the line of the Forbes road. From Presqu' Isle (Erie), there was a short over land passage, called a portage, of about fifteen miles to Fort Le Boeuf, on French creek, a branch of the Allegheny; thence the communication was by French creek to Fort Venango (Old Machault), and thence by the Allegheny to Fort Pitt.

Fort Pitt stood far aloof in the forest, and one might journey eastward full two hundred miles, before the English settlements began to thicken. Behind it lay a broken and woody track; then succeeded the great barrier of the Alleghenys, traversing the country in successive ridges; and beyond these lay vast woods, extending to the Susquehanna. Eastward of this river, cabins of settlers became more numerous, until in the neighborhood of Lancaster, the country assumed an appearance of prosperity and cultivation. Two roads led from Fort Pitt to the settlements; one of which was cut by Gen. Braddock from Cumberland in 1755; the other, which was the more frequented, passed by Carlisle and Bedford, and was the one made by Gen. Forbes, in 1758. Fort Ligonier and Fort Bedford were nestled among the mountains in the midst of endless forests. Small clearings and log cabins were around each post. From Bedford toward the east, at the distance of nearly one hundred miles, was Carlisle, a place resembling Bedford in its general aspect although of greater extent. After leaving Fort Bedford, numerous houses of settlers were scattered here and there among the valleys, on each side of the road from Fort Pitt, so that the number of families beyond the Susquehanna amounted to several hundreds, thinly distributed over a great space. From Carlisle to Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, on the Susquehanna, was but a short distance; and from thence, the road led directly into the heart of the settlements. (98).

At this time Capt. Simeon Ecuyer, a brave Swiss officer, of the same nationality and blood as Bouquet, commanded at Fort Pitt. He early received warnings of danger. On the 4th of May, (1763), he wrote to Col. Bouquet at Philadelphia: "Major Gladwyn writes to tell me that I am surrounded by rascals. He complains a great deal of the Delaware and Shawanos.

It is this canille who stir up the rest to mischief." At length, on the 27th, at about dusk in the evening, a party of Indians was seen descending the banks of the Allegheny, with laden-pack-horses. They built fires, and encamped on the shore until day-break, when they all crossed over to the fort, bringing with them a great quantity of valuable furs. These they sold to the traders, demanding, in exchange, bullets, hatchets, and gunpowder; but their conduct was so peculiar as to excite the just suspicion that they came either as spies or with some other insidious design. Hardly were they gone, when tidings came in that Col. Clapham, with several persons, both men and women, had been murdered and scalped near the fort; and it was soon after discovered that the inhabitants of an Indian town, a few miles up the Allegheny, had totally abandoned their cabins, as if bent on some plan of mischief. On the next day, two soldiers were shot within a mile of the fort. An express was hastily sent to Venango, to warn the little garrison of danger; but he returned almost immediately, having been twice fired at, and severely wounded. (99). A trader named Calhoun now came in from an Indian village of Tuscaroras, with intelligence of a yet more startling kind. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 27th, a chief named Shingas, with several of the principal warriors in the place, had come to Calhoun's cabin, and earnestly begged him to depart, declaring that they did not wish to see him killed before their eyes. The Ottawas and Ojibwas, they said, had taken up the hatchet, and captured Detroit, Sandusky and all the forts of the interior. The Delawares and Shawanese of the Ohio were following their example, and were murdering all the traders among them. Calhoun and the thirteen men in his employ lost no time in taking their departure. The Indians forced them to leave their guns behind, promising them that they would give them three warriors to guide them in safety to Fort Pitt; but the whole proved a piece of characteristic dissimulation and treachery. The three led them into an ambuscade at the mouth of Beaver creek. A volley of balls showered upon them; eleven were killed on the spot, and Calhoun and two others alone made their escape. "I see," writes Ecuyer to his Colonel, "that the affair is general. I tremble

for our out-posts. I believe, from what I hear, that I am surrounded by Indians. I neglect nothing to give them a good reception; and I expect to be attacked to-morrow morning. Please God I may be. I am passably well prepared. Every body is at work, and I do not sleep; but I tremble lest my messengers should be cut off."

At Fort Pitt every preparation was made for an attack. The houses and cabins outside the rampart were levelled to the ground, and every morning, at an hour before dawn, the drum beat, and the troops were ordered to their alarm posts. The garrison consisted of three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen; and there were also in the fort about one hundred women, and a still greater number of children, most of them belonging to the families of settlers who were preparing to build their cabins in the neighborhood. "We are so crowded in the fort," writes Ecuyer to Col. Bouquet, "that I fear disease; for, in spite of every care, I cannot keep the place as clean as I should like. Besides, the small-pox is among us; and I have therefore caused a hospital to be built under the drawbridge, out of range of musket shot. * * * I am determined to hold my post, spare my men, and never expose them without necessity. This, I think, is what you require of me."

The desultory outrages with which the war began, and which only served to put the garrison on their guard, far from abating, continued for many successive days, and kept the garrison in a state of restless alarm. It was dangerous to venture outside the walls, and a few who attempted it were shot and scalped by lurking Indians. "They have the impudence," writes an officer, "to fire all night at our sentinels;" nor were these attacks confined to the night, for even during the day no man willingly exposed his head above the rampart. The surrounding woods were known to be full of prowling Indians, whose number seemed daily increasing, though as yet they had made no attempt at a general attack. At length, on the afternoon of the 22nd of June, a party appeared at the farthest extremity of the cleared lands behind the fort, driving off the horses which were grazing there, and killing the cattle. No sooner was this accomplished than a general fire was opened

upon the fort from every side at once, though at so great a distance that only two men were killed. The garrison replied by a discharge of howitzers, the shells of which, bursting in the midst of the Indians, greatly amazed and disconcerted them. As it grew dark, their fire slackened, though, throughout the night, the flash of guns was seen at frequent intervals, followed by the whooping of the invisible assailants.

At nine o'clock on the following morning, several Indians approached the fort with the utmost confidence, and took their stand at the outer edge of the ditch, where one of them, a Delaware, named the Turtle's Heart, addressed the garrison as follows:

"My brothers, we that stand here are your friends; but we have bad news to tell you. Six great nations of Indians have taken up the hatchet, and cut off all the English garrisons, excepting yours. They are now on their way to destroy you also.

"My Brothers, we are your friends, and we wish to save your lives. What we desire you to do is this: You must leave this fort, with all your women and children, and go down to the English settlements, where you will be safe. There are many bad Indians already here; but we will protect you from them. You must go at once, because if you wait till the six great nations arrive here, you will all be killed, and we can do nothing to protect you."

To this proposal, by which the Indians hoped to gain a safe and easy possession of the fort, Captain Ecuyer made the following reply. The vein of humor perceptible in it may serve to indicate that he was under no great apprehension for the safety of his garrison:

"My Brothers, we are very grateful for your kindness, though we are convinced that you must be mistaken in what you have told us about the forts being captured. As for ourselves we have plenty of provisions, and are able to keep the fort against all the nations of Indians that may dare to attack it. We are very well off in this place, and we mean to stay here.

"My Brothers, as you have shown yourselves such true friends, we feel bound in gratitude to inform you that an army of six thousand English will shortly arrive here, and that another army of three thousand is gone up the lakes, to punish

the Ottawas and Ojibwas. A third has gone to the frontiers of Virginia, where they will be joined by your enemies, the Cherokees and Catawbias, who are coming here to destroy you. Therefore take pity on your women and children and get out of the way as soon as possible. We have told you this in confidence, out of our great solicitude lest any of you should be hurt; and we hope that you will not tell any of the other Indians, lest they escape from our vengeance. (100)."

This politic invention of the three armies had an excellent effect, and so startled the Indians, that, on the next day most of them withdrew from the neighborhood, and went to meet a great body of warriors, who were advancing from the westward to attack the fort.

At Fort Pitt, every preparation was made to repel the attack which was hourly expected. A part of the rampart, undermined by the spring floods, had fallen into the ditch; but, by dint of great labor, this injury was repaired. A line of palisades was erected along the ramparts; the barracks were made shot-proof, to protect the women and children; and as the interior buildings were all of wood, a rude fire engine was constructed, to extinguish any flames which might be kindled by the burning arrows of the Indians. Several weeks, however, elapsed without any determined attack from the enemy, who were engaged in their bloody work among the settlements and smaller posts. From the beginning of July until towards its close, nothing occurred except a series of petty and futile attacks, by which the Indians abundantly exhibited their malicious intentions, without doing harm to the garrison. During the whole of this time, the communication with the settlements was completely cut off, so that no letters were written from the fort, or, at all events, none reached their destination; and we are therefore left to depend upon a few meagre official reports, as our only sources of information.

On the 26th of July, a small party of Indians were seen approaching the gate, displaying a flag, which one of them had some time before received as a present from the English commander. On the strength of this token, they were admitted, and proved to be chiefs of distinction; among whom were Shingas, Turtle's Heart, and others, who had hitherto main-

tained an appearance of friendship. Being admitted to a council, one of them addressed Captain Ecnuyer and his officers to the following effect:

"Brothers, what we are about to say comes from our hearts and not from our lips.

"Brothers, we wish to hold fast the chain of friendship—that ancient chain which our forefathers held with their brethren the English. You have let your end of the chain fall to the ground, but ours is still fast within our hands. Why do you complain that our young men have fired at your soldiers, and killed your cattle and your horses? You yourselves are the cause of this. You marched your armies into our country, and built forts here, though we told you, again and again, that we wished you to remove. My Brothers, this land is ours and not yours.

"My Brothers, two days ago we received a great belt of wampum from the Ottawas of Detroit, and the message they sent us was in these words:

"Grandfathers the Delawares, by this belt we inform you that in a short time we intend to pass, in a very great body, through your country, on our way to strike the English at the forks of the Ohio. Grandfathers, you know us to be a head-strong people. We are determined, to stop at nothing; and as we expect to be very hungry, we will seize and eat everything that comes in our way.'

"Brothers, you have heard the words of the Ottawas. If you leave this place immediately, and go home to your wives and children, no harm will come of it; but if you stay, you must blame yourselves alone for what may happen. Therefore we desire you to remove."

To the wholly unreasonable statement of wrongs contained in this speech, Captain Ecnuyer replied, by urging the shallow pretence that the forts were built for the purpose of supplying the Indians with clothes and ammunition. He then absolutely refused to leave the place. "I have," he said, "warriors, provisions, and ammunition, to defend it three years against all the Indians in the woods; and we shall never abandon it as long as a white man lives in America. I despise the Ottawas, and am very much surprised at our brothers

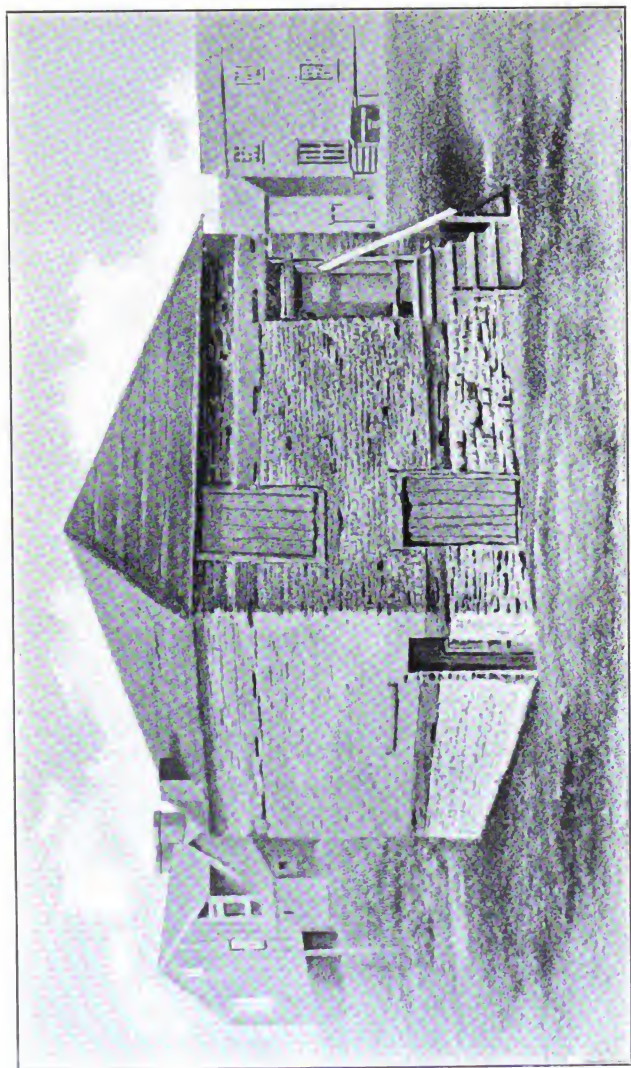
the Delawares, for proposing to us to leave this place and go home. This is our home. You have attacked us without reason or provocation; you have murdered and plundered our warriors and traders; you have taken our horses and cattle; and at the same time you tell us that your hearts are good towards your brethren, the English. How can I have faith in you? Therefore, now, Brothers, I will advise you to go home to your towns, and take care of your wives and children. Moreover, I tell you that if any of you appear again about this fort, I will throw bombshells, which will burst and blow you to atoms, and fire cannon among you, loaded with a whole bag full of bullets. Therefore take care, for I don't want to hurt you."

The chiefs departed, much displeased with their reception. Though nobody in his senses could blame the course pursued by Captain Ecuyer, and though the building of forts in the Indian country could not be charged as a crime, except by the most overstrained casuistry, yet we cannot refrain from sympathizing with the intolerable hardship to which the progress of civilization subjected the unfortunate tenants of the wilderness, and which goes far to extenuate the perfidy and cruelty that marked their conduct throughout the whole course of the war.

Disappointed of gaining a bloodless possession of the fort, the Indians, now, for the first time, began a general attack. On the night succeeding the conference, they approached in great numbers, under cover of the darkness, and completely surrounded it; many of them crawling under the banks of the two rivers, and, with incredible perseverance, digging, with their knives, holes in which they were completely sheltered from the fire of the fort. On one side, the whole bank was lined with these burrows, from each of which a bullet or an arrow was shot out whenever a soldier chanced to expose his head. At daybreak, a general fire was opened from every side, and continued without intermission until night, and through several succeeding days. No great harm was done, however. The soldiers lay close behind their parapet of logs, watching the movements of their subtle enemies, and paying back their shot with interest. The red uniforms of the Royal Americans

mingled with the gray homespun of the border riflemen, or the fringed hunting-frocks of the old Indian fighters, wary and adroit as the red-skinned warriors themselves. They liked the sport, and were eager to sally from behind their defences, and bring their assailants to close quarters; but Ecuyer was too wise to consent. He was among them, and as well pleased as they, directing, encouraging, and applauding them in his broken English. An arrow flew over the rampart and wounded him in the leg; but, it seems, with no other result than to extort a passing execration. The Indians shot fire-arrows, too, from their burrows, but not one of them took effect. The yelling at times was terrific, and the women and children in the crowded barracks clung to each other in terror; but there was more noise than execution, and the assailants suffered more than the assailed. Three or four days after, Ecuyer wrote to his colonel, "They were all well under cover, and so were we. They did us no harm; nobody killed, seven wounded, and I myself slightly. Their attack lasted five days and five nights. We are certain of having killed and wounded twenty of them, without reckoning those we could not see. I left nobody fire till he had marked his man; and not an Indian could show his nose without being pricked with a bullet, for I have some good shots here. * * * Our men are doing admirably, regulars and the rest. All that they ask is to go out and fight. I am fortunate to have the honor of commanding such brave men. I only wish the Indians had ventured an assault. They would have remembered it to the thousandth generation! * * * I forgot to tell you that they threw fire-arrows to burn our works, but they could not reach the buildings, nor even the rampart. Only two arrows came into the fort, one of which had the insolence to make free with my left leg."

This letter was written on the 2d of August. On the day before the Indians had all decamped. An event, described elsewhere had put (101) an end to the attacks, and relieved the tired garrison of their presence. Upon Col. Bouquet's approach to the relief of the post, the Indians gathered from all directions to meet him, and on the 5th and 6th of August was fought the decisive battle at Bushy Run.



THE OLD REDOUBT AT FORT PITT.

The Old Block House—more correctly Redoubt—was built by Col. Bouquet in 1764, although it is probable that its construction was begun in the fall of 1763 after Bouquet had relieved Fort Pitt.

It is situated about three hundred yards from the Point, on what is now known as Fourth Street, and midway between the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers, where they meet and form the Ohio River.

The structure is built of brick, covered with old fashioned clapboards, with a layer of double logs, through which are cut portholes, thirty-six in number, in two rows, one over the other, for effective work in case of necessity.

The building is 16x15 feet, twenty-two feet in height; twenty-feet high from the floor to the eaves of the roof.

When the Proprietaries, John Penn and John Penn, Jr., determined to sell the land embraced in the Manor of Pittsburgh, Stephen Bayard and Isaac Craig purchased, in January, 1784, all the ground between Fort Pitt and the Allegheny River, supposed to contain about three acres. This is what is now known as the "Schenley property," at the Point.

Col. William A. Herron, the agent of Mrs. Mary E. Schenley, of London, England, the owner of the Block House, presented to the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, at a regular meeting of the Chapter, April 2d, 1894, a deed for the Block House with a plot of ground 90x100 feet. Miss Denny in behalf of the Daughters received the gift in a beautiful and well chosen address.

Since then the work of restoring the Block House and beautifying the grounds has been completed. A stockade fence has been placed around it for protection and it is now open to visitors. It will serve as a museum for Colonial and Revolutionary Relics.

When the new City Hall was built, the stone tablet which had been inserted in the wall of the Redoubt, was taken out and placed in the wall of the head of the first landing of the stairway of the Hall. On December 15th, 1894, it was taken out of its resting place that it might pass into the custody and possession of the Daughters.

The stone appears to be as sound and perfect as ever. The inscription cut into the tablet consists of the figures "1764" and below them the letters "Coll. Bouquett."

The Indians being thus foiled in their attempt on Fort Pitt dispersed. Col. Bouquet not having sufficient force to pursue them beyond the Ohio, was compelled to delay further action that year. His troops were therefore dispersed and stationed along the line of posts for the coming winter, and provisions were laid in for their support. The next spring preparations were early begun for the prosecution of his projected campaign, but it was not until August, 1764, that the new forces assembled at Carlisle, and not until Sept. 17th, that they arrived at Fort Pitt.

In this summer of 1764, was erected the redoubt, still standing, now "the sole existing monument of British dominion," at this point. A tablet was inserted in the wall, with the words: "A. D. 1764, Coll. Bouquet." The structure stands near the point, the "Forks of the Ohio," between Penn Avenue and Duquesne Way.

"In this same year, 1764, Col. John Campbell laid out that part of the City of Pittsburgh which lies between Water and Second streets, and between Ferry and Market streets, being four squares. We have never been able to learn (says Mr. Craig) what authority Campbell had to act in this case. But when the Penns afterward authorized the laying out of the town of Pittsburgh, their agent recognized Campbell's act, at least, so far as not to change his plan of lots. We know not precisely at what time of the year Col. Bouquet's redoubt was built, nor when Campbell's lots were laid out; but certainly the last step in perfecting this place as a military post and the first step in building up a town here were taken in the same year." (102).

In a notice of a visit made to the place in the summer of 1766, by Rev. Charles Beatty and Rev. Mr. Duffield, it is said that "On Sabbath, 7th of Sept., Mr. McLagan, the chaplain of the Forty-second regiment, invited Rev. Mr. Beatty to preach to the garrison, which he did; while Rev. Mr. Duffield preached to the people who lived in some kind of a town, without the fort." (103).

From this time until the regular opening of the land office (1769) trouble was apprehended by reason of settlers occupying territory in various parts of the country, particularly on

the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny, in violation of the treaty rights of the Indians. Complaint being made, the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the Governor of Virginia, as well as Gen. Gage, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, used every reasonable exertion to have the settlers peaceably removed. Various conferences and treaties were held during this period between the agents of these officials and the Indians, at and about Fort Pitt. It was provided that the penalties that were attached to the violation of these laws, or treaty obligations, did not extend to those who had settled on the main communications leading to Fort Pitt, under the permission of the Commander-in-Chief, nor to settlement made by George Croghan, Esq., Deputy Superintendent under Sir William Johnson, upon the Ohio above said fort.

On the 5th day of January, 1769, a warrant issued for the survey of the "Manor of Pittsburgh." On the 27th of March, the survey was completed and returned the 19th of May, 1769. It embraced within its bounds five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six acres and allowance of six per cent. for roads, &c.

In October, 1770, George Washington arrived here on his way to the Kenawha. In his Journal for Oct. 17, he says:

"Dr. Craik and myself, with Capt. Crawford and others, arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from the crossing forty-three and a half measured miles. (The crossings were at Connellsville). We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. The houses, which are built of logs, and ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the rivers but was not so near the "pitch of it" as Fort Duquesne stood. Two of the sides which were on the land side were of brick; and the other stockade. A moat encompassed it. The garrison consisted of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Capt. Edmonstone." (104).

The Indians now manifesting a peaceable disposition on the frontier the government was induced to abandon the fort. Accordingly in October, 1772, orders were received by Major Charles Edmonstone from Gen. Gage, the Commander-in-Chief

of the British forces, to abandon Fort Pitt. In carrying out this order Major Edmonstone sold the pickets, stones, bricks, timber and iron, in the walls and buildings of the Fort and redoubts, for the sum of fifty pounds, New York currency. Fort Pitt was then abandoned, although the fort buildings were not torn down. A corporal and three men were left, to take care of the boats and batteaux intended to keep up the communication with the Illinois country.

This determination created a fear among the inhabitants that they would be exposed to unusual danger by the withdrawal of the garrison, and they petitioned the Governor to prevail if possible with Gen. Gage to have the garrison continued, or to have the fort occupied by soldiers of the province. To Governor Penn, the General replied Nov. 2d, 1772, as follows (105):

"I have received your letter of the 27th ultimo., by Mr. St. Clair, tho' I apprehend too late for me to send any Counter-order to Fort Pitt, for by letters from thence of the beginning of last month, the garrison only awaited the arrival of Carriages to move away. I am of opinion, however, that the Troops abandoning the Fort, can be of very little consequence to the Public, tho' the Fort might be partially useful. It is no Asylum to Settlers at any Distance from it, nor can it cover or protect the Frontiers, tho' people who are near it, might, upon Intelligence of an Enemy's Approach, take refuge therein. All this was fully evinced in the last Indian War, and I know of no use of forts of the kind, but that of being Military Deposits.

"It is natural for the people near Fort Pitt, to solicit the continuance of the Garrison, as well for their personal security, as obtaining many other advantages; but no government can undertake to erect Forts for the advantage of Forty of Fifty People; every Body of people of the same numbers, would think themselves entitled to the same Favor, and there would be no end to Forts. The People have settled gradually from the Sea into the Interior Country, without the aid of Fortresses, and it's to be hoped they will be able to proceed in the way they began, without meeting more obstructions now than they did formerly.

"The List of Ordnance and Stores inclosed in your Letter, which you inform me were lent by the Province of Pennsylvania in 1758, to the late Brigadier General Forbes, shall be examined into, and orders given to return the same to such Person as you shall appoint to receive them."

Fort Pitt upon its abandonment as a military post by the British, was partly but not altogether destroyed. The proprietary government for some time kept a few men here, but only for the purpose of protecting its property. During 1773, a citizen of Pittsburgh, Edward Ward, took possession of what was left and occupied the same until it was taken possession of by Capt. John Connolly, in 1774, with the Virginia militia.

The year 1774 was a time of excitement and movement here. In that year Lord Dunmore passed through this place on his way down the Ohio, to co-operate with Gen. Lewis, of Virginia in an attack upon the Ohio Indians. About the same time the controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, about their boundary line, which commenced as early as 1752, seemed to have come to maturity and was on the very verge of gliding into a civil war.

Early in 1774, Dr. John Connolly, who had been commissioned "Captain Commandant of the Militia of Pittsburgh and its Dependencies" by Lord Dunmore, came here from Virginia with authority from that nobleman; took possession of the fort, calling it Fort Dunmore; and on the first day of the year issued his proclamation calling the militia together on the 25th of January (1774), at which time he should "communicate matters for the promotion of public utility." (106.)

Col. Mackay informs Gov. Penn, April 4th, 1774, that Connolly was then in actual possession of the fort, with a body guard of militia, invested with both civil and military power, to put the Virginia laws in force in those parts. To induce the people to join and uphold him, very specious means were used by the agents of Dunmore; some were promoted to civil or military employments, and others were encouraged with promises of grants of lands on easy terms.

It was contemplated by the friends and adherents of the Penns, about July, 1774, to abandon Pittsburgh and to erect a small stockade somewhere lower down the Forbes road, sup-

posedly near Turtle creek, to secure their cattle and effects. (107).

The stockade built or refurnished by Connolly appears to have been used by him as a kind of jail or lockup in which he put persons who did not agree with him politically, and as a guard-house in which to confine his drunken or insubordinate militia. It is spoken of in the correspondence preserved in the fourth volume of the State Archives, in various places as such a structure specially used for the purposes mentioned. (108).

The Pennsylvanians did not under the circumstances have much veneration for Fort Dunmore, and St. Clair, in anticipation of the withdrawal of Connolly and his men from Pittsburgh, inquiries of Gov. Penn, May 25, 1775,—“If the fort should be evacuated next month, Pray, Sir, would it be proper to endeavor, to get possession of it, or to raze it?—that (however) may possibly be done by themselves.” (109).

These troublous times, which we cannot dwell upon here, continued until the beginning of 1775. But the power of Lord Dunmore and his agent, Connolly, was, however, fast drawing to a close. On the 8th of June, the former abandoned his palace in Williamsburg, and took refuge on board the Fowey man-of-war, where soon after he was joined by Connolly, who was then busily engaged in planning an attack upon the western frontier. (110).

The continued collisions and disorder at Pittsburgh could not fail to attract the attention of all the patriotic citizens of the two States, and on the 25th of July, 1775, the Delagates in Congress, including among others, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Benjamin Franklin, united in a circular, urging the people in the disputed region, to mutual forbearance. In that circular was the following language: “We recommend it to you, that all bodies of armed men, kept up by either party, be dismissed; and that all those on either side, who are in confinement, or on bail, for taking part in the contest be discharged.”

There were no armed men maintained by the Pennsylvanians; so that the expression about “either party,” was probably only used to avoid the appearance of invidiousness;

and Connolly and his men had taken effectual measures for the release of Virginians from confinement.

On the 7th of August, the following resolution was adopted by the Virginia Provincial Convention, which had assembled at Williamsburg, on the first of the month :

“Resolved, That Captain John Neville be directed to march with his company of one hundred men, and take possession of Fort Pitt, and that said company be in the pay of the Colony from the time of their march.”

The arrival of Captain Neville at Fort Pitt (111) seems to have been entirely unexpected to the Pennsylvanians, and to have created considerable excitement. Commissioners appointed by Congress, were then there to hold a treaty with the Indians and St. Clair in a letter to John Penn, dated 15th of September, has the following remarks: “The treaty is not yet opened, as the Indians are not come in; but there are accounts of their being on the way, and well disposed. We have, however, been surprised by a manoeuvre of the people of Virginia, that may have a tendency to alter their favorable disposition.

“About one hundred armed men marched from Winchester, and took possession of the fort on the 11th instant, which has so much disturbed the Delegates from the Congress, that they have thoughts of moving some place else to hold the treaty.

“This step has already, as might be expected, served to exasperate the dispute between the inhabitants of the country, and entirely destroyed the prospect of a cessation of our grievances, from the salutary and conciliating advice of the Delegates in their circular letter.”

There is perhaps, some difficulty in reconciling the conduct of the Virginia Convention, in ordering Captain Neville to Fort Pitt, with the recommendation of the Virginia and Pennsylvania Delegates in Congress that ‘all bodies of armed men in pay, of either party,’ should be discharged. No doubt, however, this only referred to the bodies of armed men, kept up by the Virginians or Pennsylvanians in the disputed region. St. Clair seems always to have been very watchful of the interests of Pennsylvania during the controversy; and no doubt, the surprise expressed by him was unaffected; and yet there were

strong reasons why Fort Pitt should be promptly occupied by troops in the confidence of the Whigs of the Revolution. The war for independence had commenced by the actions at Lexington and Bunker Hill; and Connolly, a bold, able and enterprising man, was busy arranging some scheme of operations, in which Fort Pitt would be an important and controlling position. It would seem, therefore, to have been nothing more than an act of ordinary prudence and foresight to send here some officers, in whose firmness, fidelity and discretion, implicit confidence could be placed.

The year 1775 is the year of Lexington and Concord. At the very time when the United Colonies commenced their great struggle against the arbitrary schemes of Great Britain, the inhabitants of this section of country, were not only involved in hostilities with the Indian tribes, but were almost on the verge of civil war among themselves. Under such circumstances, it would scarcely be expected that they would be at leisure and disposed to enter into the contest against the mother country, upon a mere abstract question, unaccompanied by any immediate, palpable acts of oppression. Yet we find that on the 16th of May, 1775, only four weeks after the battle of Lexington, meetings were held at this place, and at Hannastown, and resolutions unanimously passed in entire consonance with the feeling of the other portions of the country. The meeting here was composed of Virginians and Pennsylvanians. The resolution adopted on that occasion at Pittsburgh, then styled Augusta County (Virginia), may be found in Craig's History of Pittsburgh, page 128. Those adopted the same day at Hannastown are reproduced in this report, where account is given of that place.

In April, 1776, Col. George Morgan was appointed by Congress, Indian Agent for the Middle Department in The United States, and his headquarters fixed at Pittsburgh. From his journals and letters, we get occasional notices of transactions here. Through his mediation largely the Indian nations were kept from any general uprising.

The winter of 1776-7 was spent in comparative quiet, in Fort Pitt. Maj. Neville was still in command there with his company of one hundred men.

Under the instigation of Hamilton, the British Governor and superintendent at Detroit, the Indians were now in small bands marauding upon the border settlements. On the 22d of February, 1777, fourteen boat carpenters and sawyers arrived at Fort Pitt from Philadelphia, and were set to work on the Monongahela, fourteen miles above the fort, near a saw-mill. They built thirty large batteaux, forty feet long, nine feet wide, and thirty-two inches deep. They were intended to transport troops in case it became necessary to invade the Indian country. (112).

On Sunday, the first day of June, 1777, Brigadier-General Edward Hand of the Continental army arrived at Fort Pitt, and assumed the chief command at Pittsburgh. His garrison was of a fixed nature—regular, independents, and militia. Not long after his arrival, Hand resolved upon an expedition against the savages,—seemingly a timely movement, for up to the last of July there had been sent out from Detroit to devastate the western settlements, fifteen parties of Indians, consisting of two hundred and eighty-nine braves, with thirty white officers and rangers. The extreme frontier line needing protection on the north, reached from the Allegheny mountains to Kittanning on the Allegheny river forty-five miles above Pittsburgh, thence on the west, down that stream and the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. The only posts of importance below Fort Pitt, at this date, were Fort Henry at Wheeling, and Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant; the former was built at the commencement of Lord Dunmore's war in 1774; the latter was erected by Virginia in 1775. Rude stockades and block-houses were multiplied in the intervening distances and in the most exposed settlements. They were defended by small detachments from the Thirteenth Virginia regiment, usually called, at that time, the West Augusta regiment; also by at least one independent company, (Capt. Samuel Moorhead's Independent Company of Pennsylvania troops), and by squads of militia on short tours of duty. Scouts likewise patrolled the country where danger seemed most imminent.

Expeditions against the Indians were attempted about this time from the Western Department with varying results. In

January, 1778, Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark left Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville), and succeeded in the reduction of the British posts between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers—Kaskaskia, St. Phillips, Cahokia and Vincennes.

On the 28th of March, 1778, Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty, fled from the vicinity of Fort Pitt to the enemy. These three renegades afterward proved themselves active servants of the British government, bringing untold misery to the frontiers, not only while the Revolution continued, but throughout the Indian war which followed that struggle. Their influence was immediately exerted to awaken the war spirit of the savages. Going directly to the Delawares, they came very near changing the neutrality of that nation to open hostility against The United States—frustrated, however, by the prompt action of Gen. Hand, and of Morgan, who was still Indian Agent at Fort Pitt, and by the timely exertions of the Moravian missionaries upon the Tuscarawas. After leaving the Delaware, these traitors proceeded westward, inflaming the Shawanese and other tribes to a white heat of rapacity against the border settlements. Thence they made their way to Detroit. (113).

Gen. Hand requesting to be recalled from Pittsburgh in order to join actively in the operations in the army under Washington, he was relieved of the command of the Western Department, and Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh, on Washington's nomination, was sent to succeed him. On the 26th of May, he was notified of his appointment.

On the 2d of May, 1778, Congress had resolved to raise two regiments in Virginia and Pennsylvania, to serve for one year unless sooner discharged, for protection of the western frontier, and for operation thereon;—twelve companies in the former and four in the latter State.

For reasons which were apparent to them, Congress determined that an expedition should be immediately undertaken to reduce if practicable, the fort at Detroit, and compel the hostile Indians inhabiting the country contiguous to the route between Pittsburgh and that post, to cease their aggressions.

Before Congress determined to begin active measures against Detroit and the hostile savages, Washington, upon receipt of

information concerning Indian ravages upon the western frontier, had ordered the Eighth Penn'a regiment, a choice body of men, who had been raised west of the mountains—one hundred of them having been constantly in Morgan's rifle corps—to prepare to march to Pittsburgh, a detachment having been already sent to that department. At the head of these troops was Colonel Daniel Brodhead. Previous to this, the men of the Thirteenth Virginia remaining at Valley Forge, had been placed under marching orders for the same destination, as they, too, were enlisted in the West. The others, numbering upwards of one hundred were already at or near Fort Pitt. The command of this regiment was given temporarily to Col. John Gibson. (114). Brodhead arrived at Pittsburgh on the 10th of September, (1778).

McIntosh had not been long in the West when he discovered that a number of store-houses for provisions, which had been built at public expense, were at great distances apart, difficult of access, and scattered throughout the border counties. At each of these, a number of men was required. These buildings were given up, as the provisions in them intended for the expedition which was projected against Detroit, proved to be spoiled. In place of them, one general store-house was built by a fatigue party, "in the fork of the Monongahela river," where all loads from over the mountains could be discharged, without crossing any considerable branch of any river. (115).

On the 17th of September, a treaty was signed between commissioners, appointed at the suggestion of Congress, and representatives of the Delawares. Although the Indians had been invited, none of the Shawanese came, they being now openly hostile to the United States. The Delawares were represented by their three principal chiefs, White Eyes, Captain Pipe, and John Kilbuck, Jr. By its terms, not only were the Delawares made close allies of The United States and "The hatchet put into their hands,"—thus changing, and wisely too, the neutral policy previously acted upon,—but consent was obtained for marching an army across their territory. They stipulated to join the troops of the general government with such a number of their best and most expert warriors as they could spare, consistent with their own safety. A requisition for two cap-

tains and sixty braves was afterward made upon the nation by the American commander. (116).

The territory of the Delawares, as claimed by them at that date, was bounded on the east by French creek, the Allegheny, and the Ohio—as far down the last mentioned stream as Hockhocking, at least; on the west, by the Hockhocking and the Sandusky. They even advanced claims to the whole of the Shawanese country.

Gen. McIntosh then built Fort McIntosh, on the right bank of the Ohio at Beaver, and opened the road to that point. By the 8th of October, 1778, the headquarters of the army were removed from Fort Pitt to the new fort, where the largest body of troops collected west of the Alleghenies during the Revolution was assembled, preparatory to beginning the march against Detroit. This force consisted, besides the continental troops, of militia, mostly from the western counties of Virginia. But the want of the necessary supplies prevented any immediate forward movement.

On the 5th of November the movement of the army westward commenced. The Tuscarawas was reached, a distance of about seventy miles from Fort McIntosh, at the end of fourteen days. He expected to meet the hostile Indians here, but none appeared. Being informed that the necessary supplies for the winter had not reached Fort McIntosh, and that very little could be expected, there was now no other alternative but to return as he came, or to build a strong fort upon the Tuscarawas, and leave as many men as provisions would justify, to secure it until the next season. He chose the latter alternative, and built Fort Laurens, the first military post of the government erected upon any portion of the territory now constituting the State of Ohio. Leaving a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, with scanty supplies, under command of Colonel John Gibson, to finish and protect the work, McIntosh, with the rest of his army, returned, very short of provisions, to Fort McIntosh, where the militia under his command were discharged.

During this winter the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment was assigned to Fort Pitt. The men left in Fort Laurens were a part of the Thirteenth Virginia. The residue, with the inde-

pendent companies, were divided between Fort McIntosh, Fort Henry, Fort Randolph and Fort Hand; with a few at inferior stations. There was not one of the militia retained under pay at either of these posts.

In April, 1779, McIntosh dispirited and with health impaired, retired from the command of the Western Department. Under his direction of the department, the attention of the savages had, to some extent, been diverted from the border, and the anxiety at Detroit considerably increased. In the management of affairs in the Western Department not immediately connected with aggressive movements beyond the Ohio, McIntosh had exercised good judgment. He had carefully avoided interfering with the troublesome boundary question, although often applied to by both sides; as it was wholly out of his power to remedy the evil. He had preserved cordial relations with the several county lieutenants and had been active and vigilant in protecting the exposed settlements. The erection of Forts McIntosh and Laurens as a precautionary measure was approved by the Commander-in-Chief. (117).

Congress having directed the appointment of a successor to General McIntosh, Washington, on the 5th of March, (1779), made choice of Major Daniel Brodhead, of the Eighth Penna. regiment, who was then first in rank in the Western Department under Gen. McIntosh.

The Letter Book and the Correspondence of Col. Daniel Brodhead during the time he was in command of the Western Department gives a satisfactory account of the affairs about this point, and from this authority without specially indicating the references, the following extracts are taken. The letters date from April, 1779, to the latter part of 1780. (118).

On April 15th, (1779), he represents to the Hon. Timothy Pickering the necessity for clothing for his regiment, the supply being inadequate, and that a number of recruits and drafts were expected to join in the course of a few weeks; and on the 17th, to Colonel Thomas Smyth, Deputy Quarter-Master General, that "the troops here are in great distress in want of provisions and I am unable to strike a single stroke until a supply arrives. I am informed that a considerable quantity

is arrived at Bedford, and I must entreat you if possible to send it on immediately."

To Gen. Washington, May 22d, 1779, he says, "I am very happy, in having permission to establish the posts at Kittanning and Venango, and am convinced they will answer the grand purposes mentioned in your letter. The greatest difficulty will be to procure salt provisions to subsist the garri-sons at the different advanced posts; but I have taken every promising step to obtain them. * * * You can scarcely conceive how difficult it has been for some time past to procure meat for the troops at this post. I think we have been without the article upwards of twenty days, since General McIntosh went down the country; and yet I have the satisfaction to inform you that the troops have not at any time complained.

To Col. George Morgan May 22d, 1779: he writes that he had written to Col. Steel to purchase a net, such as is used in the Delaware, and he believed it would answer a valuable purpose here.

June 27th, (1779), he complains in a letter to Timothy Pickering that "The inhabitants of this place are continually encroaching on what I conceive to be the rights of the garrison and which was always considered as such when the fort was occupied by the King of Britain's troops. They have now the assurance to erect their fences within a few yards of the bastion. I have mentioned the impropriety of their conduct but without effect, and I am not acquainted with any regulations of Congress respecting it, but hope they will, if they have not already done it, declare their pleasure with regard to the extent of clear ground to be reserved at this and other posts for parades, etc., which in my opinion ought at least to be the range of a musket, and I entreat you will be so obliging as to mention it to some of the members of that honorable body. Gen. Armstrong is well acquainted at this place, and will be a very proper person to inform the Congress satisfactorily of the extent of ground occupied by the British troops. The block-houses likewise which are part of the strength of the place are occupied and claimed by private persons to the injury of the service."

To Col. Stephen Bayard July 9th, 1779, he conveys the in-

formation that "Whilst I am writing, I am tormented by at least a dozen drunken Indians, and I shall be obliged to remove my quarters from hence on account of a cursed villianous set of inhabitants, who, in spite of every exertion continue to rob the soldiers, or cheat them and the Indians out of every thing they are possessed of."

In a circular letter addressed to the lieutenants of the counties within his department, from headquarters July 17th, 1779, he informs them that:

"His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, has at length given me a little latitude, and I am determined to strike a blow against one of the most hostile nations, that in all probability will effectually secure the tranquility of the frontiers for years to come. But I have not troops sufficient at once to carry on the expedition and to support the different posts which are necessary to be maintained. Therefore beg, you will engage as many volunteers for two or three weeks as you possibly can. They shall be well treated, and if they please, paid and entitled to an equal share of the plunder that may be taken, which I apprehend will be very considerable. Some of the friendly Indians will assist us on this enterprise."

The route of this intended expedition was intended to be by the Allegheny river to near its headwaters, and he expected to start about the 5th of August, but in this he was disappointed as he did not get off until sometime later.

To Gen. Greene, from Fort Pitt, Aug. 2d, 1779, he complains, that "The destruction of public stores for this department was not confined to Fort Pitt. I rather incline to believe the greater destruction happened before they reached it. * * * The delay in transporting the boat carpenters' tools is not the only misfortune, the want of pitch, nails, and boards, has obliged me to send all of them, (except fifteen) down the country, for further employment. I have, however, sixty boats nearly finished; two of the barrels of pitch were opened on the road, the pitch stolen, and some gravel and straw put into them."

Sept. 16th, 1779, he reports to Gen. Washington the results of the expedition against the Seneca and Muncy nations. He had left headquarters on the 11th of August with six hundred and five rank and file and one month's provisions, and after

successfully accomplishing his object he returned on the 14th of September. (119).

On October the 9th, 1779, he had the pleasure to inform Gen. Washington that he was then in possession of a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist a thousand men for three months. This must have been agreeable tidings, for little else reached the ears of the Commander-in-Chief but complaints, as the correspondence shows.

To Gen. Greene, on Feb. 11th, 1780, he says: "I have the mortification to assure you that I have not a single tent to cover my men (except some worn out tents) as you will see by the returns when he (the quartermaster) makes them; and I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for ordering me a large Marque with lining, which may occasionally serve for a council room when the Indian chiefs come to visit me, my old one is entirely worn out. Two hundred new tents will be necessary and they ought to be of the best quality. On the 27th, he complains of the sufferings which the troops had to withstand for the want of clothing, the great depth of snow upon the mountains having prevented the arrival of some supplies which were on the way.

To the Hon. Richard Peters, on the 18th of March, 1780, he writes: "As it is probable that the enemy will make some attempt on our small posts or principal ones in the course of this spring or summer, I entreat you to order the cannon and other military stores forward as soon as possible, without which we cannot make any considerable resistance. This fort alone ought to have sixteen pieces of ordnance and at present it has but five. I have wrote to the Quarter-master General and his deputies frequently to forward some tents to this district; but cannot learn that any are upon the communication, although I have not a tent to cover my men, and the season is fast approaching in which we ought to take the field. If a reinforcement from the main army is not sent, and I am obliged to call out the militia, three hundred tents of the best kind will be necessary; if they are made of thin linen the militia will cut them up for hunting shirts as usual.

On the 25th of April, 1780, he states to Col. Lochry that he had been disappointed beyond all description in getting cloth-

ing for his troops, and therefore could not until then send a detachment to Fort Armstrong (Kittanning) agreeable to his intention.

To Gen. Washington, on the 13th of May, 1780, he says: "I think it is probable the enemy are meditating an attack on some of our posts, which for want of sufficient garrisons and supplies cannot make much resistance. I am preparing to receive them here, but the detachments to Fort McIntosh, and Holliday's Cove, Fort Henry and Fort Armstrong leave but a small garrison to defend this post, wherefore I have warned the inhabitants of the town and assigned them an alarm post."

On July the 21st, 1780, to Gen. Washington, he says: "It is with great concern that I inform your Excellency that there does not remain in our magazines provisions to subsist the troops more than eight days at full rations, nor can I conceive how supplies can be procured in time to prevent their experiencing great want."

Later he complains in the same spirit:

"For a long time past I have had two parties commanded by field officers in the country, to impress cattle, but their success has been so small, that the troops have frequently been without meat for several days together, and as those commands are very expensive, I have now ordered them in.

"Indeed I am so well convinced that the inhabitants on this side the mountains cannot furnish half enough meat to supply the troops, that I have risked sending a party of hunters to kill buffalo at Little Kanawha, and to lay in the meat until I can detach a party to bring it in, which cannot be done before spring.

"I am exceedingly distressed on account of the want of blankets, shirts, and many other articles of clothing, being very sensible that the soldiers must suffer much for want of them and will follow the example of those who have already deserted to a warm climate on that account. I shall not again send an officer for clothing, and I hope the clothier general will not forget to send them when they come to hand.

Extracts from his letters subsequent to this show the condition of the post, December 16th, 1780:

"The troops have not tasted meat at this post for six days

past, and I hear of none that we can purchase, or procure, by our compulsory means; indeed there is very little meat to be had on this side the mountains at any rate. I hope some means are devised for supplying this department, if not, I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of risking my men in most dangerous situations to kill wild meat, or march to the interior of the country, for it will scarcely be expected that they will be content to live on bread and water only." (120).

January 23d, 1781: "The whole of my present force very little exceeds 300 men, and many of these are unfit for such active service as is necessary here, I hope your Excellency will be pleased to enable men to take Detroit the ensuing campaign, for, until that and Niagara fall into our hands, there will be no rest for the innocent inhabitants, whatever sums may be expended on a defensive plan."

March 10th, 1781: "I have likewise received instructions from his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to order the Maryland Corps to Richmond, in Virginia, and to detach with the artillery and field pieces under Brig. Gen. Clark, a Major, or Captain's command from my small remaining number of troops. I mention these things to show you how necessary it is to have a reinforcement sent hither."

In August, 1781, Col. Brodhead became involved in a very angry controversy with some of his officers, Col. Gibson at their head. His situation was really unpleasant. In a letter to Washington, dated 19th of August, he says. "Thus by the clamor of some disaffected persons and others, I find myself in the most disagreeable situation I ever experienced."

"The conflict of authority at Fort Pitt, together with the threatened Indian invasion of the Wyandots under the lead of the traitor Elliot, caused a postponement of the expedition against Sandusky which had been partly arranged. Finally, the contest between the commanders continuing, the enterprise was wholly abandoned. Washington put an end to the dispute by ordering Brodhead to resign his command during the dependence of his trial, to Col. Gibson, the latter to "assume the like command at the post of Fort Pitt and its dependencies, as had been committed to Col. Brodhead." On the 17th of Sept., 1781, the latter quietly turned over his

charge as directed by the Commander-in-Chief, and was relieved of his command in the West. (121).

At this juncture, Fort Pitt was little better than a heap of ruins. The regular force stationed there was wholly incompetent to the exigencies of the service. The controversy about the command of the post had greatly increased the disorder. The garrison was in want of pay, of clothing, of even subsistence itself, and, as a consequence, was in a mutinous condition. The militia of the department was without proper organization; and when called into service, destitute, to a great extent of military knowledge and discipline.

The civil government of the country was even in a worse state than the military, on account of the excitement regarding the boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia. Both States before the war, had asserted their claims to, and exercised an organized jurisdiction over the disputed territory. As between the two commonwealths, the quarrel was brought to an end, virtually, in 1779; but bitter feeling still existed among the people—the line was not yet run. As a consequence of having long condemned the authority of a neighboring State, many had come into open disrespect of their own. Hence, there was a restlessness prevailing in the country, and a desire, on the part of some to emigrate into the wilderness beyond the Ohio to form a new State.

Such was the disorder—the confusion—which beset the Western Department at the moment of the threatened invasion. Washington fully appreciated the difficulties. Something must be done and done quickly. Above all things, a commander was needed at Fort Pitt, possessed not only of courage and firmness, but of prudence and judgment. The Commander-in-Chief, with great care and concern looked about him for such a person. His choice for the position, after due deliberation, fell upon a resident of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, an officer at the head of the second brigade of that State—Brigadier-General William Irvine.

Irvine assumed command in the West early in November, 1781. His first efforts were directed to the reformation of the continental forces stationed at Pittsburgh. (122.)

Not very long after his arrival, he received instructions to

employ his garrison in repairing the fort. He immediately began the task, so as to meet, if possible, any emergency which might arise in case of an attack by the enemy. New pickets were prepared; and, to encourage the soldiers, Irvine labored with his own hands. This had a happy effect. Every officer followed his example. The greatest activity prevailed. In a short time the fort was put in tolerable condition for a successful defence. But the work did not stop here. It was continued for many months. In January, 1782, Irvine left his post for a short visit to his home in Carlisle, and to confer with Congress and the Commander-in-Chief concerning affairs in the western department; having, however, previous to his departure, put the frontiers in as good state of defense as was practicable. Colonel John Gibson was in command during his absence.

The garrisons at Forts Pitt and McIntosh were, upon the commander's return, in a mutinous condition. Great firmness had to be exercised by Irvine. The result was before the end of May, besides the frequent application of "one hundred lashes well laid on," two of the soldiers suffered the death penalty. Meanwhile, owing to the increased boldness of the savages in penetrating into the exposed settlements, the country people became clamorous to be led against the Wyandot towns upon the Sandusky river, in what is now north-western Ohio, whence came the greatest portion of the warriors depredating upon the western border of Pennsylvania and of so much of Virginia as lay upon the upper Ohio river. Irvine finally gave his consent to an expedition against these Indians, and exerted himself to the best of his ability to forward the enterprise; issuing instructions to the one to be elected to command for his guidance. The campaign proved unsuccessful, the borderers suffering a loss of about fifty men. Colonel William Crawford, who led them into the wilderness, was captured by the savages and burned at the stake.

Notwithstanding the departure of the volunteers against Sandusky, Irvine did not relax his watchful care over the inhabitants upon the border. A large portion of his time, after the return of the expedition until fall, was taken up in preparing for another enterprise against the same Indian settlements.

This expedition he was to command in person. However, upon the assurance of the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America that the savages had all been required to desist from further hostilities, it was, by order of General Washington, laid aside. The ensuing winter brought with it, occurrences of but little moment in the Western Department. Irvine again visited his home in the spring, arriving there in March, 1783. He left Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard in command at Fort Pitt.

The first letter of Irvine to Washington gives such a fair idea of the condition of affairs here upon his assuming command that it is given at length. It is dated from Fort Pitt, December 2d, 1781:

"At the time Congress requested me to repair to this place, I took for granted your excellency would have information thereof, through different channels; and knowing how very particularly you were at that moment engaged, I did not think proper to give unnecessary trouble. This I flatter myself will excuse me to your excellency for not writing sooner. Previous to my arrival, Colonel Gibson had received your letter directing him to take command, which was acquiesced in by Colonel Brodhead; and things went on in the usual channel, except that the dispute occasioned Colonel Gibson's intended expedition against Sandusky being laid aside, and perhaps it also prevented many other necessary arrangements. The examinations of evidences on the charges against Colonel Brodhead, is still taking, and I am informed will take some weeks.

"Agreeable to my orders from Congress, to retain no more officers here than sufficient for the men, I have made the following arrangements; reformed the remains of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment into two companies, and call them a detachment from the Pennsylvania line, to be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard. Baron Steuben had some time ago directed Colonel Gibson to reform his regiment also into two companies, retaining with him the staff of the regiment; and to send all the supernumerary officers down into Virginia. The reformation was made; but the officers were so distressed for want of clothing and other necessaries, that they were not able to proceed. However, they are now making exertions,

and I hope will soon set out. I have ordered the supernumery officers of the Pennsylvania line to repair forthwith to their proper regiments in the line. The whole of the troops, here, are thrown into four companies. I have been trying to economize; but everything is in so wretched a state, that there is very little in my power. I never saw troops cut so truly a deplorable, and at the same time despicable, a figure. Indeed, when I arrived, no man would believe from their appearance that they were soldiers; nay, it would be difficult to determine whether they were white men. Though they do not yet come up to my wishes, yet they are some better.

"As it does not rest with me to decide on the propriety or impropriety of any person's conduct, I shall only make a few general observations. The consumption of public stores has, in my opinion, been enormous, particularly military stores; and I fear the reason given for it will not be justifiable, namely: that the militia would all fly if they had not powder and lead given them, not only when in service, but also to keep in their houses. It is true the county lieutenants, and others who are called responsible men, have promised to be accountable: but I am certain not an ounce can be again collected. I find by the returns, that near two thousand pounds of powder, and four thousand pounds of lead, have been issued to the militia since the dispute commenced between Colonels Brodhead and Gibson, chiefly by orders of the former, besides arms, accoutrements, etc., and not a man called into actual service. The magazine is nearly exhausted. There is not now as much remaining as has been issued since the first of last September.

"I presume your Excellency has been informed by the Governor of Virginia, or General Clark, of the failure of his [Clark's] expedition. But lest that should not be the case, I will relate all the particulars that have come to my knowledge. Captain Craig, with the detachment of artillery under him, returned here the 26th instant. He got up with much difficulty and great fatigue to the men, being forty days on the way, occasioned by the lowness of the water. He was obliged to throw away his gun-carriages, but brought his pieces and best stores safe. He left General Clark at the rapids [Louisville,

Ky.]; and says the General was not able to prosecute his intended plan of operation for want of men, being able to collect in the whole about seven hundred and fifty. The buffalo meat was all rotten; and, he adds, the general is apprehensive of a visit from Detroit, and is not without fears the settlement will be obliged to break up, unless re-inforcements soon arrive from Virginia. The Indians have been so numerous in that country that all the inhabitants have been obliged to keep close in forts, and the general could not venture out to fight them.

"A Colonel Lochry, lieutenant of Westmoreland county, in Pennsylvania, with about one hundred men in all, composed of volunteers and a company raised by Pennsylvania for the defense of said county, followed General Clark, who, it is said ordered Lochry to join him at the mouth of Miami, up which river it had previously been agreed on to proceed. But General Clark having changed his plan, left a small party at the Miami, with directions to Lochry to proceed on to the falls after him, with the main body. Sundry accounts agree that this party, and all Lochry's, to a man, were waylaid by the Indians and regulars (for it is asserted they had artillery) and all killed or taken. No man, however, escaped either to join General Clark or return home. When Captain Craig left the General, he could not be persuaded but that Lochry with his party had returned home. These informations threw the people of this country into the greatest consternation and almost despair, particularly Westmoreland county, Lochry's party being all the best men of their frontier. At present they talk of flying early in the spring, to the eastern side of the mountain, and are daily flocking to me to inquire what support they may expect.

"I think there is but too much reason to fear that General Clark's and Colonel Gibson's expeditions falling through will greatly encourage the savages to fall on the country with double fury, and perhaps the British from Detroit to visit the post, which, instead of being in a tolerable state of defense, is in fact nothing but a heap of ruins. I need not inform your Excellency that it is, at best, a bad situation for defense. I have been viewing all the ground in this vicinity, and find none

equal for a post to the mouth of Chartiers creek, about four miles down the river. This was pointed out to me by Captain [Thomas] Hutchins, [geographer], before I left Philadelphia, who says there is no place equal to it any where within forty miles of Fort Pitt. (123.)

"I think it is best calculated, on many accounts. First, the ground is such that works may be constructed to contain any number of men you please, from fifty to one thousand. It is by nature almost inaccessible on three sides, and on the fourth no commanding ground within three thousand yards. Secondly, as it would effectually cover the settlement on Chartiers creek, the necessity for keeping a post at Fort McIntosh will of course cease. In case of making that the main post, Fort Pitt should be demolished, all except the north bastion, on which a strong block-house should be built. A small party in it would keep up a communication with the settlements on Monongahela as the whole garrison now does; for the necessary detachments to Fort McIntosh, Wheeling, etc., so divide the troops that no one place can ever be held without a large body of troops. Indeed, I do not like Fort McIntosh being kept a post in the present situation of things.

"If the enemy at Detroit should take it into their heads to make us a visit, that would be an excellent place for them to take by surprise; whence they could send out Indians and other partisans to lay the whole country waste before we could dislodge them. We have (I think idly) too much of our stores there. I have been making efforts to bring up the greatest part; but though it is almost incredible, yet it is true that, of all the public boats built here, not a single one was to be found when I came here, except one barge and one flat. I expect two boats up, loaded, this day. It is, I believe, universally agreed that the only way to keep Indians from harassing the country is to visit them. But we find, by experience, that burning their empty towns has not the desired effect. They can soon build others. They must be followed up and beaten, or the British, whom they draw support from, totally driven out of their country.

"I believe if Detroit was demolished, it would be a good step towards giving some, at least temporary, ease to this country.

It would cost them at least a whole summer to rebuild and establish themselves; for, though we should succeed in reducing Detroit, I do think there is the smallest probability of our being able to hold it. It is too remote from supplies. I have been endeavoring to form some estimates, from such information as I can collect, and I really think that the reduction of Detroit would not cost much more, nor take many more men, than it will take to cover and protect the country by acting on the defensive. If I am well informed, it will take seven or eight hundred regular troops and about a thousand militia; which number could pretty easily be obtained for that purpose, as it appears to be a favorite scheme over all this country. The principal difficulty would be to get provisions and stores transported. As to taking a heavy train of artillery, I fear it would not only be impracticable, but an incumbrance; two field pieces, some howitzers, and perhaps a mortar [would suffice]. I do not think, especially under present circumstances, that it would be possible to carry on an expedition in such a manner as to promise success by a regular siege. I would therefore propose to make every appearance of setting down before the place, as if to reduce it by regular approaches. As soon as I found the enemy fully impressed with this idea, attempt it at once by assault.

"I mean to write to Congress for leave to go down the country in January, to return in March, if they make it a point that I should continue here. I can scarcely think they will wish me to remain with four companies of men. The power of calling out the militia of this country is more ideal than real, especially till the lines between Virginia and Pennsylvania are determined, and actually run. Neither civil nor military law will take place until then. Whether I am to be continued here or not, I am pretty certain it might be of use for me to go down, in order the better to concert measures proper to be taken either with your Excellency or Congress; for as matters now stand, it is clear to me this country must be given up. The militia, however, promise pretty fair, and I have had no ground for differing with them yet. There are no provisions laid in, nor is there even sufficient from day to day. The contract made by Mr. Robert Morris, Superinten-

dent of Finance, for supplying this post, has not been fulfilled on the part of the contractor in any tolerable degree; nor would the contract answer here, even if complied with. However, as I must write particularly to the board of war on this subject, and have exceeded the moderate bounds of a letter, I fear I have already tired, and taken up too much of your Excellency's time."

According to the militia laws of Pennsylvania and Virginia, frequently alluded to, each company was commanded by a captain, two lieutenants and an ensign; each battalion by a colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major; and the whole in a county by a county lieutenant. Besides this the latter officer had a general supervision of military affairs within his county with the rank of colonel. The Western Department, at the date of Irvine's arrival at Fort Pitt, included the counties of Westmoreland and Washington in Pennsylvania, Monongahela and Ohio in Virginia; in each of which there was a county lieutenant; in the two former counties, there were, also, sub-lieutenants.

To this letter Washington replied, December 18, 1781:

"I have received your favor of the 2d instant. I am not at all surprised to hear that you have found matters in disorder to the westward; it is generally the case when a dispute arises respecting command, as the parties make it a point to thwart each other as much as possible. Perhaps what is past cannot be amended, as Colonel Brodhead may say that the delivery of ammunition to the county lieutenants was necessary. But you will judge of the propriety of the measure in future.

"I am sorry to hear of the failure of General Clark's expedition, of which I was always doubtful, as it was to be carried on with militia. But of this I am convinced, that the possession or destruction of Detroit is the only means of giving peace and security to the western frontier; and that when it is undertaken, it should be by such a force as should not risk a disappointment. When we shall have it in our power to accomplish so desirable an end, I do not know. It will depend upon the exertion of the States in filling up their regular battalions.

"I cannot undertake to determine upon the propriety of re-

moving our principal post from Fort Pitt to Chartiers creek. It is a matter in which I suppose a variety of interest is concerned, and which must therefore be decided upon by Congress. Should you obtain leave to come down this winter, you will have an opportunity of laying the matter fully before them.

"I wish you had been particular upon the manner in which the contractors of Fort Pitt, etc., have been deficient, and had given your reasons for thinking that the contract upon its present establishment will not answer. I would immediately have laid them before Mr. Morris. If your representations should not have been made before this reaches you, no time should be lost in doing it.

"I have directed our commissary of prisoners, who is now at Elizabethtown, negotiating a general exchange, to endeavor to include the prisoners in Canada. I cannot see what end would be answered by your opening a treaty with the commandant of Detroit upon that subject, as we seldom or never have a prisoner in our hands upon the quarter where you are.

"In my letter of the first of November, I acquainted you with my determination upon the cases of Hinds and Fisher." (124.)

From Philadelphia, February 7th, 1782, Irvine reports to Washington:

"The present strength of the garrison at Fort Pitt is two hundred and thirty. At least thirty of these are unfit for field duty, and several, even garrison duty. From this number detachments are made to garrison Forts McIntosh and Wheeling, the first distant thirty miles, the latter eighty. Fort Pitt is in a bad state for defense; Fort McIntosh pretty easily repaired. If Fort Pitt were in the best state, the work is too extensive for less than a garrison of at least four hundred and fifty men to make a tolerable defense. Fort McIntosh would take one hundred and fifty to defend it properly, and be able to send patrolling parties towards Wheeling.

"Wheeling should have twenty-five or thirty men, and an equal number at some intermediate post. From Fort Pitt to the Laurel Hill, northwards, it would take two hundred men in actual service from the first of April to the last of October to guard that quarter from the incursions of the savages. By

this arrangement, it would take nine hundred and fifty men to act on the defensive the whole of the summer season. The number of militia in Washington county is said to be two thousand; in Westmoreland, one thousand. The inhabitants are dispirited, and talk much of making their escape early in the spring to the east side of the mountains, unless they see a prospect of support."

On the 8th of March, [1782] Washington sent instructions to Irvine at his home, Carlisle, whither he had gone for a short visit in January preceding, to proceed with all convenient despatch to Fort Pitt, and when he should have arrived there to take such measures for the security of the post and for the defense of the western frontier, as the continental force there stationed, combined with the militia of the neighboring country, would admit. He reached that post on the 25th, [March, 1782] finding, upon his arrival, the country people in a frenzy of excitement because of Indian raids. James Marshal, the Lieutenant of Washington county, Pennsylvania, had ordered out some militia to march across the Ohio river to the valley of the Tuscarawas, there to attack some hostile savages believed to be occupying what for a short time previous had been the deserted villages of the Moravian Indians. The force was commanded by David Williamson. Upon his arrival, he found a considerable number of men, women and children of "Moravians," and it is said, some warriors. In the end, all were killed except two boys, who made their escape.

The summer of 1782 was one of great moment to this frontier. Following upon the disastrous result of Crawford's Expedition came the last inroads of the savages and British which resulted in the destruction of Hannastown. We cannot dwell on these at length, but of necessity are restricted to the immediate operations at this point.

In a letter to Washington from Fort Pitt, Oct. 29th, 1782, Irvine refers to the fort as follows: "This fort [Fort Pitt] has been much repaired in the course of the summer. A new row of picketing is planted on every part of the parapet where the brick revetment did not extend, and a row of palisading nearly finished in the ditch; so far, also, with sundry other improvements; but, above all, a complete magazine, the whole arched

with stone. I think I may venture to assert, it is a very elegant piece of workmanship as well as most useful one. It has been executed under the direction of Major Craig. (125.)

"I have used the most rigid economy in every instance. The whole expense is but a trifle. Though the troops labored hard, yet, from the smallness of their number and unavoidable interruptions, some necessary repairs remain yet unfinished. Some parts of the ramparts and parapets are much broken down. A new main gate and drawbridge are wanted and some outworks are necessary to be erected, which cannot be effected this winter, as it is now high time to lay in fuel and make some small repairs on the soldiers' barracks to make them inhabitable.

"If I am to be continued in service and command here, I shall be much obliged to your Excellency for leave to visit my family at Carlisle in the dead of winter, when I suppose there can be no risk in my being absent from the post. Besides, I shall then be directly in the line of communication to this place, and will not stay longer than you may judge proper. I should not trouble your Excellency with this request, was not the necessity of paying some attention to my private affairs very urgent; notwithstanding, if it is, in any measure, incompatible with your views, or inconsistent with my duty, I will cheerfully submit to your Excellency's pleasure in the matter."

Irvine left Fort Pitt to visit his family in Carlisle the last of February, turning the command of that post and its dependencies over to Col. Stephen Bayard, then of the Third Pennsylvania regiment. He reached home, March 4th. (126.)

Not long subsequent to his reaching Carlisle, he wrote Washington congratulating him upon the glorious news of peace which had just arrived in America. "With great sincerity," was the reply of the Commander-in-Chief, "I return you my congratulations." At the request of Washington, Irvine again returned to Pittsburgh, arriving there in May where he remained until his final departure on the 1st day of October, 1783, when he turned over his command to a small continental force, his garrison having previously been furloughed, except a small detachment.

Irvine reached Fort Pitt on his third trip out, a little past

the middle of May (1783). On the first of July, because of the scarcity of provisions at his post, he furloughed most of the troops for a few days, and afterward continued the furloughing for some time, in rotation. From the fifteenth of May to the eighteenth of July, there was but one maraud of savages into the western settlements. From the last mentioned date to the time of Irvine's final departure from Pittsburgh, comparative quiet reigned throughout the Western Department. On the twenty-sixth of September, he received a letter from the assistant secretary of war notifying him that as soon as a detachment of troops arrived which were then on their way, he would be relieved from command at Fort Pitt, which he so much desired. He was authorized to furlough as many of his garrison at once as consistent with safety. This he did, turning over the remainder to one of his captains, and on the first day of October started for his home in Carlisle.

Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary of War, under date of June 23, 1783, instructs Gen. Irvine as follows:

"It is the pleasure of Congress that furloughs should be offered to all the men engaged for the war with a proportion of officers. As the men who compose the garrison at Fort Pitt are men under this description, it becomes necessary they should be relieved. The officer [Captain Joseph Marbury] who will have the honor of delivering this letter commands a party who will take possession of the fort on your withdrawing the present garrison. I wish the gentleman who has the care of the military stores would continue his charge of them until further orders.

"The men who belong to the line of Pennsylvania, you will please to order to Carlisle. Should any of your men live between Fort Pitt and Carlisle who wish to receive their furloughs before they arrive there, you will please to give them written ones. On their arrival at Carlisle they will find three months pay in Morris' notes, payable in six months from their date.

"The men belonging to Virginia you will please to order to Winchester unless any of them should decline to receive their furloughs before they arrive there. In that case, I wish they

also might be indulged. On their arrival, they will receive the same pay as those of the line of Pennsylvania."

In July, 1783, Irvine reports to the Secretary of War:

"I yet keep an officer and only ten men at Fort McIntosh, merely to take care of the works; a small garrison, for this place of one hundred men cannot well afford any for that post. Pray, what is to be done in this case; is it to be demolished or left standing; or might it not be prudent to put a family or two in it, to save it from accidental or wanton destruction? It is on the west side of the Ohio, thirty miles down from this place, and the same distance advanced towards the Indian country. If it should happen that I cannot keep the regular troops together till I receive instructions, I intend calling in about thirty militia only in the present tranquil state, to guard the stores and post. In this last case, will it be proper for me to leave the place in charge of a careful captain till the new garrison arrives? These queries are more numerous and prolix than I could wish, but hope you will not think them unnecessary or improper."

And August 17th, 1783, to the same:

"Enclosed are returns of the stores at this post. They are well-assorted, packed, and safely stored in such a manner as to give little trouble to whatever officer may have them in charge hereafter. I suppose there will be little alteration before my departure, as the expenditures have been very trifling for many months past. I intend taking receipts for the whole from my successor, which I will transmit to the war office."

The following orders appear later:

"Orders. Fort Pitt, September 28, 1783. Lieutenant John Mahon is appointed agent to settle the accounts of the troops of the garrison with the auditor at Philadelphia and to distribute the certificates to the individuals; each man will, previous to receiving his furlough, inform Mr. Mahon where he means to reside next winter, in order to know where will be most convenient to advertise them to assemble, for a final adjustment of their accounts. The officers present will give him all necessary assistance, and before they depart render him accounts of clothing issued to the men. He is also to call on President

Reed for a settlement for the time he acted as paymaster, and all others concerned."

"Orders. Fort Pitt, September 30, 1783. Captain John Finley will remain in command at this post with a detachment already formed for that purpose until the arrival of the new garrison. Lieutenant [John] Mahon will also remain. All other officers have leave of absence as soon as they furnish Mr. Mahon with necessary vouchers and accounts to enable him to proceed to a liquidation of the accounts of the troops, agreeably to his appointment.

To Captain Joseph Marbury from Fort Pitt, Oct. 1st, 1783, he addresses the following:

"By official information respecting your appointment and orders for taking command of this post I am persuaded you must arrive in a few days. The troops have been already detained so much longer than any others that they are impatient, though perfect tranquility is reigning. For these reasons, and because of the urgent necessity for my attending immediately to private concerns, I have left Captain John Finley in command, with a small detachment only, till your arrival, having furloughed the rest.

"This gentleman has charge of all the stores and will deliver them with returns to you. He is well informed of all matters necessary for you to know relative to the post and has my orders also to communicate some private ideas by way of advice, which I hope will be taken as intended (friendship for a brother officer).

"Inclosed you have a copy of an extract from a letter of the Secretary of War addressed to me dated the 15th Sept." (which refers to the orders which the Secretary of War had given.)

In a letter dated Pittsburgh, July 25th, 1784, Major Isaac Craig says: "Immediately after my return from Philadelphia to this place, I called on Major Marbury, who still continued to command here and handed him the Quartermaster General and Secretary of War's orders for part of the buildings and five hundred pounds of iron, the former part of the order he said he would comply with, the latter he could not; because he had disposed of the iron in purchase of provisions and in pay-

ment of wagon hire. Lieut. Luckett has, since, succeeded Major Marbury, and seems reluctant to give me possession of a building, so I have provided a house for the reception of the goods when they arrive, and have a party employed in the preparation of timber for the cisterns, pumps, &c., for the distillery. I am convinced that our best plan will be to erect a wind-mill at the junction of the rivers instead of a horse mill. It would do work for the inhabitants. At the point there is almost always a breeze up or down the rivers; while the water-mills here scarcely work more than six months in the year." (127.)

The observations following were made by the gentlemen to whom they are credited, and were written at about the period of time at which we are at:

Mr. John Wilkins (afterwards a magistrate of the city), who came to Pittsburgh in the fall of 1783 gives such an account of the condition of the place as might be expected when we take into consideration all the circumstances. "When I first came here," he says, "I found the place filled with old officers, followers of the army, mixed with a few families of credit. All sorts of wickedness was carried on to excess, and there was no appearance of morality or regular order." (128.)

At the close of this year (1783) Arthur Lee visited the place, and gives us this impression of it. "Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry houses and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland or even in Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of 45 shillings per cwt. from Phila. and Baltimore. They take in the shops money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church nor chapel, so they are likely to be damned, without the benefit of clergy. The river encroaches fast on the town. The place, I believe, will never be very considerable."

Doctor Hildreth, of Marietta, Ohio, who passed through the town in April, 1788, says: "Pittsburgh then contained 400 or 500 inhabitants, several retail stores, and a small garrison of troops was kept in old Fort Pitt. * * * The houses were

chiefly built of logs, but now and then one had assumed the appearance of neatness and comfort."

From one of the series of articles contributed by Judge Brackenridge to the Pittsburgh Gazette in 1786, he says: "At the head of the Ohio stands the town of Pittsburgh, on an angular piece of ground, the two rivers forming the two sides of the angle. * * * On this point stood the old French fort known by the name of Fort Duquesne, which was evacuated and blown up by the French in the campaign of the British under General Forbes. The appearance of the ditch and mound, with the salient angles and bastions still remains, so as to prevent that perfect smoothness of the ground which otherwise would exist. It has been long overgrown with the finest verdure, and depastured on by cattle; but since the town has been laid out it has been enclosed, and buildings are erected.

"Just above these works is the present garrison, built by Gen. Stanwix, and is said to have cost the crown of Britain sixty thousand pounds. Be that as it may, it has been a work of great labor and of little use—for, situated on a plain, it is commanded by heights and rising grounds on every side, and some at less than the distance of a mile. The fortification is regular, constructed according to the rules of art, and about three years ago, put into good repair by Gen. Irvine who commanded at this post. It has the advantage of an excellent magazine, built of stone; but the time is come, and it is hoped will not again return, when the use of this garrison is at an end. There is a line of posts below it on the Ohio river, to the distance of 300 miles. The savages come to this place for trade, not for war, and any future contest we may have with them, will be on the heads of the more northern rivers that fall into the Mississippi. * * * Near the garrison on the Allegheny bank, were formerly what was called the King's artillery gardens, delightful spots, cultivated highly to usefulness and pleasure, the soil favoring the growth of plants and flowers, equal with any on the globe. * * * On the margin of this river once stood a row of houses, elegant and neat, and not unworthy of the European taste, but having been swept away in the course of time, some for the purpose of

forming an opening to the river, from the garrison, that the artillery might incommode the enemy approaching and deprived of shelter; some torn away by the fury of the rising river. These buildings were the receptacles of the ancient Indian trade, which, coming from the westward, centered in this quarter; but of these buildings, like decayed monuments of grandeur no trace remains. Those who, twenty years ago, saw them flourish, can only say, here they stood."

Little of interest is discoverable from any source touching military affairs here from this time on. On the 29th of April, 1786, Messrs. Robert Galbraith, Isaac Craig, Mich. Huffnagle, and John Armstrong were chosen at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh to give information to the Council relative to the Indians, and their own situation; and pursuant to this they made report, among other things as follows:

"From reports we are well assured that we have everything to fear from them. There are but twelve soldiers in the garrison here, the works out of order, no arms or ammunition, the militia law never executed, no militia officers or companies formed by the Lieutenant, whoever he is. On behalf of all the inhabitants on this frontier, and more especially those of this place, who request Council to take our situation into their immediate consideration, and, send us some relief of arms, ammunition and men, and such other assistance as to them may appear right."

"The Indians, stimulated probably by British traders, were troublesome in 1790, and the President, believing that offensive measures were the only means of protecting the citizens from their incursions, planned an expedition against the hostile tribes on the Scioto and Wabash, to be under the command of General Harmar, an officer of considerable experience.

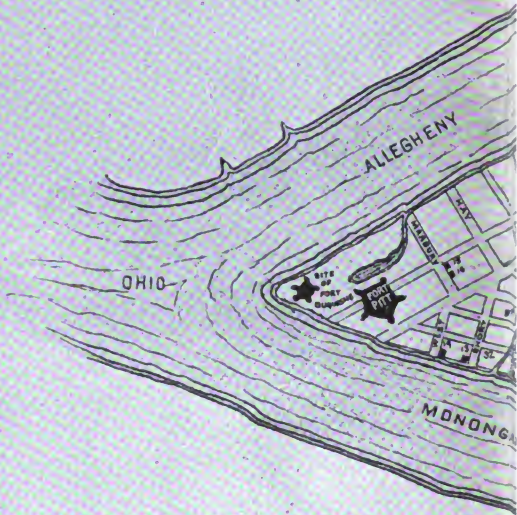
"The army under this officer was to proceed from Fort Washington to the Scioto river. Gen. Harmar marched with about fourteen hundred troops, militia and regulars, on the 30th September, 1790, and after destroying several towns on the Scioto, and meeting a pretty severe repulse, and losing several valuable officers and one hundred and fifty men, returned again to Fort Washington. The result of this expedition of Gen. Harmar, seemed to have greatly encouraged the hostile

FORT PITT

IN
1795.

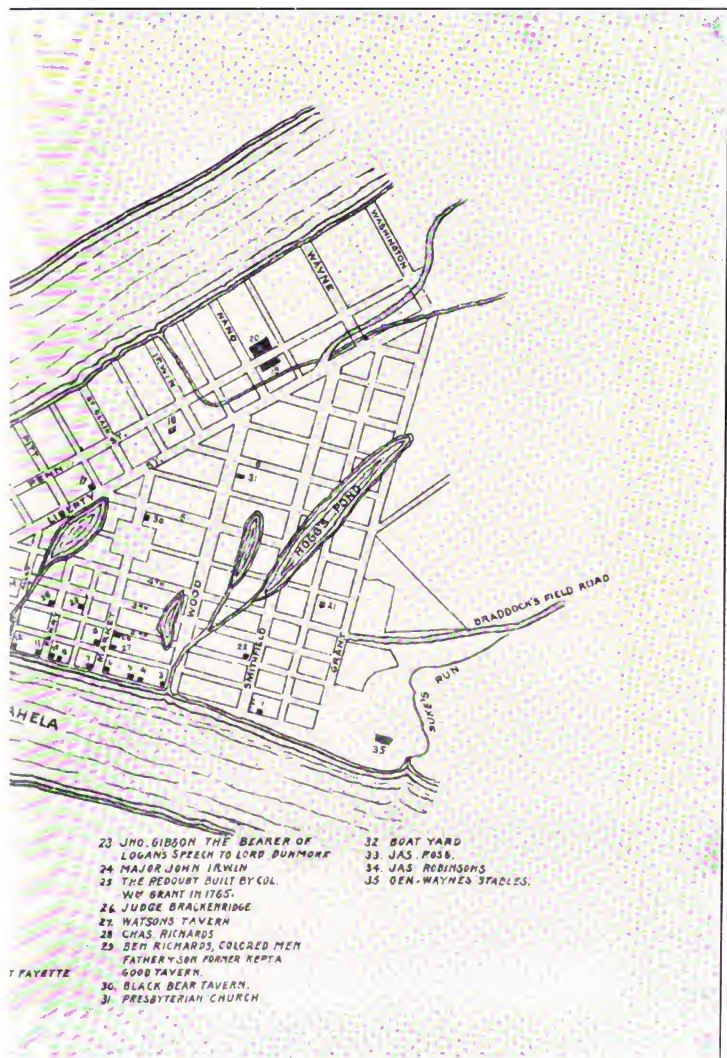
FROM "FORT PITT" AND
LETTERS FROM THE FRONTIER.

BY WM M. DARLINGTON ESQ.



1. PETER AUDRAIN
2. JAMES ROSS
3. FERRY HOUSE
4. MORROW'S GREEN TREE TAVERN
5. ADAMSON TANNEHILL
6. SAM EWALT
7. PRESLEY NEVILLE
8. JNO. SCULL, WHERE THE FIRST NEWS PAPER EVER PUBLISHED WEST OF THE ALLEGHENY MTS., WAS PRINTED.
9. JNO. DRMSBY
10. SAM. SAMPLES TAVERN, WHERE WASHINGTON STOPPED IN 1770.

11. JMO. NEVILLE.
12. ISAAC CRANG
13. ABRAHAM KIRKPATRICK.
14. JAMES O'HARA
15. COL BUTLER'S WIDOW.
16. GEN. R. BUTLER'S WIDOW.
17. WU CECIL FATHER OF THE LATE MRS BREWER
18. DR NATHANIEL BEDFORD
19. OFFICERS QUARTER
20. SOLDIERS BARRACKS IN 1791
21. T MARIE
22. ALEXANDER ADDISON.



tribes of Indians. Their incursions were extended even to the vicinity of our city. The following letter written at this place less than sixty years ago, exhibits a very marked contrast with the present condition of affairs here. The writer of this letter, Major Isaac Craig, was Deputy Quartermaster General and Military Store Keeper; as such he had a very extensive correspondence with the Secretary of War, the Quartermaster General, and the commandants of the different military stations, in the west. Of this correspondence we have eight bound volumes, and a mass of loose letters, and will probably have frequent occasion to refer to them, in the prosecution of our work. The store house at that time was an old log building, much decayed, in the bounds of Fort Pitt, but entirely unguarded or otherwise protected."

The letter was dated Fort Pitt, March 25, 1791, and is as follows:

"In consequence of a number of people killed and several taken prisoners by the Indians, in the vicinity of this place, within a few days past, and frequent reports of large parties of savages being on our frontier, the people of this town have made repeated applications for arms and ammunition to me, which I have hitherto refused; but in a town meeting held yesterday, it was resolved that the principal men of the town should wait on me, and request a loan of a hundred muskets, with bayonets and cartouch boxes, and they should enter into an obligation to re-deliver said arms, &c., in good order, to me in two months, or sooner if demanded by me, in consequence of any order of the commanding officer, or Secretary of War; but in case of my refusal to comply with their requisition, it was resolved to break open the stores and take such a number as they might think proper. Accordingly, ten of the most respectable characters of the town waited on me this day, and made the above demand; and they told me they were determined to take them in case of my refusal—that nothing but the necessity of putting the town in a state of defense, and their desire to guard the public stores, could have induced them to such a determination. I repeated my instructions to the gentlemen, and told them I must be guilty of a breach of orders by issuing the smallest article without proper au-

thority, but that their proper step would be to send an express to the Secretary of War, requesting an order on me for such articles as they thought necessary. They agreed with me that it was proper to send an express, but that there was not an hour to be lost in arming the inhabitants of the town. I had then no alternative but either to see the store houses broken open, and perhaps part of the stores destroyed, or to deliver one hundred muskets, and make these gentlemen accountable, and obtain a guard for the protection of the stores. I have chosen the latter, and taken the obligation signed by ten of the most respectable characters, by which they are accountable for 100 muskets, bayonets and cartouch boxes—obliged to re-deliver them in two months from that date, or sooner, if demanded—furnish such a guard for the stores as I may think necessary, and also to make application by express for the approbation of this transaction. I hope, sir, it will appear to you, that of two evils, one of which was unavoidable, I had made choice of the least. I shall be very unhappy in your disapprobation of my conduct in this transaction.”

In reply to this letter the Secretary of War wrote as follows: “The issuing of arms seems to have been justified by the occasion. No doubt will arise but they will be considered as part of the two hundred muskets, for which I gave the Governor an order on the 31st of last month.”

In a letter dated March 31st, 1791, Major Craig has the following remarks: “Your (Gen. Knox’s) observations on the murder of the Indians at Beaver Creek, are already confirmed. Several persons within a few miles of this place have lately fallen victims to the revenge of those Indians who escaped on Beaver Creek.”

Another letter to the Secretary of War, dated May 19th, 1791, says: “We have frequent accounts of murders being committed on our frontiers by the Indians. Several parties of them have penetrated ten, fifteen and twenty miles into the country.”

Same to same, Oct. 6th, 1791: “Messrs. Turnbull and Mar-mie continue to pull down and sell the materials of the fort. Small parties of Indians are still thought to be in our neighborhood.”

Extract of a letter from Gen. Knox to Major Craig, dated Dec. 16th, 1791. "I request you immediately to procure materials for a block-house and picketted fort to be erected in such part of Pittsburgh, as shall be the best position, to cover the town as well as the public stores which shall be forwarded from time to time. As you have been an artillery officer during the late war, I request you to act as an engineer. I give you a sketch of the work generally, which you must adapt to the nature of the ground. It is possible that some private property may be interfered with by the position you take, but an appraisement must take place according to law and the result sent me."

President Washington through the Secretary of War, December 26, 1791, communicated to Governor Mifflin his adoption of the following measures, which were then being put into execution: "On the 16th of that month, orders were issued to Maj. Isaac Craig to build a block-house at Fort Pitt and surround it with palisades, so as to contain about 100 men, where, viz: at Fort Pitt, a commissioned officer and thirty-four non-commissioned and privates should remain, they being taken from two companies a part of which had been stationed there from the 20th of October to the 15th of December, when they were under orders to descend the Ohio. On the 26th of December, besides commissioned officers, a detachment of about 120 non-commissioned officers and privates were to march from Philadelphia, a part of whom to be stationed at Fort Pitt, and detachments posted at such other places on the Ohio and up the Allegheny as would be most conducive to the general safety of these parts."

Extract of a letter from Major Craig to Gen. Knox, dated 29th December, 1791. "I am making every possible exertion of a work to defend this town and the public stores. Accounts from Fort Franklin, as well as your orders, urge the necessity of prompt attention to the defence of this place. By next post, I shall enclose you a sketch of the ground and the work, that I have judged necessary; it will be erected on eight lots, Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, 91, 92, 93 and 94; they belong to John Penn, Jr., and John Penn; Anthony Butler, Esq., of Philadelphia, is their agent, the prices were fixed when the town

was laid out. It is not intended to cover the whole of the lots with the work, but the portion not covered will be suitable for gardens, for the garrison.

"Take the liberty of inclosing to you two letters from Fort Franklin, and extracts of other letters of same date, (December 26th) by which it appears, that that garrison is in imminent danger, and that the fidelity of the northern Indians is not to be depended upon.

"I am mounting four six-pounders and ship carriages, for the block-houses; but there are no round shot nor grape shot for that calibre here, the last being sent to Fort Washington."

To the Secretary, he writes, January 12th, 1792. "As there is no six pound shot here, I have taken the liberty to engage four hundred at Turnbull and Marmie's Furnace, which is now in blast. Reports by the way of Fort Franklin say, that in the late action (St. Clair's Defeat, December 4th, 1791) the Indians had three hundred killed and many wounded, that there were eight hundred Canadians and several British officers in the action. I shall take the liberty of communicating to the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, your assurance of such ample and generous means of defence. I believe with you, that Cornplanter is sincere; but would not a work at Presquile, on the lake, give greater confidence to him and his adherents?" (129).

Major Craig then writes to Gen. Knox, 11th March, 1792: "I have contracted for forty-two boats, viz: "32 of 50 feet each, 4 of 60 feet and 6 of 55, they are to be one-fourth wider than those purchased last year, viz: fifteen feet, to be also stronger and better finished. Delivered here with five oars to each. Price per foot, 8s and 9d—\$1.17 per foot;"

To Captain Jonathan Cass, Fort Franklin, dated April 7th, 1792: "The Indians crossed the river below Wheeling on the 4th instant and killed nine persons near that place;"

To Gen. Knox, May 11th, 1792: "The fifty boats now ready, will transport three thousand men, they are the best that ever came here, and, I believe, the cheapest;"

And to same, May 18th, 1792: "Captain Hughes, with his detachment, has occupied the barracks in the new fort since the 1st instant. Two of the six-pounders are very well mounted in the second story of one of the block-houses. The others will

be mounted in a few days. The work, if you have no objections, I will name Fort La Fayette." The Secretary approved this name.

FORT FAYETTE.

The following description of this structure was given under date May the 19th, 1792. "The fort began last winter at this place, (Pittsburgh), stands on the Allegheny river within about one hundred yards of the bank, on a beautiful rising ground, about one-quarter of a mile higher up than the old garrison of Fort Pitt. It is completely stockaded in, and one range of barracks, a blockhouse in one of the angles finished, and the remainder in forwardness. Captain Hughes, of the Second United States Regiment, commands the fort, which last Saturday, 12th of May, was named Fort Fayette." (130).

Major Craig to Samuel Hodgdon, Q. M. General, November 9th, 1792: "This morning a detachment of the troops and the artificers, with the necessary tools for building, set off for the winter ground below Logstown, on the Ohio; in a few days the whole army will follow."

Same to Gen. Knox, 30th November, 1792: "This morning at an early hour, the artillery, infantry and rifle corps, except a small garrison left in Fort Fayette, embarked and descended the Ohio to Legionville, the cavalry crossed the Allegheny at the same time and will reach the winter ground as soon as the boats. As soon as the troops had embarked, the General (Wayne) went on board his barge, under a salute from a militia artillery corps of this place, and all have, no doubt, before this time, reached their winter quarters."

The following is extracted from a Philadelphia paper, and is among the authorities furnished by Mr. Craig in his History of Pittsburgh:

"Pittsburgh, May 14th, 1793.

"Lieutenant Col. John Clark, commandant of the 4th Sub-Legion, is to command the different posts on this frontier—His headquarters will be at this place."

In the summer of 1794, when the people about Pittsburgh were terrorized by the mob who collected together to wreak their vengeance on the revenue officials, and the friends of order, on the occasion of the Whisky Insurrection, a request was made by the inhabitants of the place to the commanding officer at his post for his protection. "Upon this information being communicated to Maj. Thos. Butler, the commandant at Fort Fayette, one of the several gallant brothers, who distinguished themselves during the Revolution, he detached eleven men from his feeble garrison to aid the inspector." (131).

Speaking of the Pittsburgh of about 1800, Mr. Craig (History of Pittsburgh) has the following:

"The ramparts of Fort Pitt were still standing, and a portion of the officers' quarters, a substantial brick building, was used as a malt house. The gates were gone, and the brick wall called the revetment, which supported two of the ramparts facing toward the town, and against which the officers and soldiers used to play ball, were gone, so that the earth all around had assumed the natural slope. Outside the fort on the side next the Allegheny river was a large deep pond, the frequent resort of wild ducks. Along the south side of Liberty street, and extending from Diamond alley to the foot of Fourth street (now Fourth avenue) was another pond, from which a deep ditch led the water into a brick archway, leading from Front street (now First avenue) just below Redoubt alley into the Monongahela.

"By whom this archway was built I have never learned. It was no trifling work. The writer when a boy (132) has often passed through it. The sides, which were from three to four feet high, and the top, were of hard burnt bricks; the bottom of flag stones. Before it was made, there must have been a deep gully extending up from the river below Redoubt alley; and I have supposed, that when Colonel Grant built the Redoubt on the bank of the river just above that gully, he probably had the arch way or culvert constructed to facilitate the communication between the Redoubt and Fort Pitt."

Notes to Fort Duquesne, including Notes to Fort Pitt.

(1.) "In January (1754) Wm. Trent was commissioned Captain by Gov. Dinwiddie. He was then engaged in building a strong log storehouse, loop-holed, at Redstone. John Frazier [Frazer] was appointed Lieutenant and Edward Ward, Ensign. Trent was ordered to raise one hundred men. He succeeded in getting about 70. On the 17th of Feb., 1754, he, with Gist, Croghan, and others met at the Forks, and in a few days he proceeded to lay out the ground and have the logs squared and laid, the Half-King, Tanacharison, assisting. Capt. Trent was soon after obliged to go across the mountains to Wills creek for supplies of provisions. On the 13th of April, Frazier being absent at Turtle creek, and Ward left in command, he heard that the French were descending the river; he hastened to complete the stockading of the building, and had the last gate finished when, on the morning of the 17th, the French flotilla was seen approaching near Shannopin's town. They moved down near the fort, landed their canoes, formed and marched their forces within a little better than gun shot of the fort. Contrecoeur immediately sent Le Mercier, commander of the artillery, with two drummers, one of them an interpreter, and a Mingo Indian, called The Owl, as interpreter for the Indians and delivered Ward a written summons to surrender the fort and retreat. Le Mercier looked at his watch; the time was about two. He gave Ward an hour to determine, telling him he must come to the French camp, with his answer in writing. The Half-King advised Ward to temporize—to tell the French commander he must await the arrival of his superior officer. He went to the French camp in company with the Half-King, Roberts, a private soldier, and John Davidson an Indian interpreter, and addressed Contrecoeur as the Half-King had advised. It was refused, and instant answer to the summons demanded, or force would be used to take possession of the fort. Having but forty-one men, of whom only thirty-three were soldiers, Ward surrendered the fort, with liberty to move off with everything at 12 o'clock the next day. That night he was obliged to encamp within 300 yards of the fort, with a friendly party of the Six Nations. Contrecoeur invited Ward

to supper and asked him many questions concerning the English government to which he gave no satisfactory answer. He was also solicited to sell the French some of his carpenter tools, but he declined to do so, although offered "any money for them." The next day Ward marched with his men for Redstone and Wills creek. At the latter place he met Col. Washington, to whom he reported the affair. Thus the war commenced here which closed in America, with the surrender of Canada to the British, in 1760." [Wm. M. Darlington, Esq., in Centenary Memorial, p. 259].

"Early in 1754, Capt. Trent was sent out from Virginia, with about forty men—intended to be recruited on the way—to aid in finishing the fort at the forks of the Ohio, already supposed to be begun by the Ohio Company. The captain's line of march was along Nemacolin's trail to Gist's, and then by the Redstone trail to the mouth of that Creek; where, after having built the storehouse called the Hangard, he proceeded, probably by land and ice, to the forks of the Ohio, where he arrived on the 17th of Feb., and went to work on the fort which soon proved a vain labor." [The Monongahela of Old; by Jas. Veech, p. 42].

(2.) The purpose of this company (The Ohio Company), was to divert the trade with the Indians north of the Ohio, and its headwaters, (which hitherto, the French and Pennsylvanians had enjoyed) southward, by the Potomac route, and to settle the country round the head of the Ohio with English colonists from Virginia and Maryland. To this end, the king granted to the Company five hundred thousand acres of land west of the mountains, "to be taken chiefly on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha, but with privilege to take part of the quantity north of the Ohio. Two hundred thousand acres were to be taken up at once, and to be free of quit rents, or taxes to the king for ten years, upon condition that the company should, within seven years, seat one hundred families on the lands, built a fort, and maintain a garrison and protect the settlement" * * * * * Thus many settlements were made on lands which were supposed to be in Virginia which were afterwards disclosed to be within the charter limits of Pennsylvania. * * * The incipient move-

ments of this Company (as we have seen) provoked the French and Pennsylvania traders, to jealousy, and to stir up the Indians to hostility. * * * Gen. Washington's brothers, Lawrence and John Augustine, as well as himself, were largely interested in it, and were anxious for its success. Christopher Gist was the Company's agent to select the lands and conciliate the Indians. The company, having imported from London large quantities of goods for the Indian trade, and engaged several settlers, had established trading posts at Wills creek (the New Store), the mouth of Redstone (The Hangard) the mouth of Turtle creek (Frazier's), and elsewhere; had planned their fort at the forks of the Ohio, and were proceeding energetically to the consummation of their designs. * * The Ohio Company was in action only about four years, having never in reality revived after its first check, at the commencement of hostilities with the French and Indians on the frontier. All persons concerned were losers to a considerable amount, though at its outset the scheme promised important advantages both to individuals and to the country at large. [The Monongahela of Old, by Jas. Veech, Sparks, Washington].

The site on the Ohio, on which Fort Duquesne, afterwards called Fort Pitt, was built, was by the Indians called *Che-on-de-ro-ga*, and accordingly by the French called *Trois Rivières*.† It is recorded by that name in the famous Lead Plate, which was buried there as a memorial of their possession. Gov. Pownall says that until he had occasion to explain this it was always a matter of puzzle to the cabinet ministers, what place in those quarters the French meant to design by *Trois Rivières*, * * * * The word *Che-on-de-ro-ga* denotes the fork of a river, or the confluence of two branches which go off in one united stream. This the French always translate *Trois Rivières*. Extracts from "An analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies," in appendix to Christopher Gist's Journals by W. M. Darlington, p. 273.

"At the time of the first appearance of the white man upon this spot, there were two Indian villages within the present limits of the City of Pittsburgh: *Da-un-da-ga*,* which stood

†See Appendix 2.

*The name by which this site was known to the Seneca was *De-un-da-go*, which Washington and others translated "the forks." The form given in the "Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet," edited by A. S. Parker, is *Diondega* (page 39, New York Museum Bulletin No. 168). The name *Tloga*, applied to the forks of the Susquehanna in Bradford county, is another Iroquoian form of this name, meaning "the forks," and not "gateway," as frequently stated.

directly in the forks; and Shannopin's Town, which was located on the east bank of the Allegheny river about two miles above its confluence with the Monongahela. Little is known of the former except that the name is of Seneca origin, and is said to mean simply "the forks;" and it is not mentioned, so far as I have been able to learn by any of either of the colonial explorers or traders, or by the French. Even Washington makes no mention of it in the Journal of his expedition to the posts on French creek, in early winter of 1753-4, although he was on the spot and describes the topography of it. With regard to Shannopin's Town, Celoron, in the Journal of his expeditions down the rivers, remarks under date of Aug. 7th, 1749: "I re-embarked and went to the village which is called the Written Rock (*Rocher ecrite*).^{*} They are Iroquois that inhabit this place, and an old squaw of that nation is their leader. She looks upon herself as queen. * * * "This place," he continues, "is one of the prettiest I have yet seen on the Beautiful river." Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M. "The Centenary of the Borough of Pittsburgh," p. 10. * * * * Olden Time, Vol. i, p. 327: "In this, every syllable is short, except the penultimate, which has an accent somewhat prolonged, but less so than many other aboriginal words."

Washington was the first person to give a description of the place, which he does in his journal to the posts on French creek. He arrived at Frazer's, at the mouth of Turtle creek, on the 22d of Nov., 1753. He says: "The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazer, and to send Barnaby Curran and Henry Seward down the Monongahela, with our baggage, to meet us at the forks of Ohio, about ten miles below; there to cross the Allegheny.

"As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile

^{*}See Appendix 3.

or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Allegheny, bearing northeast; and Monongahela, southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

"About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, King of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to a council at Logstown.

"As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the forks, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defence or advantages, especially the latter. For a fort at the forks would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the forks might be built at much less expense, than at the other place."

(3.) "In the present Register (The Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne, Translated with an Introductory Essay and Notes, By Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M.), the officer here mentioned is called "Monsieur Pierre Claude de Contrecoeur, Esquire, Sieur de Baudy, Captain of Infantry, Commander-in-Chief of the forts of Duquesne, Presq' Isle and the Riviere au Boeufs." He was in command of Fort Niagara in 1749; but he afterwards succeeded to the command of the detachment which had before belonged to M. Saint Pierre. The last date on which the name of Contrecoeur is found in the Register, is Mar. 2, 1755. What became of M. Contrecoeur after his retiring from Fort Duquesne, nothing has so far been learned.

(4.) Extract from the summons commanding the English to retreat from the Ohio:

"A summons, by order of M. Contrecoeur, Captain of one of the companies of the detachment of the French Marine, Commander-in-Chief of his Most Christian Majesty's Troops, now on Beautiful river, to the Commander of those of the King of Great Britain, at the mouth of the River Monongahela.

"Sir: Nothing can surprise me more than to see you attempt a settlement upon the lands of the King, my master, which obliges me now, sir, to send you this gentleman, Chevalier Le Mercier, Captain of the Artillery of Canada, to know

of you, sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the King, my master. This action seems so contrary to the last treaty of peace, at Aix La Chapelle, between his Most Christian Majesty and the King of Great Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such an usurpation, as it is incontestable that the land situated along the Beautiful river belongs to his Most Christian Majesty.

"I am informed, sir, that your undertaking has been concerted by none else than by a company, who have more in view the advantage of a trade, than to endeavor to keep the union and harmony which subsists between the two crowns of France and Great Britain, although it is as much the interest, sir, of your nation as ours, to preserve it.

"Let it be as it will sir, if you come out into this place, charged with orders, I summon you in the name of the King, my master, by virtue of orders which I got from my General, to retreat peaceably with your troops from off the lands of the King, and not to return, or else I will find myself obliged to fulfill my duty, and compel you to it. I hope, sir, you will not deter an instant, and that you will not force me to the last extremity. In that case, sir, you may be persuaded that I will give orders that there shall be no damage done by my detachment. * * * * (Signed) CONTRECOEUR."

Done at camp, April 16, 1754. [Olden Time, Vol. i, p. 83].

(6.) France claimed the country on the waters of the Ohio by right of priority of discovery and exploration, first by La Salle in 1669-70, when he penetrated as far west as the falls near the present city of Louisville. It was resolved by them to expel the English traders and erect a line of forts connecting Canada and Louisiana. In the summer of 1749, Captain Celoron de Bienville, with a detachment of two hundred soldiers and thirty Indians, descended the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to the mouth of the Wabash, for the purpose of taking military possession of the country. As memorials of the French King's possessions, leaden plates with suitable inscriptions were deposited at different points along the rivers. A number of these plates were found in after years. One deposited at the point of land at the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers, bore date "August 3d, 1749, at the Three rivers." Celoron en-

camped with his troops for some days at Logstown (a little below the present town of Economy), from which he expelled the English traders, by whom he sent letters to Gov. Hamilton of Pennsylvania, dated at "Our Camp on the Beautiful river at an old Shawnee village, 6th and 10th Aug., 1749," and stating that he was there "by orders of the Marquis de la Galissoniere, General-in-Chief of New France, whose orders are very strict not to suffer any foreign traders within his government." [Centenary Memorial, p. 256].

Translation of the copy of the leaden plate buried at the forks of the Monongahela and Ohio by Mons. Celoron "by way of taking possession and as a memorial and testimony thereof."

"In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV, King of France, Celoron, commandant of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Commandant-in-Chief of New France, to re-establish peace in certain villages of the Indians of these districts, have buried this plate at the Three rivers, below Le Boeuf river, this third of August, near the river Oyo, otherwise the Fair river, as a monument of the renewal of the possession that we have taken of the said river Oyo, and of all those which fall into it, and of all the lands on both sides to the sources of the said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed or ought to have enjoyed it, and which they have upheld by force of arms and by treaties, especially by those of Riswick, Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle."

The sentence beginning with "Three rivers" and ending with "August" is only scratched with the point of a knife, and scarcely legible, in a space which was left blank to be filled up when buried.

(7.) Marquis de Quesne * * * Nothing is known of his early life; but he was descended from Abraham Duquesne, the famous admiral of Louis XIV. In the latter part of 1754 he demanded his recall to France in order to enter the naval service, with which he was more familiar. Little more is known of him except that in 1758 he was appointed to the command of all the French forces, sea and land, in North America, and that soon after he sailed in a small squadron, which was

utterly discomfited by the English. We must agree with the author of Braddock's Expedition, who remarked, that, "It is unjust to the past age, that the names of such men as Duquesne, Dumas and Contrecoeur should be consigned to oblivion. Thus we are left in ignorance of the period of Duquesne's death, and of all save a single circumstance in his latter career." [History of Braddock's Expedition, pp. 29-34]. He was a rigid disciplinarian, and his lofty bearing offended the Canadians; but he commanded their respect, and showed that he was born to rule. [Montcalm & Wolfe, Parkman, Vol. i, p. 85. Quoted in Register, note 35—introduction].

(8.) "On the tenth of June, (1754) nine deserters from the French arrived at Washington's camp, [at Fort Necessity], and confirmed intelligence previously received by a messenger sent from Logstown to Tanacharison. These deserters also stated that the fort at the forks was completed." [Olden Time, Vol. i, p. 39]. It has been asserted that the French merely completed the structure which had been begun by Trent, but the following extract from a French official report would seem to refute that assertion: "They the English under Capt. Trent were summoned to depart immediately out of the lands belonging to France. They obeyed and quietly evacuated their fort; they also prayed M. de Contrecoeur to give them some provisions, which they were in want of; he ordered them a plentiful supply, and destroyed their fort." (Memoir Contenant le *Precis des faits*, &c. [Olden Time, Vol. ii, p. 150].

(9.) Nemacolin's path led from the mouth of Wills creek (Cumberland, Md.), to the forks of the Ohio. It doubtless existed as a purely Indian trail before Nemacolin's time. For when the Virginian, Maryland and Pennsylvania traders with the Indians on the Ohio, began their operations, perhaps as early as 1740, they procured Indians to show them the best and easiest route, and this was the one they adopted. So says Washington. And when the Ohio Company, was formed, in 1748, and preparing to go into the Ohio Indian trade on a large scale, they procured Col. Thomas Cresap, [of Old Town, Md.], to engage some trusty Indians to mark and clear the pathway. For this purpose he engaged Nemacolin, a well known Dela

ware Indian, who resided at the mouth of Dunlap's creek, which, in early times, was called Nemacolin's creek. The commissioner and engineer, with the aid of other Indians, executed the work, in 1750, by blazing the trees, and cutting away and removing the bushes and fallen timber, so as to make it a good pack-horse path. Washington says that "the Ohio Company, in 1753, at a considerable expense, opened the road. In 1754, the troops whom I had the honor to command, greatly repaired it, as far as Gist's plantation; and, in 1755, it was widened and completed by General Braddock to within six miles (about) of Fort Duquesne." This is a brief history of the celebrated Braddock Road. [Monongahela of Old, p. 27].

(10.) "Washington, who for a time had been stationed at Alexandria to enlist recruits, received from Dinwiddie a commission as lieutenant-colonel and orders, with one hundred and fifty men, to take command at the forks of the Ohio; 'to finish the fort already begun there by the Ohio Company;' and 'to make prisoners, kill, or destroy all who interrupted the English settlements.' Officers and men were encouraged by the promise of a royal grant of two hundred thousand acres on the Ohio, to be divided amongst them." [History of the United States, Vol. iii, p. 72.—Bancroft].

(11.) "Shamokin Daniel, who came with me, went over to the fort [Duquesne] by himself, and counselled with the Governor, who presented him with a laced coat and hat, a blanket, shirts, ribbons, a new gun, powder, lead, &c. When he returned he was quite changed, and said 'See here, you fools, what the French have given me. I was in Philadelphia, and never received a farthing;' and (directing himself to me) said, 'The English are fools, and so are you.'"—[Post, First Journal]. Washington, while at Fort LeBoeuf, was much annoyed by the conduct of the French who did their utmost to seduce his Indian escort by bribes and promises. [Parkman, Pontiac, chap. iv, n].

(12.) The interest excited by the adventurous spirit of this man Stobo, who was the first English military prisoner in Fort Duquesne, and who gave the first plan and description of it, induced Neville B. Craig, Esq., the historian of Pittsburgh, to

gather the principal incidents of his life. From the result of his inquiry we learn, that Robert Stobo was the only son of William Stobo, a merchant of Glasgow, in which city Robert was born in the year 1727. His father and mother both died when he was young, and he was then, with his own consent, sent to Virginia to serve in a store owned by some Glasgow merchants. He became a great favorite of the Governor, Dinwiddie, who, in 1754, when apprehensions began to be entertained of a frontier war, appointed him the oldest Captain of the Virginia regiment, then raised. After being detained some time he was sent to Quebec. Not, however, as a close prisoner, but having the privilege of going about the neighboring country until some time after Braddock's defeat, when a great change took place in his situation. When General Braddock began his expedition, against Fort Duquesne, copies of the foregoing letters and the accompanying plan of that fort were given to him, and at the time of his defeat they fell into the hands of the enemy, and were published. The consequence was that Stobo was immediately ordered into close confinement. Subsequently he was tried and sentenced to be executed, the sentence, however, was deferred, though his confinement was rendered still more rigorous. At length, however, he effected his escape, and after some most extraordinary adventures indeed, arrived at Louisburgh, on the Island of Cape Breton shortly after General Wolfe had sailed for Quebec. He immediately returned to Quebec, afforded that General much information and pointed out the place of landing. [History of Pittsburgh, p. 39].

In a memorial, etc., on the side of the French, we have the following: "These hostages named, the one Jacob Ambrane (Vanbraam), and the other Robert Stobo, were two very crafty spies, and found means to carry on a correspondence with the English Generals. They were found among the papers which fell into the hands of the French after the battle of the 9th of July, 1755, [Braddock's Defeat] the letters which Robert Stobo, one of the hostages had written to Major Washington. That of the 28th of July, to which is annexed an exact plan of Fort Du Quesne, which he had himself drawn, deserves above all a careful perusal." [Olden Time, Vol. ii, p. 152].

(13.) These letters along with many other valuable documents, were secured through the fortunes of war by the French, and were published by the French, under the Royal sanction, at Paris, in 1756. These documents were the private instructions given to Washington and to Braddock; the articles of the capitulation at Fort Necessity, an account from the French point of view of the unfortunate Jumonville affair, the journal of Washington in that campaign, which had not yet been published in England, and many other papers. The chief object of their early publication in Europe was to prejudice the claims of Great Britain as against those of France in America.

There are, in the book, several very ludicrous mistakes, as might well be expected in a work translated from English into French, and then offered to English readers through a translation back from the French. Thus Ensign Ward, is called Ensign Wart; and the word "tomahawk" in Stobo's letter appears thus: "they can conceal themselves so as to dispatch the guard without any difficult with their Tamkanko." [Olden Time, Vol. ii, p. 216].

The full title of this work is as follows: "A memorial containing a summary view of facts, with their authorities, in answer to the observations sent by the English Ministry to the Courts of Europe. Translated from the French. New York, printed and sold by H. Gaine, at the Printing Office of the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square, 1757."

(14.) La Force, after his capture by Washington at the Jumonville affair, was sent with the other prisoners into Virginia where he yet remained unexchanged.

(15.) "A journal descriptive of some of the French forts: Had from Thomas Forbes, lately a private soldier in the King of France's service." [Christopher Gist's Journals, by Wm. M. Darlington, Esq., p. 151].

(16.) Records vi, 224. Deposition made Decr. 28, 1754.

(17.) Records vi, 224. Decr. 28, 1754.

(18.) Archives ii, 173.

(19.) Archives ii, 173.

- (20.) Archives ii, 213.
- (21.) Records vi, 181.
- (22.) Records vi, 181.
- (23.) Governor DeLancy to Gov. Morris. (Arch. ii, 264).
- (24.) Capt. Rutherford to Mr. Allen. (Arch. ii, 288).
- (25.) Archives, Second Series, vi, 253.

In regard to the statement of Fort Machault's location, referred to in foregoing, see Fort Machault.

(26.) In the account of Braddock's expedition we have followed that of I. D. Rupp in the History of Western Penna., as his version is taken almost literally from the official papers and authoritative writings bearing on the subject. We have verified wherever possible their authenticity. The part which relates the flight of the army after the death of Braddock to Dunbar's camp is from Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. ii, p. 223; and whenever necessary we have followed Winthrop Sargent's "History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755, etc." These, with the Sparks' Washington are made up for the most part from official documents.

Major-General Edward Braddock, only son of Major-General Braddock, was born before the close of the 17th century. He entered the army as Ensign in the Grenadier company of the Coldstream Guards, 11th of October, 1710; on the 1st August, 1716, was appointed Lieutenant, and fought a duel, with sword and pistol, with Colonel Waller, 26th May, 1718; on the 30th of October, 1734, he became Captain-Lieutenant, and on the 10th February, 1736, Captain, with the army rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He served in Flanders; became second Major of his regiment in 1743; was present at the battle of Fontenoy, 11th May, 1745, and was appointed 1st Major of the Coldstreams, and Lieutenant-Colonel, 21st November, 1745, Brigadier-General, April 23d, 1746, and in 1747 and 1748, served again in Flanders. In 1753 he was appointed Colonel of the 14th Foot; in March of the following year, Major-General; and on the 24th of September, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's troops in America. He sailed from England 21st De-

ember, 1754, arrived at Hampton Roads, Virginian, 20th of February, 1755, and was killed on the banks of the Monongahela, in Western Pennsylvania, on the 9th July of the same year.

The route Braddock's army pursued from Fort Cumberland to the Monongahela river, as given by Mr. T. C. Atkinson with his map. [From the *Olden Time*, Vol. ii, p. 539].

(27.) Mr. T. C. Atkinson's account of the march is substantially as follows:

General Braddock landed at Alexandria on the 20th of February, 1755. The selection of this port for the debarkation of the troops, was censured at the time, though it is probable it had the approval of Washington. The two regiments he brought with him were defective in numbers, having but about five hundred men each, and it was expected their ranks would be recruited in America. It is shown by the repeated requests on this point made by the General at Cumberland, that this expectation was vain. After numerous delays, and a conference with the Royal Governors, we find Gen. Braddock en route on the 24th of April, when he had reached Fredericktown in Maryland. Passing thence through Winchester, Va., he reached Fort Cumberland about the 9th of May. Sir John Sinclair, Deputy Quartermaster General, had preceded him to this point about two weeks.

The army struck the Little Cacapehon, (though pronounced Cacapon, I have used (says Mr. Atkinson) for the occasion the spelling of Washington, and various old documents) about six miles above its mouth, and following the stream, encamped on the Virginia side of the Potomac, preparatory to crossing into Maryland. The water is supposed to have been high at the time, as the spot is known as the Ferry-fields, from the army having been ferried over. This was about the 4th or 5th of May, [1755].

The army thence pursued the banks of the river, with a slight deviation of route at the mouth of the South Branch, to the village of Old Town, known at that time as the Shawnee Old Town, modern use having dropped the most characteristic part of the name. This place, distant about eight miles from the Ferry-fields, was known at that early day as the residence

of Col. Thomas Cresap, an English settler, and the father of the hero of Logan's speech. The road proceeded thence parallel with the river and at the foot of the hills, till it passes the narrows of Wills mountain, when it struck out a shorter line coincident with the present country road, and lying between the railroad and the mountain, to Fort Cumberland.

From the Little Cacapehon to this point the ground was comparatively easy, and the road had been generally judiciously chosen. Thence forward the character of the ground was altered, not so much in the general aspect of the country, as that the march was about to abandon the valleys, and now the real difficulties of the expedition may be said to have commenced.

The fort had been commenced the previous year, after the surrender at the Great Meadows, by Col. Innes, who had with him the two independent companies of New York and South Carolina. It mounted ten four pounders, besides swivels, and was favorably situated to keep the hostile Indians in check.

The army now consisted of 1,000 regulars, 30 soldiers, and 1,200 provincials, besides a train of artillery. The provincials were from New York and Virginia; one company from the former colony was commanded by Captain Gates, afterwards the hero of Saratoga. On the 8th of June, Braddock having, through the interest and exertions of Dr. Franklin, principally, got 150 wagons and 2,000 horses from Pennsylvania, was ready to march.

Scaroodaya, successor to the Half-King of the Senecas, and Monacatootha, whose acquaintance Washington had made on the Ohio, on his mission to LeBoeuf, with about 150 Indians, Senecas and Delawares, accompanied him. George Croghan, the Indian Agent of Penna., and a friendly Indian of great value, called Susquehanna Jack, were also with him.

The first brigade under Sir Peter Halket, led the way on the 8th, and on the 9th the main body followed. Some idea of the difficulties they encountered, may be had when we perceive they spent the third night only five miles from the first. The place of encampment, which is about one-third of a mile from the toll-gate on the National road, is marked by a copious spring bearing Braddock's name.

For reasons not easy to divine, the route across Wills mountain first adopted for the National road was selected, instead of the more favorable one through the narrows of Wills creek, to which the road has been changed within a few years, for the purpose of avoiding that formidable ascent. The traces are very distinct on the western foot, the route continued up Braddock's run to the forks of the stream, where Clary's tavern now [1848] stands, 9 miles from Cumberland, when it turned to the left, in order to reach a point on the ridge favorable to an easy descent into the valley of George's creek. It is surprising that having reached this high ground, the favorable spur by which the National road accomplishes the ascent of the Great Savage mountain, did not strike the attention of the engineers, as the labor requisite to surmount the barrier from the deep valley of George's creek, must have contributed greatly to those bitter complaints which Braddock made against the Colonial Governments for their failure to assist him more effectively in the transportation department.

Passing then a mile to the south of Frostburg, the road approaches the east foot of Savage mountain, which it crosses about one mile south of the National road, and thence by every favorable ground through the dense forests of white pine peculiar to this region, it got to the north of the National road, near the gloomy tract called the Shades of Death. This was the 15th of June, when the dense gloom of the summer woods, and the favorable shelter which these enormous pines should give an Indian enemy, must have made a most sensible impression on all minds, of the insecurity of their mode of advance.

This doubtless had a share in causing the council of war held at the Little Meadows the next day. To this place, distant only about twenty miles from Cumberland, Sir John Sinclair and Maj. Chapman had been dispatched on the 27th of May, to build a fort; the army having been seven days in reaching it, it follows as the line of march was upwards of three miles long, the rear was just getting under way when the advance were lighting their evening fires.

Here it may be well enough to clear up an obscurity which

enters into many narratives of these early events, from confusing the names of the Little Meadows and Great Meadows, Little Crossings and Great Crossings, which are all distinct localities.

The Little Meadows have been described as at the foot of Meadow mountain; it is well to note that the Great Meadows are about thirty-one miles further west, and near the east foot of Laurel Hill.

By the Little Crossings is meant the Ford of Casselman's river, tributary of the Youghiogheny; and by the Great Crossings, the passage of the Youghiogheny itself. The Little Crossings two miles west of the Little Meadows, and the Great Crossings seventeen miles further west.

The conclusion of the council was to push on with a picked force of 1,200 men, and 12 pieces of cannon; and the line of march, now more compact, was resumed on the 19th. Passing over ground to the south of the Little Crossings, and of the village of Grantsville, which it skirted, the army spent the night of the 21st at the Bear Camp, a locality I have not been able to identify, but suppose it to be about midway to the Great Crossings, which it reached on the 23d. The route thence to the Great Meadows or Fort Necessity, was well chosen, though over a mountainous tract, conforming very nearly to the ground now occupied by the National road, and keeping on the dividing ridge between the waters flowing into the Youghiogheny on the one hand, and the Cheat river on the other. Having crossed the Youghiogheny, we are now on the classic ground of Washington's early career, where the skirmish with Jumonville, and Fort Necessity, indicate the country laid open for them in the previous year. About one mile west of the Great Meadows, and near the spot now marked as Braddock's Grave, the road struck off more to the northwest, in order to reach a pass through Laurel Hill, that would enable them to strike the Youghiogheny, at a point afterwards known as Stewart's Crossings, and about half a mile below the present town of Connellsville. This part of the route is marked by the farm known as Mount Braddock. This second crossing of the Youghiogheny was effected on the 30th of June. The high grounds intervening between the river and its next tributary,

Jacob's creek, though trivial in comparison with what they had already passed, it may be supposed, presented serious obstacles to the troops, worn out with previous exertions. On the 3d of July a council of war was held at Jacob's creek, to consider the propriety of bringing forward Col. Dunbar with the reserve, and although urged by Sir John Sinclair with, as one may suppose, his characteristic vehemence, the measure was rejected on sufficient grounds. From the crossing of Jacob's creek, which was at the point where Welchhousé's mill now stands, about one and a half miles below Mount Pleasant turnpike near the village of the same name, and thence by a more westwardly course, passing the Great Sewickley near Painter's Salt Works, thence south and west of the postoffice of Madison and Jacksonville, it reached the Brush Fork of Turtle creek. It must strike those who examine the map, that the route for some distance, in the rear and ahead of Mount Pleasant, is out of the proper direction for Fort Duquesne, and accordingly we find on the 7th of July, Gen. Braddock in doubt as to his proper way of proceeding. The crossing of Brush creek which he had now reached, appeared to be attended with so much hazard, that parties were sent to reconnoitre, some of whom advanced so far as to kill a French officer within half a mile of Fort Duquesne.

Their examinations induced a great divergence to the left, and availing himself of the Valley of Long run, which he turned into, as is supposed, at Stewartsville, passing by the place now known as Samson's mill, the army made one of the best marches of the campaign, and halted for the night at a favorable depression between that stream and Crooked run, and about two miles from the Monongahela. At this spot, about four miles from the battle ground, which is yet well known as Braddock's spring, he was rejoined by Washington on the morning of the 9th of July.

The approach to the river was now down the valley of Crooked run, to its mouth, where the point of fording is still manifest, from a deep notch in the west bank, though rendered somewhat obscure by the improved navigation of the river. The advance, under Col. Gage, crossed about 8 o'clock, and con-

tinued by the foot of the hill bordering the broad river bottom to the second fording, which he had effected nearby as soon as the rear had got through the first.

The second and last fording at the mouth of Turtle creek, was in full view of the enemy's position, and about one mile distant. By 1 o'clock the whole army had gained the right bank, and was drawn up on the bottom land, near Frazier's house, (spoken of by Washington, as his stopping place, on his mission to LeBoeuf), and about three-fourths of a mile distant from the ambushade.

The advance was now about to march, and while a part of the army was yet standing on the plain, the firing was heard. Not an enemy had yet been seen."

Braddock's Grave.—"A few yards west of the Braddock Run on the National Turnpike in Wharton township, Fayette county, on the north side of the road is the grave of Braddock. When the road was being prepared in 1812, human bones were dug up a few yards from the road on Braddock's Run, some military trappings found with them indicated an officer of rank, and as General Braddock was known to have been buried on this run, the bones were supposed to be his. Some of them were sent to Peale's Museum in Philadelphia. Abraham Stewart gathered them up as well as he could secure them, and placed them under a tree, and a board with "Braddock's Grave" marked on it was fastened to the tree. In 1872, J. King, Editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette, came out to Chalk Hill, cut down the old tree, inclosed the spot with the neat fence now standing, and planted the pine trees now round the grave." [Evert's History of Fayette Co.]*

(28.) "The Register of Fort Duquesne," &c. This Register is a translation from the original Registry of baptisms and deaths, &c., as it was kept at Fort Duquesne during the time of the French occupancy, by their priest, the Rev. Charles Baron. It was copied from the Records in Canada, under the supervision of Mr. John Gilmary Shea, LL. D., and edited with a historical introduction and exhaustive notes by Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M., and published at Pittsburgh, Pa., 1885. The Register extends from June, 1754 to December, 1756. The

*On October 15, 1913, a granite shaft was erected at this place, which is now called "Braddock Memorial Park." This shaft is 8 ft. 3 in. square at its base, 12 ft. 3 in. high, and weighs about 25 tons. Several bronze tablets have been placed on this shaft, one being contributed by the Coldstream Guards.

most interesting entry in the Register is that in which is recorded the death and burial of Beaujeu. It is as follows:

"In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, on the ninth of July, was killed in the battle fought with the English, and the same day as above, Mr. Lienard Daniel, Esquire, Sieur de Beaujeu, Captain of Infantry, Commander of Fort Duquesne and of the army, who was aged about forty-five years, having been at confession and performed his devotions the same day. His remains were interred on the twelfth of the same month, in the cemetery of Fort Duquesne under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful river, and that with the customary ceremonies by us, recollect priest, the undersigned chaplain of the King at the above-mentioned fort. In testimony whereof we have signed.

Fr. Denys Baron, P. R.,
Chaplain."

"The precise location of this cemetery cannot now be determined, nor will it ever be, from the fact that much of the point has been filled from eight to twelve feet above its level at the time of the French."

Father Lambing continues further, giving a reasonable explanation of these unsatisfactory averments, and says: "The conflicting statements may, perhaps, be reconciled in one of two ways. Either Beaujeu had not yet assumed command, and then he is spoken of in the Register as commander by anticipation, as one who held the commission but had not yet begun to exercise the duties of the office to which he was appointed; or else he was actually in command, as is stated in the Register, but being dead, Contrecoeur could, without fear of contradiction, take the honor of victory to himself, and claim recognition from the home government for his eminent services. We need not be surprised at this statement, for it is well known that veracity was not among the most eminent virtues of some of the representatives of France in the New World. Nor would the Governor-General be likely to refuse his countenance to the fraud, if proper influence were brought to bear upon him. I am at a loss which of these opinions to embrace, but regard the latter as the more probable. The

reader can choose for himself. But whatever may be said of the commander at the time of the battle, Contrecoeur resumed command after that time. M. Dumas was a subordinate officer under Beaujeu at the battle, and the historian of General Braddock states that for his gallant conduct on the occasion he "was early in the subsequent year promoted to succeed M. de Contrecoeur in the command of Fort Duquesne. This is a mistake. His name appears in the Register as commander at least as early as September 18, 1755."

The supposition of Father Lambing would seem to be altogether tenable. The trickery and corruption of the Canadian officials exceeds all belief. It is hard to say what would have been represented in a petition for a pension had Beaujeu lived to make application for it.

Touching this conflict of authority we may observe that in the Journal of Operations of the Army, &c., Arch., vi, 2d Series, it is said "M. de Beaujeu, who was in command of the fort, notified of their march, and much embarrassed to prevent the siege with his handful of men, determined to go and meet the enemy."

In the paper called "An account of what has occurred this year [1755] in Canada." Arch., vi, 328, reference is made to Contrecoeur in the following words: "Sieur de Contrecoeur, Captain in the Canadian troops, who was in command of that fort [Duquesne]," etc.

See further as to the details of this expedition and relative subjects, Winthrop Sargent's History of an expedition against Fort Duquesne. * * * * Parkman's writings, especially Montcalm and Wolfe, Penna. Archives, second series, Vol. vi.

As part of the instructions to Ensign Douville (or Donville) given by Dumas when in command of Fort Duquesne, as above referred to, are these: "He shall spare no pains to make prisoners who may be able to confirm to us what we already know of the enemy's designs. * * * * Sieur Douville will employ all his talents and influence to prevent the Indians exercising any cruelty on those who will fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ought to be our guides in that regard." This was given from Fort Duquesne, 23d of March, 1756. * * * * These are different sentiments from

those generally heard throughout that time, and they indicate a different humanity than that which witnessed the naked savages, yelling like famished wolves round their prisoners whom the fire was scorching on that night after the defeat, as the scene occurred on the opposite shore from Fort Duquesne.

“Return of the artillery, munitions of war and other effects belonging to the English, found on the field of battle after the action which took place on the 9th of July, 1755, within three leagues of Fort Duquesne on the Oyo, between a detachment of 200 Canadians and 650 Indians, commanded by Captain de Beaujeu, and a body of 2,000 Englishmen under the command of General Braddock, exclusive of the considerable plunder that the Indians took: 4 brass pieces with the arms of England, of the calibre of 11 lbs; 4 brass pieces with the arms of England, of the calibre of $5\frac{1}{2}$ lbs; 4 brass mortars or howitzers’ of $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter; 3 other grenade mortars, of $4\frac{1}{4}$ inch; 175 balls of 11 lbs; 57 howitzers of $6\frac{3}{4}$ inch; 17 barrels powder, of 100 lbs; 19,740 musket cartridges; the artifices for the artillery; the other articles necessary for a siege; a great quantity of muskets, fit and unfit for service; a quantity of broken carriages; 4 or 500 horses, some of them killed; about 100 head of horned cattle; a greater number of barrels of powder and flour, broken; about 600 dead, of whom a great number are officers, and wounded in proportion; 20 men or women taken prisoners by the Indians; very considerable booty in furniture, clothing and utensils; a lot of papers which have not been translated for want of time; among others, the plan of Fort Duquesne with its exact proportions.

“Note.—The Indians have plundered a great deal of gold and silver coin.” (Arch., 2d Series, Vol. vi, p.)

The plan of the fort above referred to is the one which Captain Robert Stobo drew whilst a prisoner or hostage at Fort Duquesne.

(29.) Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Chapter vii.

(30.) Archives, 2d Series, Vol. vi, p. 262.

(31.) History Western Penna., page 118.

(32.) Arch., Vol. ii, p. 530.

(33.) These extracts are taken from the Papers Relating to the French Occupancy, and are selected from them with regard to their bearing on Fort Duquesne and the Frontiers during that period. (Arch., 2d series, Vol. vi.)

(34.) Montcalm to Count D' Argenson. Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 352.

(35.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 354.

Ensign Douville was killed in an attack on a small fort on the north branch of the Cacapehon, in Hampshire county, Virginia. The name is written Donville in vi Arch., 600, and by Sargent in his Braddock's Expedition, p. 224.

(36.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 359.

(37.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 364.

(38.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 380.

(39.) Craig's History of Pittsburgh, p. 39.

Archives iii, 147.

(40.) Further examination of Michael La Chauvinerie, Junior, 26th Oct., 1757. (Arch., Vol. iii, p. 205).

(41.) History Western Penna., p. 138. Montcalm and Wolfe, Chap. xxii, note.

(42.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 423.

(43.) Arch., 2d Series, Vol. vi, p. 425.

(44.) Arch., 2d Series, Vol. vi, p. 427.

They regarded the Loyalhanna as the Kiskiminetas which they called the River d'Attique.

(45.) Arch., 2d Series, Vol. vi, p. 418.

(46.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 351.

(47.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 355.

(48.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 402.

(49.) Arch., 2d S., Vol. vi, p. 402.

(50.) Parkman, M. & W., Chap. xxii, n.

(51.) Arch., Vol. iii, p. 543.

(52.) Parkman, M. & W., Chap. xxii.

(53.) Parkman, M. & W., Chap. xxii.

(54.) Haslet's letter in *Olden Time*, Vol. i, p. 184, et seq.

(55.) Post's Second Journal, Nov. 22, 1758.

(56.) Col. Bouquet to Wm. Allen, Esq., C. J., *Olden Time*, Vol. i, p. 182. Gen Forbes to Gov. Denny, *Hist. Western Penna.*, Appx., p. 300.

A letter from the Hon. Colonel Bouquet, to Wm. Allen, Esq., Chief Justice of Pennsylvania:

"Fort Duquesne, 25th November, 1758.

"Dear Sir: I take, with great pleasure, the first opportunity of informing you of the reduction of this important place, persuaded that the success of his Majesty's arms on this side, will give you a great satisfaction, and reward you for all the pains you have taken for the difficult supply of this army.

"We marched from Loyal Hannon with twenty-five hundred picked men, without tents or baggage, and a light train of artillery, in the expectation of meeting the enemies and determining by a battle, who should possess this country. The distance is about fifty miles, which we marched in five days, a great diligence considering the season—the uncertainty of the roads entirely unknown, and the difficulty of making them practicable for the artillery.

"The 23d we took post at twelve miles from hence, and halted the 24th for intelligence. In the evening our Indians reported that they had discovered a very thick smoke from the fort, and in the bottom along the Ohio. A few hours after, they sent word that the enemies had abandoned their fort, after having burnt everything.

"We marched this morning, and found the report true. They have blown up and destroyed all their fortifications, houses, ovens and magazines; all their Indian goods were burnt in the stores, which seems to have been very considerable. "They seem to have been about four-hundred men; part have gone down the Ohio; one hundred by land, supposed to Presque Isle, and two hundred with the Governor, M. de Lignery, to Venango, where he told the Indians, he intended

to stay this winter, with an intention to dislodge us in the spring. We would soon make him shift his quarters, had we only provisions, but we are scarcely able to maintain ourselves here a few days to treat with the neighboring Indians, who are summoned to meet us. The destruction of the fort, the want of victuals, and the impossibility of being supplied in time at this distance and season of the year, obliges us to go back and leave a small detachment of two hundred men only, by way of keeping possession of the ground.

"This successful expedition can be of great service to the provinces, provided they will improve and support it. It is now the time to take vigorous measures to secure this conquest; and unless Virginia and Pennsylvania can agree upon an immediate assistance, all our pains and advantages will be lost.

"An immediate supply of provisions, clothing and necessities, should at any rate be sent up for the support of the troops; and measures taken for the formation of magazines on the frontiers (Raystown and Cumberland), for the supply of an army to act early in the spring.

"The succors and directions from England would be too late, and if the colonies do not exert themselves to the utmost of their power, I am afraid they will have occasion to repent it."

(57.) Olden Time, Vol. i, p. 181.

(58.) Probably the ground where prisoners ran the gauntlet. See Smith's Narr.

(59.) Olden Time, Vol. i, p. 186.

(60.) See Fort Machault. Register, p. 30, whereat authorities are given.

(61.) Hist. Western Penna., Appx., p. 300.

(62.) Records, Vol. viii, p. 232. Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of Pittsburgh. Address Rev. A. A. Lambing, as to the authority for the form of the word.

(63.) It has been said, and apparently it seems to be correct, that "Fort Pitt" as applicable to the structure was first used by Gen. Stanwix, Dec. 24, 1759, in the body of the letter, where it is referred to. (Arch., Vol. iii, p. 696). Even that letter he

writes from "Pittsburgh." Other letters of his are dated at "Camp at Pittsburgh," though not invariably so.

(64.) Centenary Memorial, by Wm. M. Darlington, p. 266, et seq.

(65.) Col. Mercer to Gov. Denny. (Records, viii, p. 292).

(66.) Records, viii, 314.

(67.) Records, viii, 315.

(68.) Records, viii, 316.

(69.) See Fort Machault. (Arch., iii, 671 & 674).

(70.) Records, viii, 376.

(71.) Records, viii, 377.

(72.) Records, viii, 391.

(73.) Arch., iii, 685.

Gen. Stanwix to Gov. Denny: "Pittsburgh, Oct. 18th, 1759. We are proceeding here to establish a good post, by erecting a respectable fort. Our advancements are far unequal to my wishes, beginning so very late as the 10th of September, which was as soon as I got up working tools, and have continued as many troops here as I can feed for the works, to have been often brought to eight day's provisions. It is this that must bound every enterprise of every sort in this so distant a country, and all land carriages. The troops in the garrison, and on the communication, suffered greatly by death and desertions, altho' they were then paid to the first of October, and now only to the first of August." (Records viii, 427).

(74.) Arch., iii, 693.

(75.) Western Penna., Appx., 127.

(76.) Western Penna., Appx., 129.

(77.) Records, viii, 383.

(78.) Western Penna., Appx., 139.

(79.) Arch., iii, 711.

(80.) Wm. M. Darlington in Cent. Mem., p. 267.

(81.) Hist. Pittsburgh, p. 85.

Extract of a letter from Pittsburgh, Sept. 24, (1759), "It is
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now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most formidable fortification; such a one as will, to latest posterity, secure the British empire on the Ohio. There is no need to enumerate the abilities of the chief engineer, nor the spirit shown by the troops, in executing the important task; the fort will soon be a lasting monument of both." *Ibid.*

(82.) Craig's Hist. Pittsburgh, p. 87.

(83.) Olden Time, Vol. i, p. 199.

(84.) Arch., 2d Series, vii, 422.

(85.) Arch., iv, 39.

(86.) Records, viii, 509.

(87.) Records, viii, 510.

(88.) Records, viii, 511.

(89.) Records, viii, 578.

(90.) Records, viii, 582.

(91.) Col. Burd's Journal. (Arch., 2d S., vii, 428).

(92.) Records, viii, 592.

(93.) Arch., iii, 744. Records, viii, 646. Records, viii, 739.

(94.) Records, viii, 676.

(95.) Records, viii, 776.

(96.) Parkman, Pontiac, Chap. vii.

(97.) Parkman, Pontiac, Chap. vii.

(98.) Parkman, Pontiac, Chap. xviii. The account of the siege of Fort Pitt by the Indians, is largely taken from Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, omitting therefrom such matters as is not clearly verified by authentic documents. Mr. Parkman has treated exhaustively the French and Indian war, having had access to papers and correspondence which had not theretofore been used, and chiefly the Bouquet and Haldiman Paper, copies of which he obtained from the original manuscript collection of the British Museum. He has also exhausted all the cotemporary as well as the latter authorities.

(99.) Parkman, Pontiac, xviii (Vol. ii, p. 6, n). Extract from

a letter, Ecuyer to Bouquet. "Just as I had finished my letter Three men came in from Clapham's, with the Melancholy News, that Yesterday, at three O'Clock in the Afternoon, the Indians Murdered Clapham, and Every Body in his House: These three men were out at work, & escaped through the Woods. I Immediately Armed them, and sent them to Assist our People at Bushy Run. The Indians have told Byerly (at Bushy Run) to leave his Place in Four Days, or he and his Family would all be murdered: I am Uneasy for the little Posts—as for this, I will answer for it."

(100.) Report of Conference with the Indians at Fort Pitt July 26th, 1763. Taken from MS. by Mr. Parkman. Id.

(101.) See Bouquet's Expedition and Battle of Bushy Run, elsewhere, and Fort Ligonier.

(102.) Craig's History of Pittsburgh, p. 93.

(103.) Craig's Hist. Pittsburgh, p. 95.

(104.) The Major's name is sometimes written Edmonstone, and sometimes Edmondson. He signs his name Edmondstone where he himself had occasion to write it.

(105.) Arch. iv, 457.

The following is an extract from the message of Richard Penn, Governor, to the Assembly, on the 29th of Jan., 1773, (Records x, 69): "It cannot but be doubted but that the late Military Establishment at Fort Pitt, did very greatly Contribute to the rapid Population of the Country beyond the mountain, and that withdrawing the King's Troops must of course not only depress the spirits of the Present Settlers, but retard the progress of the Settlement.

"I persuade myself that you will view the safety and protection of that Extensive and Flourishing district as an object of General importance, and worthy of the Public attention; and as it appears to me that the most proper, and indeed the only assistance which can be afforded these people, is the supporting a small Garrison at that Post or Place, I find myself under the Necessity of applying to you to enable me to carry that Measure into Execution."

On the 5th of the same month in another message he says:

"Altho' there may be no prospect of a speedy renewal of Hostilities on the part of the Indians, it may yet be good policy to guard in time against the worst that can happen, especially as the measure proposed will be attended with no great expense to the public; a garrison of 25 or 30 men to keep possession of that important place, being perhaps sufficient for the present." (Records x, 71).

(106). Records x, 141.

We have not entered into the merits of the claim of Edward Ward on a part of the land which belonged to the fortification after it had been dismantled by the British government, in 1772. The details of the contention which grew out of this claim may be seen in the notes to the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, the St. Clair papers, the Olden Time, Craig's History of Pittsburgh, and the Pennsylvania Archives and Colonial Records. We have alluded to it so far as was necessary in the treatment of our subject.

(107). Arch. iv, 457.

(108.) Arch. iv, 561.

(109.) Arch. iv, 629.

(110.) Craig's History of Pittsburgh, 121.

"To bring the account of this controversy, which has already occupied so much space to a close, we mention that under the kinder feelings produced by united resistance to Great Britain, movements were made early in 1779, to bring the question to an amicable settlement. For this purpose George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse, on the part of Pennsylvania, and Dr. James Madison, late Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Robert Andrews, on the part of Virginia, were appointed Commissioners to agree upon a boundary. These gentlemen met at Baltimore on the 31st of August, 1779, and entered into the following agreement:

"We (naming the Commissioners) do hereby mutually, in behalf of our respective states, ratify and confirm the following agreement, viz: To extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the Delaware

river, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian, drawn from the western extremity thereof, to the northern limit of said state, be the western boundary of said State forever.'"

This agreement was confirmed and ratified by the Legislature of Virginia, upon certain conditions, on the 23d of June, 1780, and by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, on the 23d of September, 1780.

It now only remained to mark the lines upon the ground, so that the citizens should know to what authorities they owed allegiance and obedience, and to whom to look for protection." [Craig, Hist. Pittsburgh, p. 124, et seq.]

(111.) Captain Neville was then about forty-three or forty-four, about the same age as Washington, of whom he was an early acquaintance, and with whom he had served twenty years previous, in Braddock's expedition and defeat. He had, in the preceding year been elected a delegate to the Provincial Convention, which appointed Peyton Randolph, George Washington and others, delegates to the first Continental Congress, but was prevented from attending by sickness.

(112.) Craig's Hist. of Pittsburgh, p. 141.

In Nov. of 1777, Congress requested Gen. Washington to send to Col. William Crawford to Pittsburgh to take command under General Hand of the Continental troops and militia in the Western Department. In May, 1778, Crawford took command of the Virginia regiment here. In the meantime Gen. Hand had been succeeded by Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh. [Wash. Irvine Cor., p. 19, n.]

(113.) Wash. Irvine Cor., p. 17.

Col. John Proctor in a letter to President Wharton from "Westmoreland county, Apr. ye 26th, 1778.

"Sir, I am able to inform you that Capt. Alexander McKee with seven other Vilonis is gon to the Indians, and since there is a Serj't and twenty od men gon from Pittsburgh of the Soldiers. What may be the fate of this Country God only knowes, but at Prisent it wears a most Dismal aspect." [Arch. vi, 445].

(114.) Wash. Irvine Cor., p. 22.

(115.) Wash. Irvine Cor., 24.

(116.) Wash. Irv., Cor., 26.

(117.) Wash. Irvine Cor., p. 134.

Daniel Brodhead was born at Marbletown, Ulster county, New York, in 1736. His great grandfather, Daniel Brodhead, was a royalist and captain of grenadiers in the reign of Charles II. He came with the expedition under Colonel Nichols in 1664, that captured the Netherlands (now New York) from the Dutch, and settled in Marbletown in 1665. His son Richard, and his son Daniel, the father of the subject of this sketch, also resided in Marbletown. Daniel Brodhead, Sr., in 1736, removed to a place called Dansville on Brodhead's Creek, near Stroudsburgh, Monroe county, Pennsylvania, when Daniel Brodhead, Jr., was an infant. The latter and his brothers became famous for their courage in conflicts with the Indians on the border, their father's house having been attacked by the savages December 11th, 1755. Daniel became a resident of Reading in 1771, where he was deputy surveyor. In July, 1775, he was appointed a delegate from Berks county to the provincial convention at Philadelphia. At the breaking out of the Revolution, Daniel was elected a lieutenant-colonel (commissioned October 25, 1776), and subsequently became colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment; his promotion was March 12, 1777, to rank from September 29, 1776. He participated in the battle of Long Island, and in other battles in which Washington's army was engaged. He marched to Fort Pitt, as has already been stated, in the summer of 1778, his regiment forming part of Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh's command in the Western Department. Here, as we have seen, he served until the next spring, when he succeeded to the command in the West, headquarters at Fort Pitt. He retained this position until September 17, 1781, making a very efficient and active commander, twice leading expeditions into the Indian country, in both of which he was successful; but was superseded in his command at Pittsburgh by Colonel John Gibson. Brodhead was, at that date, colonel of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, to which position he was assigned January

17, 1781. After the war, he was Surveyor General of Pennsylvania. He was appointed to that office November 3, 1789, and held the place eleven years, he having previously served in the General Assembly. He died at Milford, Pike county, November 15, 1809. He was twice married. By his first wife he had two children; by his second, none. In 1872, at Milford, an appropriate monument was erected to his memory.

(118.) Letter Book to Oct. 20, 1780, in the Twelfth volume of the Archives, and the Correspondence from 1780 to Oct. 28th, 1781, in Olden time, Volume ii, 376.

(119.) The report is found in the Archives xii, 155.

(120.) This Correspondence is in Olden Time, Vol. ii.

(121.) C. W. Butterfield, Esq. Introduction to the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, page 61, etc. Mr. Butterfield's statement is as condensed as is consistent with clearness. We have given sufficient references to indicate how much indebted we are to this compilation.

(122.) On the 6th of Nov., 1781, Gen. Irvine, on receipt of the news of the surrender of Cornwallis, issued an order to fire thirteen pieces of artillery in the fort, and the issue of a gill of whisky extraordinary to officers and privates.

The Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, under command of Daniel Brodhead as Colonel, marched, as previously explained, to Fort Pitt in the summer of 1778 to take part in an expedition under Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh against Detroit. The enterprise, it will already be seen, proved abortive, but the regiment remained in the Western Department; when, upon the arrival of Irvine, "its remains" were reformed into a "detachment from the Pennsylvania line," to be commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Bayard, as above indicated; the whole consisted of only two companies, the first commanded by Capt. Clark and Lieuts. Peterson and Reed; the second by Capt. Brady and Lieuts. Ward and Morrison.

(123.) Wash.-Irvine Cor., 66 and 67.

The Commander-in-Chief did not countenance the scheme of building the fort.

(124.) Hinds and Fisher had been tried by court-martial when Col. Gibson was in command, and sentenced to death. Upon representations made to the Commander-in-Chief the sentence in Fisher's case was not approved. Of Hind's case the General knowing nothing more than what was contained in the papers submitted, left the case under the circumstances to General Irvine. For further information see the orders and proceedings in the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, notes p. 82.

(125.) Major Isaac Craig, was Deputy Quartermaster General, &c. He left a very large mass of papers and correspondence which has been well taken care of by his descendants. We shall have occasion to refer to him hereafter. For further information as to the subject connected with Major Craig's official duties, see the Second Series, Penna. Archives, Volume iv; the Letter Book of Maj. Isaac Craig running through several numbers of the Historical Register of 1884, and "Fort Pitt," a compilation by the late Wm. M. Darlington, Esq.

(126.) Wash.-Irvine Cor., 141.

(127.) Craig's Pittsburgh, 182.

(128.) Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of Pittsburgh. Address by Rev. A. A. Lambing, p. 18. * * * *
For Lee's Journal: See Olden Time.

On the 30th of November, 1782, preliminary articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain were signed at Paris. Commenting on the scarcity of information of affairs here at this period, Mr. Craig (Hist. of Pgh.) says: "From the period when the news of that event was received here, military movements and preparation would cease, and business would probably stagnate for a time. In the fall of 1783, the proprietaries, John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, concluded to sell the lands within the Manor of Pittsburgh. The first sale was made in January, 1784, to Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard, of all the ground between Fort Pitt and the Allegheny river, "supposed to contain about three acres. Subsequently however, to the date of that agreement, the proprietaries concluded to lay out a town at the junction of the rivers, so as

to embrace within its limits the three acres agreed to be sold, as well as all the ground covered by the fort. We presume, the purchasers of the three acres assented to this division of the ground, as they afterwards received a deed describing the ground, not by the acre, but by the metes and bounds fixed by the plan of the town, except that the lots on the Monongahela were described as extending to the river, instead of being limited by Water street, as the plan exhibits them.

"The laying out of the town was complete by Thos. Vickroy, of Bedford county, in June, and approved by Tench Francis, the attorney of the proprietors, on the 30th Sept., 1784. Sales immediately commenced, many applications for lots were made as soon as the survey was completed and before it had been traced on paper."

(129.) Craig's Pittsburgh, 210-213.

The foregoing extracts in the text are mostly from the same authority.

(130.) Arch. xii, 437. Quoting Penna. Gazette, xi, 39.

(131.) Craig, 248.

(132.) The date of the publication of the History from which this extract is taken is 1851.

"Isaac Craig was born at Ballykeel-Ednagonnel, County Down, Ireland, of Presbyterian parents, about the year 1742, emigrating to America at the close of the year 1765 or beginning of 1766, and settled in Philadelphia, working as a journeyman house carpenter, which trade he had previously learned, becoming finally a master builder, and laboring with success until the breaking out of the Revolution. In November, 1775, he received an appointment as the oldest lieutenant of marines in the navy, and, in that capacity, served ten months, being promoted, after some active service, to a captaincy of marines. Having joined the army with his company as infantry, he was present at the crossing of the Delaware, the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, and at the battle of Princeton. On the 3d of March, 1777, he was appointed a captain of artillery in the regiment of Pennsylvania troops under the command of Colonel Thomas Proctor, in which regiment he continued to serve

until it was disbanded at the close of the war. He was engaged with his company in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Early in the spring of 1778, he was ordered to Carlisle. Here he remained until August, 1778. On the 29th of March, 1779, he was ordered to the command of the fort at Billingsport, on the Delaware, below Philadelphia, being relieved May 2d following. He was ordered with his regiment to Easton, May 20, 1779, and marched with Sullivan in his expedition against the Six Nations, returning to Easton, October 18, following. In January, 1780, he was with the army at Morristown, New Jersey. On the 20th of April, he was ordered to Fort Pitt with artillery and military stores, reaching that post on the 25th of June. He continued in command of the artillery there until the 29th of July, 1781, when he left with his detachment for the Falls (Louisville) in aid of Clark, as before narrated; getting back to Fort Pitt on the 26th of November.

On the 12th of March, 1782, Captain Craig was promoted to be major, his commission bearing date March 13, 1782, to rank from October 7, 1781. His duties at Fort Pitt and the confidence reposed in him by General Irvine have already been indicated in previous pages. Major Craig continued at that post until the close of the war, when he became a citizen of Pittsburgh."

FORT LIGONIER.*

Within three years after the defeat of Braddock, (1755), another army was organized under orders of the British government, with the assistance of the middle colonies, for an offensive campaign particularly directed against Fort Duquesne. Brigadier John Forbes was entrusted with the command. He waited at Philadelphia until his army was ready, and it was the end of June, (1758), before they were on the march. His forces consisted of provincials from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, with 1200 Highlanders of Montgomery's regiment and a detachment of Royal Americans, amounting in all, with wagons and camp followers, to between six and seven thousand men.

*A handsome marker was unveiled in the square at Ligonier on July 3, 1915. The site of the fort will be marked by the Penna. Historical Commission.

The Royal American Regiment was a new corps raised in the colonies, largely among the Germans of Pennsylvania. Its officers were from Europe; and of the most conspicuous among them was Lieut.-Col. Bouquet, a brave and accomplished Swiss, who commanded one of the four battalions of which the regiment was composed. (1.)

The troops from Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland were ordered to assemble at Winchester, in Virginia, under Colonel Washington; and the Pennsylvania forces at Raystown, now Bedford. Bouquet preceded Forbes, who was attacked by a painful and dangerous malady which disabled him from leaving Philadelphia for some time, and from which he suffered direfully throughout the whole campaign.

Bouquet with the advance division was at Raystown early in July, (1758). Here in an opening of the forest, by a small stream, were his tents pitched; and Virginians in hunting shirts, Highlanders in kilt and plaid, and Royal Americans in regulation scarlet, labored at throwing up entrenchments and palisades.

And here before the army set out on its way through the wilderness, from this the verge of civilization, a question rose as to the route to be pursued; whether the army should hew a road through the forest, or march 34 miles to Fort Cumberland, (Md.), and thence follow the road which had been made by Braddock. The Pennsylvanians urged the former; the Virginians, with Washington as their most active and zealous speaker, insisted on the latter route. It was finally determined, upon the opinion of Sir John Sinclair, Quartermaster-General, who had accompanied Braddock, and of Col. Armstrong, to whose opinion Forbes and Bouquet paid great deference, as well as from reasons which appeared to be convincing to Bouquet and himself, that the course should be direct through Pennsylvania, from which conclusion it was necessary that a new road should be made from that point (2), and by the 1st of August, ('58), a large force was employed opening out and making the new road for the passage of the army between Bedford and the Laurel Hill. (3.)

Meanwhile Bouquet's men pushed on the heavy work of road-making up the main range of the Alleghenies, and, what proved

far worse, the parallel mountain ridge of Laurel Hill, hewing, digging, blasting, laying fascines and gabions to support the track along the sides of steep declivities, or worming their way like moles through the jungle of swamp and forest. Forbes described the country to Pitt as an "immense uninhabited wilderness, overgrown everywhere with trees and brushwood, so that nowhere can one see twenty yards." In truth, as far as eye or mind could reach, a prodigious forest vegetation spread its impervious canopy over hill, valley and plain, and wrapped the stern and awful waste in the shadows of the tomb. (4.)

Forbes, still very ill, was obliged to rest on his way at every step of his progress, as the nature of his disease—being an inflammation of the stomach and bowels—was such as required rest of the body. He was carried on a kind of litter, swung between two horses. It was a little before September when he reached Bedford, where he was joined by Washington.

The advance of Bouquet's force before this time had reached the Loyalhanna, and under Col. Burd of the Pennsylvania regiment, (5), had begun the erection of a stockade and fortified camp. (6.)

The plan adopted by those who were in command, and carried out by Forbes, was, instead of marching like Braddock, at one stretch for Fort Duquesne, burdened with a long and cumbrous baggage-train, to push on by slow stages, establishing fortified magazines as they went, and at last, when within easy distance of the fort, to advance upon it with all his force, as little impeded as possible with wagons and pack-horses.

The western base of Laurel Hill along which flows the Loyalhanna had been fixed upon as the point at which there should be a general gathering of the army before any serious attempt was made to advance further westward. The first camp of the soldiers who took up their position here was called the "Camp at Loyalhannon;" the place taking its name from the creek in its English form, which itself is a variation of its Indian name. The old Indian path direct from their village and trading point near the Forks of the Ohio to Raystown and the east, crossed the creek here. It was known as the Loyalhannon, or cognate name, long before the time when it was occupied by the English. (7.)

About the first of September, ('58), nearly all of Bouquet's division, consisting of about 2,500 men, were encamped about the Loyalhanna. It is probable, moreover, that a more advanced position had even been taken at a point about ten miles west, on the old trading path, on the bank of the Nine-Mile run, a tributary of the Loyalhanna. Gen. Forbes, in a letter dated at Fort Loudoun, Sept. 9th, 1758, says that the road over the mountains, and the communication was then "effectually done to with 40 miles of the French Fort." (8.)

While the advance of the army lay at the Loyalhanna awaiting the arrival of the General, occurred the unfortunate affair of Major Grant's Defeat—the most disastrous episode of this campaign.

Major James Grant, of the Highlanders, had begged Bouquet to allow him to make a reconnoissance in force to the enemy's fort, and being allowed permission to do so, had received special orders not to approach too near the fort if there were any indications of resistance, and in no event to run the hazard of a combat, if it could be avoided.

He left the camp on the 9th of Sept. with a force of 37 officers and 805 privates. Without having been discovered by the enemy—which was a remarkable thing—he succeeded on the third day after, in reaching the hill which overlooked Fort Duquesne. He then, very imprudently, prepared his plans to draw the enemy out; flattering himself that he could readily defeat them. He based his expectations on an utter ignorance of the methods of his enemy, of the qualities of most of his own men, and of the strength of his opponents. The French within a day or two before had received reinforcements from the Illinois.

In the early morning of the 14th (Sept., '58), while the fog yet lay on the land and river, he sent a few Highlanders to burn a ware-house standing on the cleared ground. He did this to draw out the enemy, and had the bagpipes play and the reveille to be beaten to comfort his men * * * * * The roll of the drums was answered by a burst of war-whoops, and the French came swarming out, many of them in their shirts, having just leaped from their beds. They came together and there was a hot fight in the forest, lasting about three-

quarters of an hour. At length the horrors of such warfare, to which the Highlanders were not at all used, the frightful yells and hideous appearance of the barbarians, their overpowering number, their own ignorance of such a method of fighting completely overcame them. They broke away in wild and disorderly retreat. * * * * *

The only hope was in those Virginians whom Grant had posted back so they might not share the honor of victory. Lewis had pushed forward, on the sound of the battle, but in the woods he missed the retreating Highlanders. Bullitt and his Virginia company stood their ground, and they kept back the whole body of French and Indians till two-thirds of his men were killed. They would not accept quarter. The survivors were driven into the Allegheny, where some were drowned, others swam over and escaped. * * * * *

Grant was surrounded and captured, (9), and Lewis, who presently came up, was also made prisoner, along with some of his men. * * * * * The English lost 273 killed, wounded and taken. The rest got back safe to the camp at Loyalhanna.

The French did not pursue their immediate advantage with the zeal which their success would have justified. From all accounts they made special efforts to make prisoners rather than kill, and the loss of dead was suffered mostly at the hands of the Indians. The French who had full knowledge of the movements of the army, and who knew that only a part of it had arrived at the Loyalhanna, determined, notwithstanding the defection of their allies, after the victory over Grant, to make an attack on the camp without the loss of time and before the entire army should come up. The Indians now showed every sign of disaffection. They were getting tired of the French, and were anxious to get home to their squaws and papooses. But above all, the wonderful influence of that remarkable man, Frederick Post, in whom the savages had implicit confidence, and who was among them at this time as the agent of the Province, was successful in alienating them from their old confederates.

Accordingly, the united forces of the French and Indians, by a premeditated arrangement sallied forth and with great desperation attacked the English in their camps around the

stockade, and even the stockade itself. After a bitter engagement they were repulsed; and from this repulse they never succeeded in gathering their forces together again in sufficient numbers to encourage them to risk the chances of another engagement. In the woods around Fort Ligonier, the French and their barbarian allies met in battle for the last time the English, in their contest for the region of the Ohio.

But in the interim, and up to the time when they were chased back from the Loyalhanna, the enemy harrassed the English in every way conceivable, but especially by lying in wait and ambushing detachments separated from the others, and by constantly destroying the horses and cattle. This warfare was carried on all round this post, both eastward and westward of the camp and all through the woods surrounding it.

Very meagre accounts of this engagement which came off here at Ligonier on this occasion when the French and Indians attacked the English, are available. In its results, however, it was of great moment and consequence. In the history of the conflict with the barbarians, single engagements must, nearly always, be considered in connection with or in relation to events of which they are merely a part. What the result would have been had the English at Loyalhanna fallen to the mercy of their enemies, can only be conjectured. It is certain that the battle was one of magnitude and desperation. There is quite enough testimony from the best sources to fix this beyond doubt; and its effect on the subsequent part of the campaign and on the history of the time was no less a matter for congratulation for the English than of mortification and ill omen to the French. The more we know of the actual condition of affairs at that time, the more apparent it becomes that this engagement was of the greatest moment in its results.

The following extracts from the Pennsylvania Gazette, October 26, 1758, &c., give some particulars of the actions of the 12th:

“Extract of a letter from Loyal Hanning, dated 14th:

“We were attacked by 1200 French and 200 Indians, commanded by M. de Vetri, on Thursday, 12th current, at 11 o'clock, A. M., with great fury until 3 P. M., when I had the

pleasure of seeing victory attend the British arms. The enemy attempted in the night to attack us a second time; but in return for their most melodious music, we gave them a lesson of shells, which soon made them retreat. Our loss on this occasion is only 62 men and 5 officers, killed, wounded, and missing. The French were employed all night in carrying off their dead and wounded, and I believe carried off some of our dead in mistake."

"Extract of a letter from Raystown, October 16, 1758:

"Yesterday the troops fired on account of our success over the enemy, who attacked our advanced post at Loyal Hanning the 12th inst.; their number, by the information of a prisoner taken, said to be about 1100. The engagement began about 11 o'clock A. M., and lasted till 2. They renewed the attack thrice, but our troops stood their ground and behaved with the greatest bravery and firmness at their different posts, repulsing the enemy each time, notwithstanding which, they did not quit the investment that night, but continued firing random shots during that time. This has put our troops in good spirits. The accounts are hitherto imperfect, which obliged the General to send a distinct officer yesterday to Loyal Hanning to learn a true account of the affair. By the General's information, they only took one wounded soldier, and say nothing of the killed, though it was imagined to be very considerable, if they attacked in the open manner it is reported they did. Colonel Bouquet was at Stony Creek, with 700 men and a detachment of artillery. He could get no further on account of the roads, which, indeed, has impeded everything greatly. Tonight or to-morrow a sufficient number of wagons will be up with provisions. Killed 12, wounded 18, missing 31. Of the missing 29 were on grass guards when the enemy attacked." (10).

It will be seen from the list of those killed, as also from the reports, that at this day the most of the army at Loyalhanna was composed of provincials. Bouquet himself was not at the camp at the time of the engagement. Col. James Burd was in command, and the following is his account in a letter written the same day. (11).

"Camp at Loyal Hannon, Oct. 12, 1758.

"To Col. Bouquet at Stoney Creek on the Laurel Hill:

I had the pleasure to receive your favors of this date this evening at 7 P. M. I shall be glad to see you. I send you, through Lieut. Col. Lloyd (who marches to you with 200 men), the 100 falling axes, etc., you desire.

"This day, at 11 A. M., the enemy fired 12 guns to the southwest of us, upon which I sent two partys to surround them; but instantly the firing increased, upon which I sent out a larger party of 500 men. They were forced to the camp, and immediately a regular attack ensued, which lasted a long time; I think about two hours. But we had the pleasure to do that honour to his Majesty's arms, to keep his camp at Loyal Hannon. I can't inform you of our loss, nor that of the enemy. But must refer to for the particulars to Lieut. Col. Lloyd. One of their soldiers, which we have mortally wounded, says they were 1200 strong and 200 Indians, but I can ascertain nothing of this further, I have drove them off the field; but I don't doubt of a second attack. If they do I am ready." In a post-script he adds: "Since writing we have been fired upon." (12).

In a letter of Henry Bouquet's dated at "Ray's Dudgeon, Oct. 13, 1758, 10 P. M." (13). He says:

"After having written to you this morning, I went to reconnoitre Laurel Hill, with a party of 80 men, some firing of guns around us made me suspect that it was the signal of an enemy's party. I sent to find out, and one of our party having perceived the Indians, fired on them. We continued our march and have found a very good road for ascending the mountain, although very stony in two places. The old road is absolutely impracticable.

"I have had this afternoon a second letter from Colonel Burd. The enemies have been all night around the entrenchments, and have made several false attacks. The cannon and the cohortes (14) have held them in awe, and until the Colonel had sent to reconnoitre the environs, he was not sure that they had retired. At this moment is heard from the mountains several cannon shots which makes me judge that the enemies have not yet abandoned the party, and at all events I am going to attempt to reënter this post before day. The 200 men which

Colonel Burd sent to me, have eaten nothing for two days. I received this moment provisions from Stoney Creek and will depart in two hours.

"I have not any report of our loss, two officers from Maryland have been killed, and one wounded. Duncannon of Virginia mortally wounded, also one officer in the first battalion of Pennsylvania, and nearly fifty men.

"The loss of the enemy must be considerable to judge by the reports of our men and the fire which they have already wasted. Without this cursed rain we would have arrived in time with the artillery and 200 men, and I believe it would have made a difference.

"As soon as it is possible, I will send you word how we are. Be at rest about the post. I have left it in a state to defend itself against all attacks without cannon, and I learn that they have finished all that remains to be done."

Col. Bouquet arrived at the camp at Loyalhannan on the 7th of Sept. He mentions this fact in a letter to Gen. Amherst written from that post, Sept. 17th, in which he reports the result of the reconnoissance of Maj. Grant. In this letter he explains at length the part he had in suggesting the expedition which was so disastrously carried out by Grant. In this letter is also given some account of the affairs about the camp, of interest in this place. He says:

"The day on which I arrived at the camp, which was the 7th, it was reported to me that we were surrounded by parties of Indians, several soldiers having been scalped, or made prisoners.

"Being obliged to have our cattle and our horses in the woods, our people could not guard or search for them, without being continually liable to fall into the hands of the enemy.

"Lieut. Col. Dagworthy and our Indians having not yet arrived, I ordered two companies each of 100 men to occupy the pathways and try to cut off the enemies in their ambush and release our prisoners." (15.)

Gen. Forbes to Col. Bouquet from Raystown, Sept. 23, 1758, where he had just heard of the report of Grant's defeat, says:

"I have sent Mr. Bassett back the length of Fort Loudoun, in order to divide the troops from thence to Juniata, in small

parties all along that road, who are to set it all to rights, and keep it so; and as the partys are all encamped within five or six miles one of another, they serve as escorts to the provisions and forage that is coming up, at the same time. * * * I understand by these officers that you have drawn the troops from your advanced post. * * * I shall be glad to hear that all your people are in spirits, and keep so, and that Loyall Hannon will be soon past any insult without cannon. I shall soon be afraid to crowd you with provisions, nor would I wish to crowd the troops any faster up, until our magazines are thoroughly formed, if you have enough of troops for your own defense and compleating the roads; and I see the absolute necessity there is for my stay here some days, in order to carry on the transport of provisions and forage, which, without my constant attention, would fail directly. The road forward to the Ohio must be reconnoitered again in order to be sure of our further progress." (16).

The great obstacle which retarded the progress of the army was that of a sufficient roadway. To make a passage-way however imperfect, was an undertaking of great difficulty. In many places, after it was made it answered the purpose but for a short time, so that forces had to be kept at work upon it constantly. New cuts were made, the angles changed, and the road-bed altered as necessity required. Some places along the side of the Laurel Hill were so steep that embankments had to be made for their support; at other places where the ground was marshy, the way became impassible with but little usage. "Autumnal rains, uncommonly heavy and persistent, had ruined the newly-cut road. On the mountains the torrents tore it up, and in the valleys the wheels of the wagons and cannon churned it into soft mud. The horses, overworked and underfed, were fast breaking down. The forest had little food for them, and they were forced to drag their own oats and corn, as well as supplies for the army, through two hundred miles of wilderness. In the wretched condition of the road this was no longer possible. The magazines of provisions formed at Raystown and Loyalhannon to support the army on its forward march were emptied faster than they could be filled. Early in October the elements relented; the clouds

broke, the sky was bright again, and the sun shone out in splendor on mountains radiant in the livery of autumn. A gleam of hope revisited the heart of Forbes. It was but a flattering illusion. The sullen clouds returned, and a chill, impenetrable veil of mist and rain hid the mountains and the trees. Dejected nature wept and would not be comforted. Above, below, around, all was trickling, oozing, pattering, gushing. In the miserable encampments the starved horses stood steaming in the rain, and the men crouched, disgusted, under their dripping tents, while the drenched picket-guard in the neighboring forest paced dolefully through black mire and spongy mosses. The rain turned to snow; the descending flakes clung to the many-colored foliage, or melted from sight in the trench of half-liquid clay that was called a road. The wheels of the wagons sank in it to the hub, and to advance or retreat was alike impossible." (17).

Sir John Sinclair was the Quartermaster-General. It is said of him that he was a petulant and irritable old soldier, who was a good type of those regular professional soldiers of his day, who had had their training in the wars on the continent. It was said that he found fault with everybody else, and would discharge volleys of oaths at all who met his disapproval. He, however, was brave and intrepid, and was with the troops in front whenever occasion demanded. It was his official duty to secure the transportation for the army; incident to this was the superintendence of the roads. But he must have had some quality of excellence that recommended him to the service; for he had occupied the same position under Braddock. By the provincials he was regarded as inefficient, and they did not like him, (18) for his arrogant ways. Forbes, himself, lost patience with him, and wrote confidentially to Bouquet that his only talent was for throwing everything into confusion. Among the orders and requisitions which he made in the line of his duty, when he had gone forward with the Virginians and other troops, to make the road over the main range of the Alleghenies, is the following memorandum: "Pickaxes, crows, and shovels; likewise more whiskey. Send me the newspapers, and tell my black to send me a candlestick and half a loaf of sugar." (19).

Gen. Forbes did not reach the camp at the Loyalhanna till about Nov. 1st. (20). He had been carried most of the way in a litter. Fifty days elapsed from the time of his arrival at Bedford until he reached the Loyalhanna. It was determined at a council of war held after his arrival here not to advance further that season. The weather had become cold, and the summits of the mountains were white with snow. This determination, however, was suddenly changed, as the result of information obtained from various sources touching the actual condition of affairs at Fort Duquesne. It was learnt conclusively, that the French were wanting provisions, that they were weak in number, and that the Indians had left them. It was thereupon concluded to proceed.

Col. Washington had so earnestly requested the privilege of leading the army with his Virginians, that his request was granted; and he and his men under Col. Armstrong with the Pennsylvanians were intrusted with that duty. He was then but a young man, but already a beloved leader of his men. Virginia had intrusted to him her two regiments, consisting of about 1900. Part of this force were clothed in the hunting shirt and Indian blanket, which least impeded their progress through the forest. He himself gave as a reason why he should have this honor that he had "a long intimacy with these woods, and with all the passes and difficulties." (21).

He and his provincials then, as the advance of the army, set out to open the way. On the 12th of Nov., about three miles from the camp his men fell in with a number of the enemy, and in the attack, killed one man, and took three prisoners. Among the latter was one Johnson, an Englishman, who had been captured by the Indians in Lancaster county, from whom was derived full and correct information of the state of things at Fort Duquesne.

On this occasion occurred one of the most memorable of things that can be narrated about Fort Ligonier. (22).

We here allude to the engagement which occurred among the provincial troops by a misunderstanding of orders, in which Washington ran the greatest risk of death. There has never been made public until lately a consistent narrative of this affair. Owing to Washington's reluctance to speak of

himself and of his military career, all the published reports lacked a certain element of credibility. It was however, conceded on all sides that the occurrence was remarkable, and that the remembrance of it always remained fresh in the mind of Washington. The best known authority for the affair was that which was traceable to Gordon's History of Penn'a. From the statement there made it appeared that Col. Washington's detachment was engaged on the road several miles from the fort, and that the noise of arms being heard at the fort it was conjectured that his detachment was attacked; and that thereupon Col. Mercer, with some Virginians, was sent to his assistance; that the two parties approaching in the dusk of the evening, mistook each other for enemies; and that a number of shots were exchanged, by which some of the Virginians were killed.

From the conversation between Washington and the Hon. Wm. Findley, Member of Congress from the Westmoreland district, which has been preserved, the popular version has obtained. Whatever allowance may be made for the literal accuracy of this account, owing to the lapse of time from its narration until its publication, it is certain that it contains substantially the essential and elementary germ of fact which clothes this circumstance with so much interest. A deviation in minor particulars from the more authentic account, here referred to, does not detract from its merits. The association of one command with the other, is excusable when we remember that Mr. Findley put his recollections on paper near twenty years after Washington's death, and then only from memory.

But we have from late sources the version given by Washington himself of this affair. In an article published in Scribner's Magazine for May, 1893, there is reproduced some account of the western frontier wars in which Washington participated, from the manuscript of Washington himself. In prefacing the extracts from this manuscript, Mr. Henry G. Pickering, in whose family the original manuscript is still preserved, says that "it was the purpose of Col. David Humphreys, a member of Washington's military staff in the latter part of the revolutionary war, to write the life of Washington; and it would seem, that at his request Washington prepared the nar-

before you had said he had to it. He was a
 thick skinned man in these circumstances
 and he was being butted in the face, had his
 with his sword he had not time

[illegible]

FACSIMILE OF WASHINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF ENGAGEMENT NEAR FORT LIGNONIER.

rative, the connected part of which is given in the article referred to. This narrative is in autograph, covering some ten pages of manuscript of folio size, and is in part responsive to detailed and numbered questions put by Col. Humphreys.

* * * * There are frequent interlineations and erasures, and the words "I" and "me," in nearly every instance where they occur, are changed to the initials "G. W.," by the revision. It was recently read, by permission, before the Mass. Historical Society, but it has never been printed, [prior to the article referred to], nor, it is believed, have any extracts from it been ever given to the public. Certain incidents described in it, such as the instance of grave peril in which Washington's life was placed in one of the engagements, are of original historical interest, but the permanent value of the narrative is in its authoritative source, and the unchanged form in which it has been transmitted.

The following is a literal transcription of the article:

"But the war by this time raging in another quarter of the continent, all applications were unheeded till the year 1758, when an expedition against Fort Duquesne was concerted and undertaken under the conduct of Genl. Forbes; who though a brave and good officer, was so much debilitated by bad health, and so illy supplied with the means to carry on the expedition, that it was November before the troops got to Loyalhanning fifty or sixty miles from Fort Duquesne, and even then was on the very point of abandoning the expedition when some seasonable supplies arriving, the army was formed into three brigades—took up its march—and moved forward; the brigade commanded by G. W. being the leading one. Previous to this, and during the time the army lay at Loyalbannang, a circumstance occurred which involved the life of G. W. in as much jeopardy as it has ever been before or since.

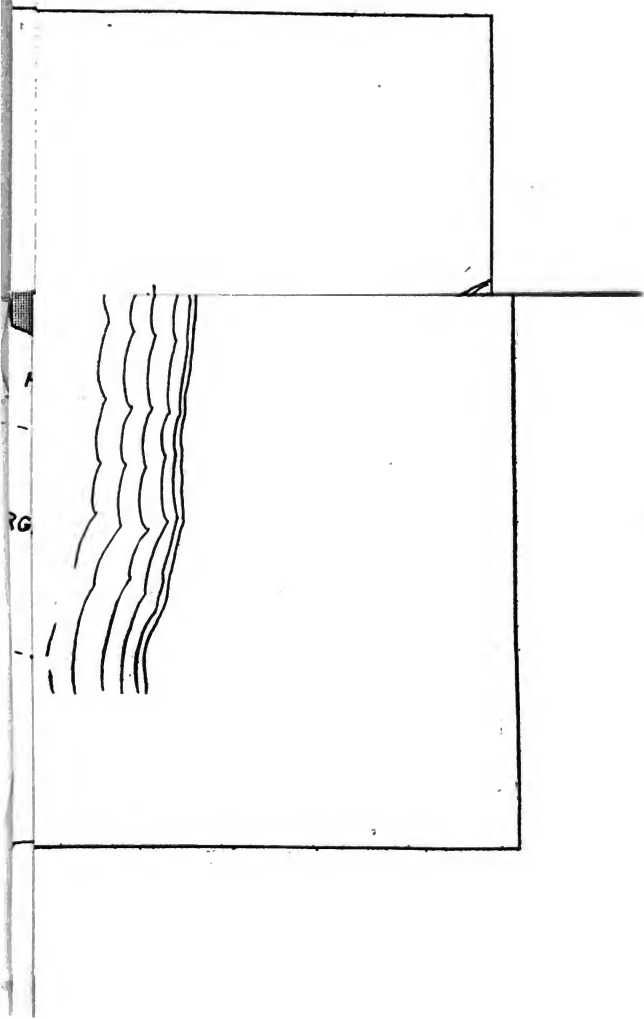
"The enemy sent out a large detachment to reconnoitre our camp, and to ascertain our strength; in consequence of intelligence that they were within two miles of the camp a party commanded by Lieut. Colo. Mercer, of the Virginia Line (a gallant and good officer) was sent to dislodge them, between whom, a severe conflict and hot firing ensued, which lasting some time and appearing to approach the camp, it was con-

ceived that our party was yielding the ground, upon which G. W. with permission of the Genl. called (per dispatch) for volunteers and immediately marched at their head, to sustain, as was conjectured, the retiring troops. Led on by the firing till he came within less than half a mile, and it ceasing, he detached scouts to investigate the cause, and to communicate his approach to his friend Colo. Mercer, advancing slowly in the meantime. But it being near dusk, and the intelligence not having been fully disseminated among Col. Mercer's corps, and they taking us for the enemy who had retreated approaching in another direction, commenced a heavy fire upon the relieving party which drew fire in return in spite of all the exertions of the officers, one of whom, and several privates were killed and many wounded before a stop could be put to it, to accomplish which G. W. never was in more imminent danger, by being between two fires, knocking up with his sword the presented pieces."

On the 13th, Col. Armstrong, who had proved his skill in leading troops expeditiously through the woods, was sent out to the assistance of Washington with 1,000 men. Armstrong was the senior officer of the Pennsylvania forces, and was next in command under Bouquet. These two bodies of provincials, as it would appear, co-operated together in the front; sometimes detachments of the one would be passed on the road by detachments of the other, and so again as the occasion required. The army progressed slowly; the weather was rainy; the road miserably bad. A number of friendly Indians were kept out as scouts; and every precaution was taken to guard against surprise.

The force for this purpose specially consisted of 2,500 men picked out. That the men might be restricted as little as possible in their movements, they went without tents or baggage, and with a light train of artillery expecting to meet the enemy, and ready to determine the result by a battle.

On the 17th of Nov., Washington was at Bushy Run. On the 18th, Armstrong is reported within 17 miles of Fort Duquesne, where he had thrown up intrenchments. Gen. Forbes himself followed on the 17th from Ligonier with 4,300 effective



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men—having left strong garrisons and supplies at Ligonier and Bedford.

At every stopping place they all resorted to every precaution. On the 19th, Washington left Armstrong (who in the meantime had come up to him) to wait for the Highlanders, and, taking the lead, with vigilance proceeded towards the fort. On the 24th, Forbes encamped his whole army about Turtle Creek, 10 or 12 miles from Fort Duquesne. Here the word was brought by the Indian scouts who had advanced to within sight of the fort, that the French had abandoned the place and that the structures were on fire. This report was soon confirmed. A company of cavalry under Capt. Hazlet was sent forward to extinguish the fire and save as much as possible, but they were too late. Preparations had been made by the French to withdraw when it was seen that they could offer no resistance. They had made ready to destroy their works, and after setting fire to everything that would burn, they withdrew with the rest of their munitions and cannons, some going down the Ohio, and the Commandant with the most of his forces going up the Allegheny to Fort Machault. The whole of the English hurried forward and on Saturday, 25th of Nov., 1758, took possession of the site of Fort Duquesne, and thenceforth the place was held by those of Saxon blood.

It is true the old Fort Duquesne was but a heap of ruins when the army came to take possession of it; nevertheless, the campaign of Forbes was eminently successful. He took possession of this fortress to which the eyes of the civilized world were directed, without an engagement, the fruits of his labors falling into his hands by reason of his careful and masterful arrangements, his skillful assistants, and his ample preparations which won him a bloodless victory, and the English race one of its greatest achievements.

On the next day, Nov. 26th, Gen. Forbes, making report to Gov. Denny of the success of the expedition, added: "I must beg that you recommend to your Assembly the building of a block-house and saw mill upon the Kiskiminetas near the Loyalhanna, as a thing of the utmost consequence to the prov-

ince, if they had any intention of profiting by this acquisition." (23).

The importance of Fort Ligonier as a military position was apparent, even before this event. Forbes, in a letter to the Governor from Raystown, Oct. 22, 1758, when the immediate success of their expedition was uncertain, says that, whether their attempt on Fort Duquesne should be successful or not, the chain of forts from the Loyalhanna to Carlisle ought to be garrisoned, besides those on the other side of the Susquehanna. Of the number required to garrison these posts, he estimates that there should be 300 at Loyalhanna, and 200 at Raystown. (24).

Forbes set out from Pittsburgh to return, on the 3rd of Dec. (25). On the 8th, Frederick Post came to Ligonier where he found the General very sick. He expected to leave every day, but still continued to be too ill to be moved. On the 14th, he (the General) intended to go, but his horses could not be found. They thought the Indians had carried them off. They hunted all day for the horses, but could not find them. "On the 16th, Mr. Hays," he says, "being hunting, was so lucky as to find the General's horses, and brought them home; for which the General was very thankful to him." Here they all remained till the holidays. Under date, Dec. 25th, Post says, "The people in the camp prepared for a Christmas frolic, but I kept Christmas in the woods by myself." This was the first Christmas celebrated by the English in that region. On the 27th, he says, "Towards noon the General set out; which caused great joy among the garrison, which had hitherto lain in tents, but now being a small company, could be comfortably lodged. It snowed the whole day."

During the latter part of the year of 1758 and the early part of 1759, there were busy times about the fort, as it was in the direct line of communication to Fort Pitt from the east. Of necessity there was much movement on the military road during this time, and this post from its location was the most important relay station west of Bedford. It is not probable that any particular body of troops remained here continuously for any length of time. Part of the time, we know, the detachments of the Pennsylvania provincials were here;

sometimes there were Virginians, but most of the time—and, after the regular soldiers were withdrawn from their campaign, all the time—the garrison was composed of Royal Americans. It would further appear that for most of the time the senior officer who happened to be located here, was the one in command, although the commandant at Fort Pitt was superior officer in this department. Col. Hugh Mercer was left in charge at Fort Pitt, and remained there until the arrival of Gen. Stanwix, who came out in the spring of 1759 to superintend the erection of the more permanent fortress at that place. Mercer himself was at Ligonier when Forbes took possession of Fort Duquesne; as from here he communicated the successes of the army in a letter to Gov. Denny (26), Dec. 3, 1758.

When the French abandoned Fort Duquesne, their Commandant, De Ligneris retired to Fort Machault (Venango). They still had some influence over some of the Indians of the northwest; and that vigilant officer used these to good advantage. From Venango, and from Indian towns along the Allegheny and streams westward, parties of these barbarians led by the French Canadians, made inroads constantly on the out posts of the Province, and were always on the alert to waylay and harass the convoys on the road. Many reports are made of their depredations, even after the French abandoned Venango, in Aug., 1759.

The first camp at the Loyalhanna was doubtless made after the fashion of those others on the line of advance of Bouquet; and of necessity was made before the fort was built. Col. Jos. Shippen, in a letter from Raystown describing the works there, says: "We have a good stockade fort built here with several convenient and large store-houses. Our camps are all secured with a good breast work and a small ditch on the outside." (27).

In the report of Grant's defeat by Montcalm he says that the defeated soldiers "were pursued up to a new fort, called Royalhannon, which they [the English] are building." (28).

About the first mention made of the place by the French was on the occasion of the arrival there of Bouquet's advance, at which time it is reported "that a fort has been built of piece upon piece, and one saw mill." (29).

From the same sources reports were made that the works at

Loyalhanna were still in process of construction in the spring of 1759. (30).

The number of troops here during the winter of 1758 and throughout 1759, must have been considerable. This was necessary not only for the protection of the post but as a support to Fort Duquesne; for there were fears and uncertainties as to the plans of the enemy. Col. Mercer, in Sept. (1759) states that "the difficulty of supplying the army at Pittsburgh obliges the General to keep more of the troops at Ligonier and Bedford than he would choose." (31). At that date, Col. Armstrong was at Ligonier, and was expected to remain some weeks longer. Prior to that time, however, Col. Adam Stephen of the Va. provincials was at least for the time being in command at Ligonier. Under date, from this place, July 7th, (1759), Col. Stephen reports to Gen. Stanwix the particulars of an engagement that occurred the day before. He reports as follows: (32).

"Yesterday about one o'clock the Scouts and Hunters returned to camp & reported that they had not seen the least sign of the Enemy about; upon which, in Compliance with Maj. Tulliken's request, I sent Lt. Blane with the R. Americans to Bedford, and as the party was but small, ordered a Sergt. & Eighteen chosen Woodsmen, to conduct him through the Woods, to the foot of Laurel Hill on the West side, with directions to return to Camp without touching the Road.

"About three Quarters of an hour after the Detachment. had marched, the Enemy made an attempt to Surprise this Post. I cannot ascertain their numbers, but am certain they are considerably superior to ours.

"At first I imagined the Enemy only intended to amuse the Garrison whilst they were engaging with Lt. Blane's Party, but finding the place invested in an instant & the Enemy rush pretty briskly, I began to entertain hopes of their safety, and was only anxious for the Sergt. and Eighteen men.

"The Enemy made an effort from every Quarter, but the fire on the first Redoubt was the hottest, in it Capt. Jones was killed.

"We are extremely obliged to Lt. Mitchelson, of the Artillery, for his Vigilance & application. After a few well placed shells and a brisk fire from the Works, the Enemy retired into the

skirts of the Woods, and continued their fire at a distance, till night.

"The Sergt. (Packet, of the Virginians) returned about sunset without seeing an Enemy until he came within sight of the Fort. The party behaved well, fought until they had orders to retreat & got in without the loss of a man.

"The Enemy never molested us in the night. Small Parties of them have shown themselves in the skirts of the Woods & fired at a distance without doing us any hurt.

"We were happy in saving the Bullock guard & Cattle & all the horses employed in the public Service were luckily returned to Bedford.

"I have not heard from Pittsburgh since the first inst., where Capts. Woodward & Morgan then arrived with a detachment of 230 men, having under their care Eighty horse load of flour.

"P. S. We have only Capt. Jones killed & three men wounded & flatter ourselves that their loss is considerable."

On the 17th of the same month, Col. Mercer reporting to Gov. Denny from Pittsburgh, says: "Half the party that attacked Ligonier was returned (to Venango) without prisoners or scalps; they had by their own account, one Indian killed and one wounded." (33). Whether this has any allusion to the attack reported by Colonel Stephen, is left only to inference.

Then for a time when the French were making ready to leave Venango and after they had determined to do so, there are less frequent reports of attacks either on the posts or convoys; but there was no safety for those that were on the roads alone or unprotected. In August, Col. Mercer writes to Gov. Denny from Pittsburgh: "We are likely to have little trouble from the enemy this way, for their Indians have dropped off to a very few who, in small parties, lie about Ligonier, and this place, serving as spies, and now and then taking a scalp or prisoner." (34).

Later in the same month as part of the intelligence received by the Council from Pittsburgh, is the following from Col. Mercer: "In the evening 11th of Aug., 1759, a Delaware Indian informed me that 9 Indians of their nation from Venango had been in the road below Ligonier, and taken an

Englishman prisoner, but that he had made his escape from them in the night." (35).

Col. Mercer in a report to Gov. Denny from Pittsburgh, Sept. 15th, 1759, says that "the difficulty of supplying the army here obliges the General to keep more of the troops at Ligonier and Bedford than he would choose; the remainder of the Virginia regiment joins us next week. Col. Armstrong remains some weeks at Ligonier, and the greater part of my battalion will be divided along the communication to Carlisle."

At the latter end of 1759, Gen. Stanwix, in command of this department, reported to Gov. Hamilton that, as the Assembly had directed the disbandment of their troops, he had ordered "all the Pennsylvanians this side of the mountain, viz., at Pittsburgh. Wetherhold, Fort Ligonier, and Stoney Creek, to march immediately to Lancaster, to be paid and broke." Having sent the Virginians home at the request of the Virginia authorities for service on their frontiers, the posts here were garrisoned by the Royal Americans. (36). In the winter of 1760 and 1761, Col. Vaughan's regiment were garrisoned on the communication. (37).

Little occurred to disturb the ordinary routine about these frontier posts for several years. The line of forts which had been established by the French along the Allegheny, and on the lakes, fell into the hands of the English by the terms of their treaty. The French being defeated, relinquished their possessions in America; and these posts were garrisoned by the British government. Venango, LeBoeuf, Presqu' Isle were occupied soon after the fall of Fort Duquesne.

In 1763 occurred Pontiac's War. This war was brought about by the exertions of this one great chief, and from him it is often called Pontiac's Conspiracy. His scheme was to attack all the English posts, and, after massacring the garrisons to destroy the works. With this war, Fort Ligonier is inseparably connected.

In 1763 the English settlements did not extend beyond the Alleghenies. In Pennsylvania, Bedford might be regarded as the extreme verge of the frontier. From Bedford to Fort Pitt was about 100 miles; Fort Ligonier lay nearly midway. Each of these was a mere speck in the deep, interminable forests

Tier after tier of mountains lay between them, and they were connected by the one narrow road winding along hills and through sunless valleys. Little clearings appeared around these posts; among the stumps and dead trees within sight of the forts, the garrison and a few settlers, themselves mostly soldiers, raised vegetables and a little grain. The houses and cabins for the most part were within the stockades. The garrisons were mainly regulars, belonging to the Royal American regiment. Their life was very monotonous. Along these borders there was, at that time, little to excite their alarm or uneasiness. Some Indians frequented Fort Pitt, and settlers were coming in; but the sight of strange faces was rare. Occasionally news was brought by express-riders; but the life of those who were obliged to perform garrison duty at these posts, was devoid of excitement and monotonous in the extreme.

In the latter part of May, 1763, Capt. Ecuyer wrote to Col. Bouquet, from Pittsburgh, that he believed the Indian affair, from the evidences around him, was general, and he trembled for the out-posts. (38). At that time settlers had been killed near the fort, and there were unmistakable signs of the Indians who had been regarded friendly, having deserted their villages, and taken to the war path.

Fort Ligonier being on the line of relief to Fort Pitt, it became necessary, for the successful accomplishment of their scheme, that it should fall; for no war had been more carefully planned, no campaign more skilfully laid out, or better executed than that which had its origin in the brain of the savage Pontiac, Chief of the Ottaways. In each locality its execution was carried out by the principal warrior or chief of that particular region. All orders were executed without dissent, and with implicit obedience.

The Indians well knew that the destruction of Fort Pitt would avail them nothing permanently unless Fort Ligonier was likewise destroyed. Besides, there were at Ligonier some stores and munitions which would be of use to them. These two posts gone, all the whites to the Allegheny Mountains would have been murdered. For when they took a post, its capture was followed by the immediate killing of its inmates, or by the torture of those who escaped speedy death. It was

only when the garrison was strong enough to make terms, that it was otherwise.

The Indians, therefore, at about the same time at which they began their operations at Fort Pitt, appeared about Fort Ligonier; for one morning a volley of bullets was sent among the garrison, with no other effect, however, than killing a few horses. Again an attack was made, about the middle of June, by a large body of Indians who fired upon it with great fury and pertinacity, but were beaten off after a hard day's fighting.

The relief of these out-posts was entrusted to Col. Bouquet, and the particulars of his expedition are given in another place. He was now doing what he could to keep up the line of communication and to organize a force fit to penetrate to Fort Pitt and relieve the frontier settlements and the posts. He was encamped near Carlisle, on the 3d of July, 1759, when he heard of the loss of Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. (39).

Fort Ligonier was then commanded by Lieut. Blane, of the Royal American regiment. Blane had been at this post for a number of years. Capt. Lewis Ourry, of the same regiment, was in command at Bedford. These officers kept up a precarious correspondence with each other by means of express-riders. This service was dangerous to the last degree, and soon became impracticable. The substance of a letter from Col. George Armstrong to Gov. Hamilton, from Carlisle, June 16th, is "That Blane, commander at Ligonier, has not had a scrape from Pittsburg, nor even any verbal intelligence since the second express which went to there from Phila.—the third express taking the route by Fort Cumberland. That circumstance, with the loss of a man at Ligonier, who going out on the 14th instant to bring his horse was picked up (so termed) near that place, gives Blane, with many others, reason to conjecture that Pittsburg is invested and the communication cut off."

The condition of affairs about Fort Ligonier from about the 1st of June until the post was relieved by the arrival of the army, is well disclosed in the correspondence of Col. Bouquet, which covers this period. The actors thus tell their own stories. This correspondence has been incorporated into the body of the historical work treating of this war by Francis

Parkman; and from that work we have taken at length, whenever necessary, for the narrative pertaining to this fort. (41).

The following extracts from the letters of Lieut. Blane, will show his position; though, when his affairs were at the worst, nothing was heard from him, as all his messengers were killed. On the 4th of June he writes: "Thursday last my garrison was attacked by a body of Indians, about five in the morning; but as they only fired upon us from the skirts of the woods, I contented myself with giving them three cheers, without spending a single shot upon them. But as they still continued their popping upon the side next the town, I sent the sergeant of the Royal Americans, with a proper detachment, to fire the houses, which effectually disappointed them in their plans." (42).

On the 17th, he writes to Bouquet: "I hope soon to see yourself, and live in daily hopes of a reinforcement. * * * * Sunday last, a man straggling out was killed by the Indians, and Monday night three of them got under an out-house, but were discovered. The darkness secured them their retreat. * * * I believe the communication between Fort Pitt and this is entirely cut off, having heard nothing from them since the 30th of May, though two expresses have gone from Bedford by this post."

On the 28th, he explains that he has not been able to report for some time, the road having been completely closed by the enemy. "On the 21st," he continues, "the Indians made a second attempt in a very serious manner, for near two hours, but with the like success as the first. They began with attempting to cut off the retreat of a small party of fifteen men, who, from their impatience to come at four Indians who showed themselves, in a great measure forced me to let them out. In the evening, I think about a hundred lay in ambush by the side of the creek, about four hundred yards from the fort; and just as the party was returning pretty near where they lay they rushed out, when they undoubtedly would have succeeded, had it not been for a deep morass which intervened. Immediately after, they began their attack; and I dare say they fired upwards of one thousand shot. Nobody received any damage. So far, my good fortune in dangers still attends me."

By some means, Blane got word through to Capt. Ourry, of the fall of Presqu' Isle and the two other posts; for Bouquet reports to Gen. Amherst, July 3d, the news which he had received from Capt. Ourry, who had received it from Blane.

Knowing the straits in which Lieut. Blane and his men were, and having fears that they could not hold out without relief, Capt. Ourry sent out from Bedford, a party of twenty volunteers, all good woodsmen, who reached Ligonier safely. This fact is mentioned in the Account of Bouquet's Expedition, but the particular date is not given. It was probably towards the latter part of June. (43).

While Bouquet lay at Carlisle, and the tidings were more and more gloomy, his anxieties centered on Fort Ligonier. If that post should fall, his force would probably not be able to proceed, and his would be the fate of Braddock. In the words of the authentic narrative,—The fort was in the greatest danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, before the army could reach it, the stockade being very bad, and the garrison extremely weak, they had attacked it vigorously, but had been repulsed by the bravery and good conduct of Lieut. Blane. The preservation of that post was of the utmost consequence, on account of its situation and the military stores it contained, which, if the enemy could have got possession of, would have enabled them to continue their attack upon Fort Pitt and reduce the army to the greatest straits.

For an object of such importance, every risk was to be run. He therefore resolved at an attempt to throw a reinforcement into the fort. Thirty of the best Highlanders were chosen, furnished with guides, and ordered to push forward with the utmost speed, avoiding the road, traveling by night by unfrequented paths, and lying close by day. The attempt succeeded. After resting several days at Bedford, where Ourry was expecting an attack, they again set out. They were not discovered by the enemy until they came within sight of the fort, which was beset by the savages. They received a volley as they made for the gate; but entered safely to the unspeakable relief of Blane and his beleagured men. (44).

When Bouquet reached Bedford, on the 25th of July, Ourry reported to him that for several weeks nothing had been heard

from the westward, every messenger having been killed and the communication completely cut off. By the last intelligence Fort Pitt had been surrounded by Indians, and daily threatened with a general attack.

The condition of those at Fort Ligonier during those last days must have been miserable in the extreme. Cooped up in the fort, and blockaded for several weeks, they could neither hear from the outside world nor could they convey any information. We can therefore well imagine that it was with great joy they caught the first glimpses of the red coats emerging out of the dark laurel bushes, as they first appeared coming down the slope from the base of the Laurel Hill. What greetings there must have been, when on the second of August, the little army with its convoy reached the stockade at Ligonier.

Bouquet, leaving a sufficient garrison and most of his provisions and cattle at Fort Ligonier, proceeded to the relief of Fort Pitt. The savages vanished when he came up. He left the fort on the 4th of August, and on the 5th and 6th had the engagement with the Indians at Bushy Run, an account of which has been given elsewhere.

Col. Bouquet, not having a sufficient force to penetrate into the Indian country, was obliged to restrain his operations and devote his means and attention to supplying the forts with provisions, ammunition and other necessaries, protecting them against surprise, and garrisoning them with his men, until the next year, when with new forces he advanced into the Ohio country.

The troops who had garrisoned these posts during this terrible time, had, for the most part, come out with Forbes in 1758. To these, life was becoming a burden. And it was no wonder. They were all tired of this service; and we can read with marked interest the series of complaints with which the commanding officers at these posts worried the ears of Col. Bouquet. Thus Lient. Blane, after congratulating Bouquet on his recent victory at Bushy Run, adds: "I have now to beg that I may not be left any longer in this forlorn way for I can assure you the fatigue I have gone through begins to get the better of me. I must therefore beg that you will appoint me by the return of the convoy a proper garrison. * * * My

present situation is fifty times worse than ever." And again, on the 17th of September: "I must beg leave to recommend to your particular attention the sick soldiers here; as there is neither surgeon nor medicine, it would really be charity to order them up. I must also beg leave to ask what you intend to do with the poor starved militia, who have neither shirts, shoes, nor anything else. I am sorry you can do nothing for the poor inhabitants. * * * I really get heartily tired of this post." He endured it some two months more, and then breaks out again on the 24th of Nov.: "I intend going home by the first opportunity, being pretty much tired of the service that's so little worth any mans' time; and the more so, as I cannot but think that I have been so particularly unlucky in it." (45).

We often read in the accounts of those times of the difficulty the officers had in keeping their soldiers from deserting. There was indeed little wonder that these should do so. Their existence on the frontier during those perilous times was pitiable in the extreme. Parkman, repeating after Smith, calls them military hermits. As an example of the discontent which prevailed among officers and men who had now for well nigh seven years been isolated from civilisation, the example of Capt. Ecuyer may well be taken. He writes to Bouquet from Bedford—as Mr. Parkman says—on the 13th of Nov. (1763). Like other officers on the frontier, he complains of the settlers, who notwithstanding their fear of the enemy, always did their best to shelter deserters; and he gives a list of eighteen soldiers who had deserted within five days: "I have been twenty-two years in service, and I never in my life saw any thing equal to it—a gang of mutineers, bandits, cut-throats, especially the grenadiers. I have been obliged, after all the patience imaginable, to have two of them whipped on the spot, without court-martial. One wanted to kill the sergeant and the other wanted to kill me. * * * For God's sake, let me go and raise cabbages. You can do it if you will, and I shall thank you eternally for it. Don't refuse, I beg you. Besides, my health is not very good, and I don't know if I can go up again to Fort Pitt with this convoy."

An extract from a letter of Capt. Ecuyer to Col. Bouquet from Fort Pitt, April 23d, 1763, deserves to be given. "Before

the arrival of your letter I had sent four horses to Ligonier, they have returned with a wagon loaded with iron, harness and tools. I have sent an order to Mr. Blane to send to me all the King's horses, having great need of them here, for the boats and for the gardens. But he replied that he has not any, and that the horses which he has belong to himself, and that he had arranged with you on this subject when you came down. I believe that living so long at this post has made him believe at last that the place belongs to him." (46).

The following letters of Colonel Henry Bouquet, written from Fort Pitt in September of 1763, were published for the first time in the Magazine of Western History, for October, 1885: (47).

"Fort Pitt, 15th September, 1763.

"Sir: I received the 10th instant your letters of the fifth, eighth and ninth, with the return of Ligonier. The King's company observes that you have not given credit for some barrels of flour and a strayed ox, which will of course increase the loss of your stores. However, considering all the circumstances, it will be found very moderate. The garrisons must supply themselves with firewood in the best manner they can, as the General does not make any allowance for that article; you might have the trees cut now and hauled in when you have horses, as I find it a saving not to cut it small in the woods.

"Can the inhabitants of Ligonier imagine that the King will pay their houses destroyed for the defence of the fort? At that rate he must pay likewise for two or three hundred pulled down at this post, which would be absurd, as those people had only the use and not the property of them, having never been permitted either to sell or rent them, but obliged to deliver them to the King, whenever they left them.

"As to their furniture, it is their fault if they have lost it. They might have brought it in or near the fort.

"What cattle has been used for the garrison will of course be paid for, but what has been killed or taken by the enemy I see nothing left to them but to petition the General to take their case into consideration. I am very sorry for their mis-

fortune, and would assist them if I had it in my power, but it is really not.

"The orders forbidding any importation of goods are given by Sir Jeffrey Amherst. However, upon sending me a list of what may be absolutely wanted, I shall take upon me to grant a permit. One sutler would be sufficient for that post. We do very well here since we have none at all.

"I am sorry to have to acquaint you that Lieutenants Carre and Potts are included in the reduction, though all the ensigns remain. I shall, with great pleasure, take the first opportunity to recommend you to the General for some place, if a staff is established in the garrisons of this continent.

I am, sir, your obedient and humble servant,
H. BOUQUET."

"Fort Pitt, 30th September, 1763.

"Dear Sir: I received your letter of the twentieth with returns for September.

"Major Campbell will change your garrison and, however disagreeable those things are, you must be persuaded that we do what we can, and not what we would choose.

"If the ship carpenters now here are not sent to the lakes you may retain them a couple of days to fit out barracks for about fifty men, for I don't think we shall have more to spare. Blankets are certainly very necessary, and I will send them down for winter service. As to the other article, I cannot help you at present in that. You must keep two horses going, and I'll send you some Indian corn. I wish Major Campbell could give you some assistance to cut trees at least, but I know how difficult it is upon a march to do those things.

"You will not forget to send the rice and axes you received from Bedford for this post with the seeds.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,
H. BOUQUET.

"Lieutenant Blane."

The original of this letter, from Colonel Henry Bouquet to Lieutenant Blane, who was stationed at Fort Ligonier, is among the papers of General Arthur St. Clair, purchased by

the State of Ohio and preserved at Columbus. It was copied for *The Magazine of Western History*, by Mr. A. A. Graham, secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, at Columbus. It was written from Fort Pitt after the battle of Bushy Run.

Capt. Ecuyer writes to Col. Bouquet from Bedford, November 8th, 1763, stating: "We arrived here on the 4th of the month and departed the 9th. I do not know when we will arrive at Ligonier, for the roads are terrible for the chariots. . . . The soldiers which are here (Bedford) and at Ligonier in garrison complained bitterly that they are not provided for, and I have no money to give them." (48).

The soldiers on the line of the communication were busy in keeping the way open, guarding the convoys and hastening to relief whenever required. Fort Pitt was kept up until 1772, after which a corporal and a few men only were kept at the fort. The next year Richard Penn advised that a small garrison should be kept there as a protection from the Indians. It is not known, therefore, when Fort Ligonier ceased to be garrisoned by the Royal Americans, but there is presumption of the strongest character that about 1767 to 1769 small detachments of soldiers under the Proprietary's government were posted here. It was, however, stated officially, January 30th, 1775, that, "since the conclusion of the last war [French and Indian War, 1754 to 1763], no forts or places of defense have been kept up within this government," (49) and thus the duties of such as were stationed at these posts, it is probable, were more of civil or police character than of a military character.

During the summer of 1764 Bouquet was occupied in organizing an expedition against the Ohio Indians, as it was too late in the season, and he had suffered too much in the campaign of the preceding year, to think of advancing farther until his forces were recruited. He successfully accomplished the object of his labors.

In the latter part of August, 1764, the Indians made a raid near Bedford, and killed near that place one Isaac Stimble, an industrious inhabitant of Ligonier, took some horses loaded

with merchants' goods and shot some cattle, after Col. Reed's [Reid] detachment had passed that post. (50).

From the close of Pontiac's War and the treaty of 1764 with the Ohio Indians, there was no general war waged on the part of the savages upon the outposts of Pennsylvania for some time succeeding. The land office was opened to settlers in Pennsylvania in the spring of 1769, in pursuance of the treaty of 1768. From that period settlers came hither in great numbers. In an incredible short period of time, lands were located and settlers were occupying them beyond the bounds of what we now regard as Westmoreland county, on the north extending beyond the Conemaugh. Lands could not be taken farther northward than the limits of the purchase, which was a straight line from where now the counties of Indiana, Clearfield and Cambria meet, at a point called Cherry Tree, to Kittanning on the Allegheny river. It is not probable, however, that more than a very few isolated settlers occupied any lands very far northward of the Conemaugh until several years after the opening of the office, (1769).

From that time it was not long until the county of Westmoreland was erected out of Bedford for the convenience of the inhabitants of this region. This event occurred February 26th, 1773.

During this time the interests of the Penns in this part of their Province were entrusted to some gentlemen of high repute and of great integrity. Of these, one of the chiefest was Arthur St. Clair. St. Clair, afterward a distinguished general in the War of the Revolution, and the first governor of the Western Territory, was at that time designated Captain, although his duties were chiefly of a civil character. By birth a Scot, the descendant of an ancient and distinguished family, he was by nature inclined to a military life. Having gotten an ensign's commission in the army which Britain sent out in 1758 to join in the war against the French in America, he had served in the expedition against Canada under Wolfe, had married in Boston, May 14th, 1760, had resigned his commission April 16th, 1762, and within a few years after, had become interested as the agent of the Penns in the West. It is probable that he was at Fort Ligonier in some kind of service



some time before 1769. In a warrant granted to him for a certain body of land in Ligonier township, it was recited that he was in command of the post at Ligonier in 1769 at the date of the opening of the land office. What the nature of the service of those agents at these posts was after the withdrawal of the regular garrisons about 1765, we have, at present, no accurate means of determining. When the Commander-in-Chief of the British army abandoned Fort Pitt as a military post at a later period, the Penns kept a few men there, as we have seen, to take care of the public property.

St. Clair was appointed Surveyor for the District of Cumberland county, April 5th, 1770, and commissioned Justice of the Court and a Member of the Proprietary Council for that county. At that time Western Pennsylvania was within the civil jurisdiction of Cumberland, and remained in it until Bedford county was established, March 9th, 1771, at which time he was appointed a Justice of the County Courts, Prothonotary, Register and Recorder of Bedford county (March 11 and 12). When Westmoreland county was erected, February 26th, 1773, he was appointed and commissioned to the same offices in that county. In 1771, St. Clair, with Moses Maclean, Esq., had run a meridian line west of the meridian of Pittsburgh, and his familiarity with this region and his knowledge derived from an execution of this commission, made him, from this circumstance especially, of advantage to the Penns in their contention with the Governor of Virginia, which was now about culminating.

From these circumstances it is probable that the post of Ligonier was kept up in a kind of way from 1765 until about 1770 by the Proprietary government, and that St. Clair had charge of it a part of the time. He is, in the correspondence of 1773 and 1774, addressed as "Captain" by the Governor; it is known that he had not borne that title in the British service. (51).

His duties hereabouts were arduous and constant, among which was the very responsible obligation resting on him to keep the Indian tribes at peace with the Province.

The year 1774 was an eventful one in the annals of Western Pennsylvania. In that year occurred the frontier war known

as Dunmore's War, the last one in which the colonists engaged with the mother country as her subjects. The war burst upon the southwestern frontiers with fury. Instantaneously, as it were, the whole of that region was in consternation and alarm. During this time Ligonier was the center of Pennsylvania influence for all that region which acknowledged the legitimate authority of this Province.

The conflict of jurisdiction between the authorities of Pennsylvania and of Virginia now partook of the condition of civil war. Lord Dunmore, the Tory Governor of Virginia, by his agents, some of whom were desperate and lawless characters, asserted his claims with arms. In various sections there was no civil authority, no respect for law—but, instead, violence, terror, threats and sedition.

The excitement which spread over the country by reason of these things now turned into a panic. Settlers fled in all directions. In the southern portion the frontier was pushed back eastward of the rivers. Here and there the remaining settlers gathered into temporary structures for shelter and defense. The panic spread to the northern frontier. Alarms occasioned by reports that the savages were about to cross the Allegheny river and break in on the northern frontier, took possession of the people. St. Clair and the rest of the magistrates and agents of the Penns were busy night and day, going in all directions and urging the people to make a stand. Upon the individual guarantees and assurances of St. Clair, Col. Mackay, Devereux Smith and others, companies of rangers were formed whose pay was thus made certain. Blockhouses and temporary stockades at various places, and stations for defence and for harborage of the ranging companies and people were established. These ranging companies were distributed for the most part along the line of the Forbes Road from Ligonier by way of Hannastown to the Allegheny river and Pittsburgh. In a letter to Governor Penn from Ligonier June 12th, 1774, (52) St. Clair says:

“In my last I had the honor to inform you, that in consequence of the Ranging Company which had been raised here, there was reason to hope the people would return to their Plantations, and pursue their Labour, and for some time, that

is a few days, it had that effect, but an idle Report of Indians having been seen within, the Partys has drove them every one into some little Fort or other,—and many hundreds out of the Country altogether. This has obliged me to call in the Partys from where they were posted, and have stationed them, twenty men at Turtle Creek, twenty at the Bullock Pens, [seven miles east of Pittsburgh on the Forbes Road], thirty at Hannas Town, twenty at Proctor's, and twenty at Ligonier, as these places are now the Frontier toward the Allegheny, all that great Country, between that Road and that River, being totally abandoned, except by a few who are associated with the People who murdered the Indian, and are shut up in a small Fort on Conymack, [Conemaugh], equally afraid of the Indians and the Officers of justice. (53). The People in this Valley still make a stand, but yesterday they all moved into this place, and I perceive are much in doubt what to do. Nothing in my Power to prevent their leaving the Country, shall be omitted, but if they will go, I suppose I must go with the stream. It is the strangest Infatuation ever seized upon men, and if they go off now, as Harvest will soon be on, they must undoubtedly perish by Famine, for Spring crops there will be little or none."

The Indians in this uprising insisted from the first that their war was with the Virginians only. And in the end this was seen to be true, for their depredations were confined to the region in which the war broke out. St. Clair was about the only one who detected at an early date their attitude, and his sagacity has been the subject of comment at a very recent period. (54). But there is no doubt that St. Clair's influence among the Indians on the north of the Ohio was very potent to this end.

St. Clair, from Ligonier, June 16th, 1774, thus reports to Gov. Penn (55):

"Tis some satisfaction the Indians seem to discriminate betwixt us and those who attacked them, and their Revenge has fallen hitherto on that side of the Monongahela, which they consider as Virginia, but lest that should not continue, We are taking all possible care to prevent a heavy stroke falling on the few people who are left in this Country. Forts

at different places so as to be more convenient, are now nearly completed, which gives an appearance of security for the Women and Children, and with the Ranging Partys, which have been drawn in to preserve the Communication, has in a great degree put a stop to the unreasonable panic that had seized them, but in all of them, there is a great scarcity of Ammunition, and several messengers have returned from below without being able to purchase. I am very anxious to know whether the ranging Companys are agreeable to your Honour or not, because both the Expense of continuing them will be too heavy for the subscribers, and that I am every day pressed to increase them. This I have positively refused to do, till I receive your Honour's instructions, and I well know how averse our Assemblys have formerly been to engage in the Defence of the Frontiers, and if they are still of the same disposition, the Circumstance of the White People being the Aggressors, will afford them a topic to ring the Charges (changes) on and conceal their real sentiments."

The last sentence in the foregoing extract reflects how the care and watchfulness of St. Clair, and the fear of results which were inevitable from the aggressions of the whites themselves, were manifested. After this letter had been written he added: "The day before yesterday I had a visit from Major [Edward] Ward. He informs me Mr. Croghan set out for Williamsburg the day before, to represent the Distresses he says of the People of this Country. At the same time he informed Me that the Delawares had got notice of the Murder of Wipey and that Mr. Croghan had desired him to come to me on that occasion, that he advised that they should be spoke to and some small Present made to them as Condolence and 'to cover his Bones,' as they express it."

It will be seen that St. Clair expresses much Concern to the Governor "about the Murder of Wipey." There was no circumstance in that terrible year that was the cause of more apprehension to St. Clair or Croghan or Gov. Penn than that of the killing of Wipey, a friendly Delaware Indian. For it is remarkable that while Dunmore's, or Cresaps' War, was traceable to the wanton killing of the friendly Indians at Captina and Yellow creek, that the entire Delaware tribe

which had up to that time remained friendly to the whites, were on the eve of now breaking out on the northern frontier for a crime of the same nature—as heartless and cruel.

When a portion of the Delaware tribe, about the time of Pontiac's war, had passed from their towns on the Kittanning trail about Frankstown to their new hunting grounds westward of the Allegheny river, there was one of them, somewhat advanced in years, calley Wipey who remained behind and built his cabin or lodge by a stream on the north of the Conemaugh in now Indiana county. The place was as called by the whites Wipey's cabin. This lodging place of the old Indian was on or near the tract of land upon which George Findley, the first white man that settled north of the Conemaugh, located. This was before the title to the land had passed from the Indians to the Penns. When the land office was opened, Findley made application for a warrant for the tract which he had improved. This application is included among those in the list given by the Surveyor-General to J. Elder, Deputy-Surveyor to survey, and is literally as follows:

"Apl. 3, 1769. Application made by George Fendler (Findley) near Wipsey's (Wipey's) Cabin Near Conemaugh River."

In old title papers the place is mentioned frequently, because it was well known and was a land mark on the trail from Ligonier to the old Kittanning Path. Wipey was at peace with all men, and from repeated evidences of his friendship, he had the reputation of being an inoffensive, harmless hunter and fisher. He was, in short, regarded as a friend of the whites.

The circumstances of his unfortunate killing are related by St. Clair in a report to Gov. Penn from Ligonier May 29th, 1774. (56).

"An affair, says he, that has given me much trouble and vexation had liked to have escaped my memory. The murder of a Delaware Indian, Joseph Wipey, about eighteen miles from this place. It is the most astonishing thing in the world, the Disposition of the common people of this Country, actuated by the most savage cruelty, they wantonly perpetrate crimes that are a disgrace to humanity, and seem at the same time to be under a kind of religious enthusiasm whilst

they want the daring spirit that usually inspires. Two of the Persons concerned in this murder are John Hinkson and James Cooper. I had got information of their design some time before they executed it, and had wrote to Hinkson, whom I knew to be a leader amongst them to dissuade them, and threatened them with the weight of the Law if they persisted, but so far from preventing them, it only produced the inclosed Letter. The Body was discovered hid in a small run of Water and covered with stones. I immediately sent for the Coroner, but before he had got a Jury together the Body was removed, so that no inquest could be taken. I have issued Warrants on suspicion, but they are so much on their Guard I doubt they cannot be executed. Your Honor will please to consider whether it may be proper to Proclaim them—It is most unlucky at this time; the letter may perhaps be made use of as Evidence." (57).

There is no knowledge obtainable from public documents as to the character of the letter referred to which St. Clair received from Hinkson (otherwise Hinckston) or some of the leaders, and which he transmitted to Gov. Penn with the suggestion that it might be used as evidence. There can be no doubt that the party who committed the murder had little regard for civil authority, and that they felt themselves strong enough to resist any attempt made to punish them. St. Clair reports to Gov. Penn from Hannastown, July 12th, 1774, among other things, as follows: (58).

"Hinkston, with about eighteen men in arms, paid us a visit at Court last week, and I am very sorry to say, got leave to go away again, tho' there was a force sufficient to have secured two such parties. At the Sheriff's direction I had got intelligence that they were to be there and expected to be joined by a party of Cressaps' People for which reason the Ranging Partys, that were within reach, had been drawn in, but none of the Virginians appeared."

Gov. Penn to punish those men who had by such an unfortunate act imperiled the welfare of so many people, issued a proclamation offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of the two ring-leaders, Hinkston and Cooper—fifty pounds for either of them. (59).

On December 4th, 1774, St. Clair announced to Gov. Penn from Ligonier that the war between the Indians and Virginians was at last over, and that a treaty of peace had been made with the Shawanese. (60). The dissension and discord and frequent collisions between the people of the two colonies, were kept up until late in 1775, and until the Delegates in the Continental Congress who were making the way clear for war with the mother country, united in a circular urging the people in the region of dispute to a mutual forbearance.

St. Clair, in the month of December, 1775, received the commission of a colonel in the continental army, together with a letter from President Hancock, pressing him to repair immediately to Philadelphia. He obeyed the summons, and took leave of not only his wife and children, but, in effect, of his fortune, to embark in the cause of liberty and the United Colonies. "I hold," wrote St. Clair to his intimate friend, James Wilson, "I hold that no man has a right to withhold his services when his country needs them. Be the sacrifice ever so great, it must be yielded upon the altar of patriotism." (61).

From the beginning of the year 1775 the events which culminated in the Revolutionary War followed each other rapidly. In 1776 quite a number of men from the western part of the country were in active service in the continental army. In the latter part of 1776 an entire regiment, the Eighth Penna., was raised in Westmoreland and Bedford counties, and early in 1777 they joined Washington in New Jersey.

This was a critical time for the people of Western Pennsylvania. During the summer of 1777 occurred the violent and atrocious outbreak of the savages, instigated by the British in order to harass the frontiers and to divert the attention of these people from the contest in the east to the defense of their own hearths. And from now on until the close of the war this frontier knew no peace.

There having been no necessity for keeping up the fort from the termination of Pontiac's war, from the fact that the frontier was removed farther to the west, and the Indians, especially after Dunmore's war of 1774, being at peace with the whites, the structure fell into decay, and when the Revolution

came there was probably nothing remaining of the original fortification but the line of the intrenchments, the magazine, and, may be, the passage-way to the spring of water or the creek. But shortly after the war was upon them, the Indians, instigated and sometimes led by the British or the renegades, began their warfare which continued down until the war itself was over. The method of the savages was to make forays and marauding incursions, coming into the settlements in squads, and attacking the settlers in their homes and fields. They seldom came in great numbers, but from the celerity of their movements, their aptitude in passing through the woods, the suddenness of their attacks—their depredations were the more greatly felt.

In the summer and fall of 1777, these marauding parties, crossing the Allegheny, overran the frontiers of Westmoreland wherever settlements had been made, especially in this direction, killing and capturing many persons. Most sought safety in flight. Those who occupied Ligonier Valley from beyond the Conemaugh were driven into their forts, such as Fort Wallace and Fort Barr, and others. Archibald Lochry, the County Lieutenant, who kept watch over the affairs with all vigilance, reported to President Wharton in November, 1777: "The distressed situation of our country is such, that we have no prospect but desolation and destruction, the whole country on the north side of the road (Forbes Road), from the Allegheny Mountains to the river is all kept close in forts; and can get no subsistence from their plantations; they have made application to us requesting to be put under pay and receive rations, and as we could see no other way to keep the people from flying and letting the country be evacuated, we were obliged to adopt these measures (requesting you Excellency to give the necessary orders to enable us to put them in execution)—if these very measures are not adopted I see no other method that can secure the people from giving up the country. These people while they support these frontier posts are certainly serving the public, and certainly cannot continue long so to do unless supported by the public.

"Lieut.-Col. Charles Campbell and four other persons are made prisoners on the waters of Blacklegs Creek; four other

men killed and scalped near the same place; one man killed near Wallace's Fort or Connomoch; eleven other persons killed and scalped at Palmer's Fort, near Ligonier (amongst which is Ensign Woods). At the place where Col. Campbell was made prisoner four rascally proclamations were left by the savages from the governor of Detroit, requesting all persons to come to him, or any other of the garrisons occupied by his majesty's troops and they should receive pay and lodgings as they rank with us, every private person for encouragement to have two hundred acres of land.

* * * * "In sort, there is very few days there is not some murder committed on some part of our frontiers. * * * I hope, with Divine assistance, we shall be able to hold the country till we are enabled by the more effectual measures (that is, carrying an expedition in their country). We have likewise ventured to erect two stockade forts at Ligonier and Hannas Town at the public expense, with a Store House in each to secure both public and private property in and be a place of retreat for the suffering frontiers in case of necessity, which I flatter myself will meet with your Excellency's approbation." (62.)

The fort which Col. Lochry here speaks of, built in the fall of the year 1777, was the Revolutionary Fort used throughout the war, and the last one erected. It is probable that it was kept up during all that time in a defensible condition, as the storehouse there was the depository of the continental supplies under order of Congress, and more directly of Washington himself, as the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and while the Western Department was in existence. Thereat were kept also the arms and ammunition furnished by the State for the militia. From its location it was the most eastern barrier of that part of the Province west of Laurel Hill, there being no other station between it and Bedford on the east.

The name given by the people of that day to this stockade was Fort Preservation; but this name has long been unknown to tradition or memory, and is preserved in a few instances in the most obscure part of the public records. No other name could supplant that of Ligonier. So tenaciously has the original name clung to the place, that when the proprietors of the

new town laid out the lots and streets therefor, and it was proposed to call it Ramseytown, (after the name of the proprietor), it was found to be impossible to make the word pass current or become acceptable to the people.

The only instances in which the name of Fort Preservation is associated with the fort, so far as known to us, are the following. In the minutes of the Supreme Executive Council for Friday, September 25th, 1789, is the following entry:

"The Comptroller and Register General's report upon the account of Robert Laughlin, for smith's work, done at Fort Preservation or Ligonier, in the year 1777, by order of Thomas Galbraith, amounting to ten pounds, six shillings and eight pence, was read and approved." (63.)

In the minutes of the Council, for Wednesday, Sept. 30th, 1789, appears the following:

"The Comptroller and Register General's report upon the following accounts, were read and approved, vizt: Of William Osborne, for teams hired to transport baggage, &c., to Fort Preservation or Ligonier, in September and October, 1777, amounting to twenty-two pounds, and ten shillings." (64.)

There has been preserved, through the vicissitudes of time, a Journal or diary kept during the building of the Revolutionary fort, which in a very unexpected manner has fallen into our hands, and which is here reproduced. This Journal is contained in a small book strongly bound in leather and still comparatively well preserved. The book in size is four by six inches and three-fourths of an inch thick, opens lengthwise, and when closed is held shut with a brass clasp. The Journal takes up but a very small part of the book, which itself was evidently used for brief memorandums of business transactions and for items of a private character. Although there is no signature to the end of the Journal, nor in any part of the book to indicate who the writer was, yet from a careful comparison of the writing and the signatures with other portions of the contents, and from other evidences of an intrinsic character sufficient to lead us to a satisfactory conclusion, we are warranted in assuming, if not in positively asserting, that the Journal was kept by Thomas Galbraith, Esq.

Of the personal history of Thomas Galbraith little has been

learned. (65.) Of his career as a public officer, the memorandum book which he has left and the public records are the sources of our information.

At the time of the building of the fort, Thomas Galbraith was in the service of the State, evidently for the distribution of the continental supplies, for which the State was responsible. He had been a property-holder and resident of Ligonier at least from 1773, as title papers disclose.

The evidence of this appears in the Journal itself, and in the notes below to which we refer. This would also appear evident enough in the letter from the Council of Safety to the Delegates in Congress of Nov. 14th, 1777, which letter follows this Journal.

On Oct. 21st, 1777, Thomas Galbraith and Col. John Proctor were appointed for the county of Westmoreland, Commissioners for the purpose of seizing upon the personal effects of such as were traitorously inclined and had abandoned their families or habitations and joined the army of the King. (66.) He was continued in this appointment the next year. (67.) He was elected one of the representatives to the Assembly in the fall of 1777. (68.) Mention is frequently made of him as in the service or employ of the State, and his correspondence, even as a citizen, appears to have been regarded with respect and favor by the State authorities, as the minutes of the Council show. He died in Ligonier Valley prior to 1785, as the Records disclose the fact that on the 9th of June, that year, letters of administration on his estate were granted by the Register of Westmoreland county.

The necessity for this fort was asserted emphatically by Lochry, as we have seen, but in his Journal the particulars of that trying and emergent time are set forth in detail; and although the period embraced in this diary is but six weeks, a mere moment in the long years of their desolation and trials, yet it gives a better insight into the times, circumstances, and conditions of this frontier post than any other account accessible.

There is no preface to the Journal: and the title by which we designate it does not belong to the original, and is no part of it. Words which are used for the purpose of avoiding re-

peated references, or for explanation of the text are inclosed in brackets. The star marks which appear at regular intervals are used to designate the paging as it appears in the manuscript. This book is such a one as might be readily carried in the pocket, and from its binding and texture was probably intended for this service. With the exception of the above additions to the text the journal as here reproduced is a literal transcription of the original.

*Journal Kept at Ligonier During the Building of the Stockade
Fort of the Revolution, Called Fort Preservation.*

Sept^r 28th. [1777] 12 o'clock an Express from Palmer's Fort that George Findlay (69) come in wounded and some more men missing. In the Evening Capt Shannon (70) with 16 Men was ready to March, but the Night's being very dark thot it most advisable to wait till day break.

[Sept.] 29.

When Day appeared the Men Marched to Palmers Fort and were reinforc'd with 9 Men more then proceeded for Findlays about Twenty Miles distance from Ligonier. 4 Miles from Palmers we met with Capt Hinkson (71) & 12 Men returning from burying a Boy that the Indians had kill'd & scalp'd at Findlays (72). We proceeded to Rogers within a mile of the place that Night & next Morning we examin'd the Woods—could find but 4 Tracks leading into the Laurell Hill towards Bedford. As they had so much start judg'd it more prodent to take the Kittanning Path in order to meet with any partys that might be* coming into the Inhabitants. We cross'd over the Chestnut Ridge, Brushy Valley, Blacklick Creek, Yellow Creek, & Twolicks Creeks to James Wilkins without discovering any Signs of Indians. We encamp'd before the House & kindl'd Fires. The Inhabitants in all this part of the County having fled some Weeks before.

[Sept.] 30.

Before Day we left the Fires and march'd into the Woods in order to have an equal chance with the Enemy shou'd they be

on Watch. After Day Broke we took a course across the Country to discover if any partys from the Alleghenny had lately come into the Inhabitants. About Nine O'clock we came on the Tracks of a large party of our People steering a Course for the River. We thot it needless to proceed any further, as that Party was to range the course we were steering. We then took a Road for Wallaces Fort & came there about 12 o'clock from which place the Men Went the Day before to look for *Col. Campbell who was thot to be kill'd with 5 more Men. We return'd that night to Ligonier.

Octr. 1st.

This Day we were inform'd the Men who went from Wallaces Fort to look for Col: Campbell (73) had return'd. The Indians had taken him & the other Men Prisoners by a Memorandum left along with five proclamations from the Comn [Commandant] of Detroit offering a continuance to all officers in their Stations & Ranks in the King's Army if they wou'd repair to his Standard at Detroit.

* * * * *

Memorand: On our return to Ligonier 4 Miles Distance we were inform'd of Thomas Woods being kill'd about five miles from the Town, which occasioned us to make a forc'd March after Dark into the Town to have the greater certainty.

* * * * *

Octr. 3.

Capt Shannon & myself went up to Col. Lochry (74) to know if he had adopted the Plan of Building a Fort & Magazine* at Ligonier for the Support of the Country and to keep the Communication open to Fort Pitt. He inform'd us that he approv'd of the same, & wrote a letter of Instructions to Col. Pollock (75) to appoint persons to superintend the Works & go on with them immediately.

[Octr.] 4.

Sent. Col. Lochry's Letter to Col Pollock.

[Octr.] 5.

Col. Pollock came to Town and appointed Capt. Shannon & Myself to Superintend the Works. We immediately collected

the People & inform'd them of Col: Lochry's Orders. They desir'd to know the Pay which we cou'd not exactly ascertain. As an unwillingness seem'd to prevail with some of working at an uncertainty, Col. Pollock propos'd riding up to Col. Lochry and having every thing done to their satisfaction.

[Octr.] 6th.

Col: Pollock & Capt Shannon rode up to Col: Lochry, who wrote to the People that he cou'd not ascertain the Pay, but* assur'd them of pay equal to those engag'd in the same Business in the Continental Service.

[Octr.] 7th.

We laid out the plan of the Fort & began with Trench:—
Enter'd 2 Teams in the Service.

[Octr.] 8th.

Continu'd digging the Trench, cutting & haling Pickets—
Enter'd three Teams.

[Octr.] 9th.

Continu'd digging the Trench cutting & haling pickets.—
Began to set the Pickets.

[Octr.] 10th.

Employ'd as the day before.

[Octr.] 11th.

Employ'd as the day before.

[Octr.] 12th.

Being Sunday the People refus'd to Work.

[Octr.] 13th.

At Two O'clock, P. M., an Express from Capt Lochry at (76) Stoney Creek that he had three Brigade of Packhorses with Continental Stores under escorte; that a Man had been kill'd & Scalp'd the day before within half a Mile of that place; that he look'd upon it unsafe to stir them without a further* reinforcement, as he had only fifteen Guns to defend one hundred

& forty Packhorses with their Drivers. At Day break Capt. Shannon with 24 Men march'd to Stoney Creek to his Relief. The Works lay still for want of men—there being only a Guard for the Town left.

[Octr.] 14th.

About 4 o'clock this afternoon the escorte arriv'd safe at Ligonier without any Accident on the Road;—The Works lay still.

[Octr.] 15th.

The Horse Masters apply'd to the militia Capts., vis, Knox & McGuffey for a Guard of Twenty Men to escorte them to Hanna's Town, which they refus'd. Capt. Shannon with 20 Men then set off & convey'd them to Capt. Lochry's, when he was reliev'd. Nothing done in the Works this Day.

[Octr.] 16th.

*The Escorte return'd from Capt. Lochry's.—A few Pickets set & some work done in the Trench.

[Octr.] 17th.

Carried on the digging of the Trench—cutting, haling & setting up Pickets.

[Octr.] 18th.

About sunrise James Clifford shot at an Indian near the Mill Creek, about a Quarter of a Mile from the Fort. (77.) A Party Immediately turn'd out. From the Blood it appear'd he was shot through the Body—a large stream spouting out on each side of the path, as he ran, for about 40 Rods when the Blood was stopp'd & the Tracks of three or four making into a close thicket. The Party examin'd the Thicket as narrowly as possibly but cou'd make no discovery, impossible to discover any Track. The remaining part of the day employ'd in the Trench & setting up the Pickets.

*[Octr.] 19th.

A party was order'd out to reconnoitre if any skulking partys were near the Town or any Tracks. About 10 o'clock return'd without making any discovery. Col: Pollock came & held a

Conference with me & Capt Shannon on the propriety of having a Militia Officer to Command the Garrison & regulate the Militia—as Capt Shannon's Company consisted altogether of Volunteers, the Militia look'd upon him with a Jealous Eye of reaping all the Honour of erecting the Fort by the Indefatigable labour of his Men, we inform'd him [that] many of the Militia had come to the works with a design to draw provisions & look at others working that I told them [that] unless they did Duty in the Works I shou'd absolutely refuse to Issue provisions to any such without an express order from the Lieut. of the County. Col. Pollock inform'd us the whole Battalion was order'd into pay & service. I told him when in actual service* I would issue, but not otherwise. To remove all Jealousies it was agreed upon, that a Commandant shou'd be appoint'd to Issue the Orders of the Superintendants to the Officers of the several Companys. The following is a list of the Companys & the Number of their Men:—

Captn Knox & 20 privates,

Captn Shannon—27 privates.

A Lieut. of Capt McGuffey & 4 privates * * * * *

Captn Knox was appointed Commandant of the Garrison & of the Militia then in the Works.

[Octr.] 20th.

Capt. Knox proceeded in the Orders of the Supr. in dividing the Men into proper partys. The Works went on well.

[Octr.] 21st.

*The Works went forward briskly.

[Octr.] 22nd.]

The People began to grow tir'd of Work—disputed the Authority of the Superintendts—disallowed of Captn Knox & fell into confusion.—About five O'clock P. M., news was brot that about two hours before the Indians had kill'd two Children & scalp'd them, two more they scalp'd alive within 200 yards of Palmer's Fort. A party pursued them, & in a short time the People of the Fort fired off their Guns to give those persons notice who had gone to their plantations, which the party in

pursuit hearing, imagin'd the Fort to be attack'd, immediately quit the pursuit & return'd.

[Octr.] 23rd.

The People fell to work again—a few Loads of Pickets cut & haul'd & some Men appointed to repair the outhouses for the reception of the Inhabitants.

[Octr.] 24th.

The People fell into confusion again—many of them went home; this morning Daniel Grafins House & Grain was burnt* within a mile & a half of Palmers Fort.—The People return'd in again. James Clifford on his Return saw an Indian on the opposite side of Mill Creek—he imagined him (the Indian) to be one of his own Company & challenged him—on which the Indian immediately whipped on his Horse, & it being very Dark got into the Woods. On receiving this news at the Town, Cpts Shannon & Knox with 19 Men about Midnight set off to examine the Houses on Mill Creek between the Ford & Laurell Hill before Day Break, which they accomplish'd before day without discovering any appearances of Fire. On their return in the Morning being rainy, they discovered a Track about a Mile from Ligonier which cou'd not be made out any further than a few Rods, as the Leaves had fallen much & the Weeds kill'd with the frost. Near to where the Indian was kill'd they discover'd two more tracks, but raining hard the tracks cou'd not be made out with any degree of certainty.—The Artificers wrought at the Gates.—Clifford's Team discharg'd.

[Octr.] 25th.

Rain'd. McDowell & Johnston's Teams hawling Fire wood for the Inhabitants.

[Octr.] 26th.

Being Sunday the People went out in Partys to their Plantations. In the afternoon an escorte came from Bedford with two Brigade of Pack horses loaded with Continental Stores. The Horse-masters made application to the Military Officers for an escorte, which was refused.

[Octr.] 27th.

Rainy.—Col. Pollock & Capt. Knox set off this afternoon for Col. Lochry's. Before they set off Capt. Shannon & myself requir'd some Men to turn a run of Water out of the Trenches which was washing & filling them:—He gave us for answer he [that is, Pollock] cou'd do it himself in Fifteen minutes. Without doing it* himself or ordering Men to do it, we were obliged to hire two Men to turn the Water & dig a Trench to carry it off clear of the Works. This day the Sergeant of Capt. Knox's Company & Lieut. Curry log'd a Complaint with Capt. Knox against me as Commissary—that I wou'd not Issue their Provisions & was partial in favour of Capt. Shannon. When he spoke to me on the Complaint, I told him the Flour was not come in; that I had offer'd the Beef yesterday but they wou'd not take a part without the Whole. This Evening they received the Beef. This Day we receiv'd an Acco't of Jno. Cunningham being shot at & pursued by an Indian 10 miles below Ligonier. Cunningham had shot a Turkey & as he went to pick it up the Indian fired at him.

*[Octr.] 28th.

This Morning Lieut. Curry sent over his Provision return. I had not Flour to spare, & told his Man that I wou'd Issue d'uble Rations of Beef. The Fellow insulted me, when Mr. George Reading (78) lent me the Quantity.—Rain'd the whole day excessive hard.—the Loyalhanna overflowing the Banks.—Partys out for a considerable Distance round the Town Reconnoitering:—made no discovery.—2 Springs spouted out in the Trenches, which keeps them full of Water.

[Octr.] 29th.

This day snow'd & Rain'd excesive hard—Nothing done except a few reconnoitering—Wm. Halferty made a return of the Grain and Forage brot into the Garrison. The Waters still continue high.—Capt. Ourrie (79) gave us agreeable news of the Enemy being pent up near Philada. and a Défeat unavoidable: fresh Courage & more Whiskey wou'd* make our People Fight the English or the D: a Scout order'd for to-morrow to Range the Chestnut Ridge and Laurell Hill between Palmers Fort and Ligonier.

[Octr.] 30th.

This day Capt. Shannon & myself rode up to Col. Lochry's. At Capt. Lochry's a complaint was made to me by the former Magistrates that Col. Proctor, while in the Assembly, had laid past for the use of the Magistrates the Votes and the Different Asemblies from 1744, together with a complete set of the Laws, which have not been sent to them. They desired the Copies may be Furnish'd them as their Properties, from an Ordinance of Convention pass'd the 3rd Sept., 1776. The Scout turn'd out this Morning consist'g of 18 Men return'd without any Discovery of any Indians or Tracks.*

*[Octr.] 31st.

This day Lt. Col. Pomroy came to take Command of the Garrison. (80.) The Trenches continued full of Water. The teams employ'd in haling Pickets—the Men in Cutting.

[Novr.] 1st.

The People employ'd in Cutting, Hawling & Setting of Pickets & clearing the Trenches of Water.—Set up the North Gate 10 Feet Wide—12 Feet High in the clear.

[Novr.] 2nd.

The People generally inclined to go Home. Many Familys did go about 2 oclock, P. M.—Mr. Woodruff came and inform'd us that Wm. Richardson was found kill'd & scalped about 3 miles from Ligonier—3 Strokes of a Tomhawk in his head & the upper part of his Scull broke in.—About 3 miles from Richardsons 2 men were killd & Scalp'd & a Woman* missing. 24 of our Men turn'd out and bury'd Richardson. There appear'd only 4 tracks. It was Dusk before we got him bury'd.—Return'd to Ligonier.

[Novr.] 3rd.

Employ'd in setting, cutting & hawling Pickets.—The Forage Guard went to Richardsons to thrash Oats and Wheat yesterday.—As a party was returning to Palmers Fort from a Scout about a mile from that, one of the party being a small distance behind was call'd on to stop—first in a low voice,

a second time louder, & a third time very loud. The Person made up to the Party but being dusk did not return to the place until the next morning. * * * found the * * * (81.)

*[Novr.] 4th.

Employ'd about the Pickets—digging the Trench—the Forage Guard continu'd at Richardson's.—Col. Pollock came down from Hanna's Town & inform'd us that Gen. Hand had return'd to Fort Pitt—that the expedition was set aside for this season. (82.)—Clifford began to Haul with his Team. * * * Yesterday Morning Capt. Shannon with 5 Men sett off to meet the Scout from Barr's Fort & Wallace's Fort to range the Chestnut Ridge for fifteen miles, which they did without any discovery of Indians except at the Places where the People were kill'd. * * * They likewise found a Mare belonging to Saml. Craig who had been coming to Ligonier for Salt on Saturday. * * * he is *suppos'd to be taken prisoner as his body cou'd not be found. (83.)—These Scouts fir'd the Ridge in many places. * * * Capt. Shannon return'd. * * * Col. Pomroy demanded from me the Continental Salt to have it in his own keeping. * * * I refus'd delivering it without an Order from a Continental Officer. * * * Let him have half a Bush for Palmers Fort & $\frac{1}{2}$ a bushl. for Barrs Fort. (84.)—Sent 2 Light Horse Men up to Col. Lochry for an Order to detain some of the Arms & Ammunition for this Fort. * * * About one half a Mile from Ligonier, being very dark, they heard some human Voices, but cou'd not distinguish who they were.

[Novr.] 5th.

The Light Horse Men return'd with the news that Yesterday about 11 o'clock Wallace's Fort was attacked by a number * of Indians on one Side while a White Man on the Other Side came wading up the Tail Race of his Mill with a Red Flag which seem'd to be intended as a deception for the attack. When the Man appear'd open to the Fort in the instant of the Attack 7 Balls were fir'd thro' him. * * * 2 of the Balls went thro' 2 Letters he had ty'd in a Bag which was hung round his Neck down his Breast. * * * From

what cou'd be discover'd by the Letters they were proclamations from Detroit to the same amount of those found with Col. Campbell.—The same day the People about Palmers Fort were fir'd on. * * * * Several Partys were discover'd about there & Squirrell Hill. * * * * To-morrow we expect an Attack. * * * * This evening Capt. Shannon & 2 Men set off for Col. Lochry's for Ammunition. * * * * Return'd at Night with 41 lbs. Powder, 15 lbs. Lead. * * * * As the Light Horse return'd some of our working party being near the place where they heard the Voices, they went and examin'd the Ground. * * * * found 5 Indians Tracks. —At the same time the Indians fir'd on the People at Palmers Fort they fir'd on the Forage Guard about one and a fourth miles from the Fort without doing any damage.

This day Capt. Williams brot seven Men part of 25 Order'd by Col. Pollock out of his Company into the Works. * * * * immediately on receiving the news they all ran away, having first drawn their provisions. * * * * 25 Men more were order'd from Capt. McGufichs comp'y. * * * * he having only 6 Men & those in the Works, the Men cou'd not be furnish'd. * * * * Capt. Shannon having 27 Men constantly in the Works of his Volunteer Comp'y, he sent orders for 27 Men to relieve.

[Novr.] 6th.

This day Centries posted out & Guards. * * * * Some Pickets set & hawl'd.—I demanded an Escorte to Bedford on public Business from Col. Pollock & Capt. Knox, which * they refus'd.—I apply'd to Capt. Shannon of the Volunteer Company who with 3 Men escorted me. We left Ligonier at 8 o'clock P. M.—Came over the Laurell Hill to Jollys. (85.)—Very Dark.

[Nov.] 7th.

We came safe to Bedford.—The People on the Road all Fled for 42 Miles from Ligonier.

[Nov.] 8th.

I left Capt. Shannon on his Return to Ligonier. As I came thro' Bedford news had come that a Man was kill'd directly after I pass'd the Mountain (upon it).

It will be seen from the last entries in the foregoing journal that on November 8th (1777), Thomas Galbraith, or the writer thereof, was in Bedford. The information which the Council of Safety obtained from "verbal accounts," and which in a communication from Lancaster, November 14th, 1777, they addressed to the Delegates of Pennsylvania in Congress, was in all probability obtained from him. They say (86):

"This Council is applied to by the people of the County of Westmoreland in this Commonwealth with the most alarming Complaints of Indian Depredations. The Letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, will give you some Idea of their present situation.

"We are further informed by verbal accounts, that an Extent of 60 Miles has been evacuated to the Savages, full of Stock, Corn, Hoggs & Poultry, that they have attacked Palmer's Fort about 7 miles distant from Fort Ligonier without success; and from the information of White Eyes & other circumstances, it is feared Fort Ligonier has, by this time, been attacked. There is likewise reason to fear the ravages will extend to Bedford, & along the frontier. We shall order out the militia of Bedford County, & take such other steps as may be immediately necessary for the relief of those settlements, but we find they are greatly deficient in the articles of arms, & especially ammunition & Flints. In Fort Ligonier, when our Informants left it, there was no more than 40 lb of powder & 15 lb of Lead—Flints are sold at a Dollar a piece.

"We must beg the assistance of Congress in these articles—arms we dare hardly ask, but ammunition & Flints we hope may be supplied by Congress both to Westmoreland & Bedford; and we must also intreat the attention of Congress to the general Defence of the Frontier. We know not the situation of Gen. Hand, his forces or his views; but we have reserved the militias of Bedford & Westmoreland, for the purpose of co-operating with him in those parts of the State, & the neighborhood.

"Mr. Thomas Galbraith will call on you in a few Days on his way to Ligonier, the supplies should be furnished to him from Carlisle, to be carried from thence on Pack horses. He will explain more at large their situation & it might not be amiss

to communicate to him what may be expected from Gen. Hand, as well as what Congress shall order."

Col. Lochry reports to Pres. Wharton, under date 6th of December, 1777, the following (87) :

"I Wrote to your Excellency by Col. Shields, giving a State of the Ravages Committed by the Indians on the Inhabitants of this County; they have still Continued to Destroy and Burn Houses, Barns and Grain, as you will see more Particular in a Patation from the People to the Honorable Assembly, Praying Relieff. My Situation Has Been Critical; Genneral Hand required more Men than I could Possibly furnish from Two Batalions, which is all I can Pertend to have jurisdiction over, on acc't of the unsettled Boundery between this State and Virginia. I sent One Hundred men for the Remainder was Stopt by His Order, at the same time the fruntears of our County Lay Exposed to the Marcy of the Savages; Not a Man on Our fruntears from Logenear to the Alegenia River, Except a few at fort Hand, on Continental Pay. I was Oblidged, by the Advice of the sub-lieutenants & other Principal People of the County, to adopt the Measures I Before Laide Down to your Excellency; I Requested Genneral Hands Approbation on the Plan, which he Declined, as you May see His Letter of the 18th October; if our Measures Had not been adopted, I am very Cartain there Would Not been Many Persons on the North Side the Greate Roade Now, if there is Not Stors Laide in this Winter, In Spring they Must undoubtedly Leave the Country; they Have no Salt to lay up Meat, of which there is a greate Plenty, their Grain is all Burn'd & Destroy'd on the North of Connemoch; if there is no Store of Provision for Next summer, and the People Hindred from Getting Spring Crops the Country is undoubtedly Broke up. The Plan we Have addopted Has Been Put in Execution at the Expence of a few Individuals, which Cant Be Long Continued without supported by the Publick. I Have sent five Indian Scalps taken by One of our Scouting Party, Commanded by Col'l Barr, Col'l Perry, Col'l Smith, & Cap't Kingston [Hinkston?], Being Voluentears in the Action. The Action Hapned Near Kittaning, they Retooock Six Horses the Savages Had Taken from the suffering fruntears; for Encouragement to other

partys I Hoop your Excellency Will make a Retaliation [compensation or reward?] for these Scalps."

We have an account of the affairs about Ligonier towards the middle of the next year, 1778, in a letter from Thomas Galbraith, from Lancaster, May 20th, 1778, to Col. Hambright. (88.)

"I left Ligonier the 2d May, the people had entered into an asociation to defend the place while their provisions would last or ammunition; their store amounted to one month's provisions & about 1 lb powder & 1 lb of lead per man. The Time will soon elapse that necessity will compell the Inhabitants to seek for assistance elsewhere in the more interior parts of the Country. There are now two Brigades of Pack-horses in Canicocheague, to go with loading for Fort Pitt. The Pennsylvania Road for some time hath been shut by the Enemy, & prevents the necessary supplies being left on the line; if two Companies of Militia would be sent to guard the supplies of ammunition & Provisions up to Ligonier & Hanna's Town, the Inhabitants will be encouraged to defend the Posts more stoutly. The attention of the State to the Frontier will revive their drooping spirits; their situation will not permit those to move who can have supplies, to act on the Defensive, & their necessitys at present requires an immediate exertion."

Col. George Reading addressed the following letter from Fort Ligonier, April 26th, 1779, to President Reed (89):

"From our former acquaintance I am the more emboldened to make free with you. Your letter of the 27th ult. I rec'd per Col. Jno. Shields. I accordingly communicated it the inhabitants and used by best influence with them to stand their Ground, in consequence of which several staid here which otherwise would have gone in hopes of speedy relief, which is yet delayed. This day the Enemy made a breach upon us, killed one man, taken one prisoner, another man missing, two families living some distance from the Fort, not known what is become of them, we not having men sufficient at this post to send out, being reduced to a very few inhabitants, and but eight men and boys as a guard to the Fort. I am sorry to say that unless we have some speedy support and protection we shall be obliged to abandon this important

Post, several of the families being entirely out of bread, must go 40 or 50 miles for what is got, and pay a most exorbitant price for. We dread being blocked up in a few days, the Enemy appearing numerous, and of course our creatures all destroyed, if that should be the case our situation will be most distressing, our case is not aggravated but rather mitigated."

Col. Lochry was notified by Gen. McIntosh in a letter from Fort Pitt January 29th, 1779, that he (McIntosh) was just informed that a large party had just then set out to strike the inhabitants about Ligonier and Blackleg Creek. This information to Lochry was sent by an express so that the neighborhood might be acquainted of it and be upon their guard. (90.)

By orders from the Commander-in-Chief, General Washington, from headquarters at Morristown, April 12th, 1780, the supplies which were to be furnished by the State for the Continental service in these parts were directed to be deposited at Fort Pitt and Ligonier. To Ligonier was apportioned three hundred barrels of flour, eight hundred and fifty gallons of rum, forty tons of hay, and two thousand bushels of corn. (91.)

Owing to the difficulty of transportation, and from other causes, it is probable, however, that these supplies never came up to this quantity at any one time. (92.)

On June the first, 1780, Col. Louchry writes to President Reed that "Since Mr. Sloan, our representative, left this county, we have had three parties of the savages amongst us—they have killed and taken five persons two miles from Ligonier, and burned a mill belonging to one Laughlin." (93.)

In speaking of the ravages of the Indians in the county during the summer of 1781, Col. James Perry writes to President Reed July 2d, of that year, that on the last Friday two young women were killed in Ligonier Valley. (94.)

After the destruction of Hannastown in 1782 there was, during that fall, a ranging company, consisting of about twenty-two privates and two officers, stationed at Ligonier for the defense of that quarter. When these disbanded there was probably no force kept at this point after that, as the war of the Revolution was now over. (95.)

The original fort erected at the Loyalhanna was called Fort Ligonier after the name of the head of the British army at that time. In October, 1757, Sir John Ligonier was made Commander-in-Chief of the land forces in Great Britain, and raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Ligonier, of Enniskillen. He had greatly distinguished himself as a soldier, under the Duke of Marlborough, and afterward in Germany. In 1763 he was created an English Baron, and in 1766 an English Earl. He died in 1770, aged ninety-one years. He was born in France, his father was a Huguenot of a noble family. He fought in the battles of Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramilies, and at Malplaquet twenty-two balls passed through his clothes without injuring him. (96.)

The old Fort Ligonier, as is evident from the plan here annexed, which was copied from the original in the British war office, was a work of strength and of some magnitude. It was intended to be such a place of defense as would meet all emergencies, and was especially constructed in conformity with the requirements of warfare peculiar to the time. It was designed and constructed to answer for more than a shelter against the Indians, and was made to resist the artillery and the appliances of civilized warfare. As it was on the direct line of communication with Fort Pitt, and from its location would necessarily be a relay station for convoys and a depository for war munitions, provisions and material, it was arranged with barracks and ample accommodations for a permanent garrison. As such a post it served its purpose throughout the French and Indian War, and the perilous time when the English held the line between the colonists and their enemies. In Pontiac's War, we have seen, it was one of the four posts which withstood the siege of the barbarians with much honor and to good purpose.

The Fort proper was but a part of the post, which with its outward retrenchments, fascine batteries and redoubts, was really the harborage for a small army. The situation of the Fort, with its appurtenances, was, from a military point of view, excellent. It stood on an elevated ground within easy distance of the Loyalhanna Creek, being on the north or eastern bank, the stream here flowing northward. Eastward the

ground was nearly level, but on all other sides it declined rapidly. At its highest point it was probably more than forty feet above the level of the creek, but where the passage way was made for access to the stream, the bank was such as to make the approach easy. A deep ravine extended along the side marked by the small stream as indicated in the plan. There is some traditional evidence, supported by circumstances of a probable character, that on the bank opposite this ravine, which is now partly built upon by the town, was the burying-ground used by the garrison and by the first settlers near the Fort. On the side of this sloping land within range of the guns of the Fort were the cabins of the settlers and those who had business at the post. The buildings which are referred to in the accounts of the siege during Pontiac's War were likely in this quarter. Many relics have been gathered about the ground, such as bayonets, gun-barrels, hatchets, knives, pieces of wagon-tire, flints and arrow-heads.

The fort which St. Clair speaks of in 1774, into which the people of the valley gathered during that Summer, was probably the old fort rehabilitated by St. Clair himself; for during this time this was the center from which he directed operations as the agent of the Penns. It is also probable that a part of the fort—the magazine and storehouse—had been kept up for the accommodation of the property belonging to the Province, down to at least 1772 or 1773. These structures from the nature of the material used in their construction—logs and earth embankments—and exposed as they were to the inclemency of the weather, could not last long without constant reparation. While the material of Fort Ligonier was of this perishable character, yet the earth-works, the bastions, the store-house, and the magazine were originally intended, as we have said, to be more permanent and substantial than was usual in the ordinary forts of that period.

The stockade of the Revolutionary period was an entirely different affair. The place which it occupied cannot be pointed out, but it is altogether probable that it was built near the site of the old fort, some remains of which, such as the ditch, were then utilized. The new structure was probably nearer the creek, and lower than the site of the old fort,

as the circumstance of the water flowing into the ditch, mentioned in the "Journal," when it was building, would indicate. Doubtless, however, it embraced within its limits the magazine of the old fort, and was within proximity to the spring of the ravine.

It is proper to observe, without any motive of adulation, that the people of Ligonier Valley have ever manifested a spirit of patriotic interest in the historic events which are connected inseparably with old Fort Ligonier. Nor is there any place within the Commonwealth more deserving of remembrance or better calculated to arouse sentiments of filial gratitude and patriotic reverence.

Its history begins with the earliest appearance of civilization in these wilds. Its record antedates every other point west of the mountains secured by the English-Americans. The British historian in narrating the story of the conflicts of England with those nations of Europe which her valor and diplomacy conquered, and especially with France, with whom she struggled for life or death for the supremacy, must mention the campaign of Forbes and the fort on the Loyalhanna; the annalist of the Province which the Penns founded, cannot help dwelling on the names of Ligonier and St. Clair; the history of the Commonwealth would be incomplete without allusion to it. Nor could the student of history whose attention is directed to the frontier wars, avoid, if he would, a recurrence to this place; for it is peculiarly identified with the history and traditions of a long and bloody savage warfare waged about her fields and round her stockade walls. The ground on all sides was wetted with innocent blood; families were torn asunder, captives were carried off, and widowed women and orphaned children left shelterless to the compassion of their neighbors. The unwritten events far outnumber those of authentic narration. For all the region of the Ligonier Valley between the mountain ridges extending to the limits of the occupancy of the whites, Fort Ligonier was the citadel, the place of refuge, the harbor of safety.

In two things particularly is the place notable. The one is in the interest that attaches to the circumstantial account of Washington's great peril, and the other is in the associa-

tion of the career of St. Clair with its early history. Of the memory of St. Clair, this whole region partakes. A character singular and unique, a life checkered and of many experiences, a career remarkably unfortunate—there is no personage more marked in its individuality during the Revolutionary period than his. He was a patriot, a soldier and a statesman, but unfortunate in a degree to arouse commiseration. This is not the place to do justice to his services or his character, and only a reference to him can be made. It may well be, however, that for no thing that he did will his memory be more likely to endure in the gratitude and respect of his countrymen than for the part he took in directing these people in the early days of the Revolution, particularly in their sentiments and attitude as manifested in the Resolutions passed at Hannastown, May 16th, 1775. (97.)

Notes to Fort Ligonier.

(1.) This regiment was authorized by Act of Parliament. It was to consist of four battalions of one thousand men each, and intended to be raised chiefly of the Germans and Swiss, who, for many years past, had come into America, where waste land had been assigned them on the frontiers. They were generally strong, hardy men, accustomed to the climate. It was necessary to appoint some officers, especially sub-alterns who understood military discipline and could speak the German language; and as a sufficient number could not be found among the English officers, it was further necessary to bring over and grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers and engineers. [Smollett's History of England, 111-475].

The Royal American regiment is now the Sixtieth Rifles.
• • • • Its ranks at the time of Pontiac's War were filled by provincials of English as well as of German descent. [Parkman's Pontiac, Chap. 18, n.]

(2.) The Virginians wanted the expedition to advance on the road made by Braddock. Washington had an interview

with Bouquet midway between Fort Cumberland, where his regiment lay, and Bedford, and spared no effort to bring him to his opinion. The final decision was not made until Forbes came to Raystown; for even then the very strongest efforts were put forth by those who favored the lower route. Washington gave many reasons why it should be preferred. Col. John Armstrong, of the Pennsylvanians, in a letter to Richard Peters from "Ray's Town, October 3d, 1758," says that Col. Washington was "sanguine and obstinate" as to the opening of the road through Pennsylvania, and adds, "The presence of the General has been of great use in this as well as other accounts."—Arch. iii, 551.

(3.) Some reports says 1,700 men. * * * * Col. Jos. Shippen in a letter to Richard Peters from the camp at Rays' Town, 16th of August, 1758: "The army here consists now of about 2,500 men, exclusive of about 1,400 employed in cutting and clearing the road between this and Loyal Hanning, a great part of which I suppose by this time is finished, so that I am in hopes we shall be able to move forward soon after the General comes up, who we hear is at Shippensburg on his way up. * * * * Col. Washington and 400 of his regiment have not yet joined us, nor has any of Col. Byrd's (of Virginia) except two companies."—Arch. iii, 510.

The number reported as so engaged, August 1st, in Sparks' Washington, Vol. ii, p. 289, is 1,700. The numbers in all occasions vary, from obvious reasons, and particularly for the reason that the position of the troops was constantly changing.

(4.) Parkman—Montcalm and Wolfe, et seq. This authority is followed wherever necessary, and given literally.

(5.) The Pennsylvania Regiment consisted of three battalions. The Hon. Wm. Denny, Esq., Lieut.-Gov. of the Province of Penna., Colonel-in-Chief.

First Battalion—Colonel Commandant, John Armstrong.

Second Battalion—Colonel Commandant, James Burd.

Third Battalion—Colonel Commandant, Hugh Mercer.

(6.) We have no present information as to the date when Bouquet first came to Loyalhanna. He says, in a letter reporting Grant's defeat dated at Loyalhanna, Sept. 17th, 1758. * * *

"The day on which I arrived at the camp, which was the 7th [of Sept.,] it was reported to me that we were surrounded by parties of Indians, several soldiers having been scalped or made prisoners." See Fort Pitt, by W. M. Darlington, Esq., p. 75.

From the side of the French we have some account of this period. Vaudreuil to Massaic, from Montreal, 28th of Sept., 1758, says: "M. de Ligneris has written to me from Fort Duquesne on the 30th of last month; he continues to have parties out, who brought him two prisoners on the 30th, [August] from whom he learned that Gen. Forbus was immediately expected at Royal Amnon; where there were not more than 2,000 men, under the command of Col. Bouquet, with eight pieces of cannon or field carriages and several mortars; that a fort had been built there of piece upon piece, and one saw-mill; as for the rest, they are ignorant whether Fort Duquesne is to be attacked this fall; that the Provincials had orders to go into winter quarters; that they had been since counter-manded, but that people still spoke of dismissing them; that there are no more horned cattle at Royal Amnon, but plenty of provisions of flour and salt meats." Arch. vi, 2d ser. p. 553.

(7.) An early mention of the place, Loyalhanna, is in connection with the points on the Old Trading Path. (Records v. 747-750.) March 2, 1750, the Governor laid before the Council Mr. John Patten's Map of the Distance to the Ohio, together with the account given of the same by Mr. Weiser and the Traders in former examinations. He desired them to peruse the map carefully, and to examine a witness on the subject, who had accompanied Col. Fry to Loggs Town to a treaty held there in the year 1752.

The following distances are given as computed by the Indian Traders from Carlisle to Shanoppin's Town:

"From Ray's Town to the Shawonese Cabbin 8 miles * * *
To the Top of Allegheny Mountains 8 m * * * * To Edmund's Swamp 8 m * * * * to Cowamahony Creek 6 m
* * * * to Kackanapaulins 5 m * * * * to Loyal Hannin 18 m * * * * from Loyal Hannin to Shanoppin's town 50 m.

The Courses of the Road by Compass.

From Kackanapaulin's House N. 64 W., 12 miles to Loyal Hannin Old Town.

From Kackanapaulin's House N. 20 W., 10 miles to the Forks of the Road.

From Kackanapaulin's House West 10 miles to ———.

From Kackanapaulin's House N. 80 W., 15 miles to Shanopin's Town.

Mention of the place in C. Gist's Journal:

Christopher Gist, as the agent of the Ohio Company, set out from Col. Thomas Cresap's at the Old Town on the Potomac River in Maryland, Oct. 31, 1750, on a journey of exploration. He was required to keep full notes for an official report. The Journal of the tour is found in Pownall's "Topographical Description of North America," published in London in 1776, but later reprinted in Christopher Gist's Journals, &c., by Wm. M. Darlington, Esq., Pittsburgh, 1893.

Following is an extract: "Monday, 12th Nov., 1750, set out from Stoney Creek N. 45, W. 8 N crossed a great Laurel Mountain [Laurel Hill] * * * * Tuesday 13.—Rain and Snow * * * * Wednesday 14.—set out in 45 W. 6 M. to Loyalhanna an old Town on a Creek of Ohio called Kiscominatis, then N. 1 M., NW. 1 M. to an Indian's camp on the said Creek * * * * Thursday, 15, the Weather bad and I unwell. I staid here all Day: the Indian to whom this Camp belonged spoke good English and directed Me the Way to this Town, which is called Shannopins Town: He said it was about 60 M. and a pretty good Way." Observe here the place is called an old town, and the creek the Kiskiminetas.

In the map accompanying the Report of Gist, called "Fry and Jefferson's Map, 1755," Loyalhanna is marked as an Indian place, not as the name of the "stream" which is called the Kishkeminetas. * * * * See *infra*.

George Croghan, the Indian trader in a letter to R. Peters, March 23d, 1754, giving the distance to the points on the trading paths westward, says: * * * * "The road we now travel * * * * from Laurel Hill to Shanopens [near the forks of the Ohio], is but 46 miles, as the road now goes, which

I suppose may be 30 odd miles on a straight line." Arch. ii, 132.) Croghan, it must be remembered, was very zealous for action on the part of the province, and consequently did not magnify the distances.

In the "Account of the Road to Loggs Town on Allegheny River, taken by John Harris, 1754" (Arch. ii, 135) the following distances are noted from the points designated * * * *
 From Ray's Town to the Shawana Cabbins 8 M. * * * *
 to Allegheny Hill 6 M * * * * To Edmond's Swamp 8 M
 * * * * to Stoney Creek 6 M * * * * to Kickener
 Paulin's House, (Indian) 6 M * * * * to the Clear Fields
 7 M. * * * * to the other side of the Lawrel Hill 5 M.
 to Loyal Haning 6 M. * * * * to the Big Bottom 8 M.
 * * * * to the Chestnut Ridge 8 M. * * * * to the
 parting of the Road 4 M. * * * * thence one Road leads
 to Shannopin's Town the other to Kisscomenettes, old Town."

On Lewis Evans' Map, 1755, it is called "Loyalhanning," and it is marked as an Indian town, or camp, and is located on the south or western side of the creek.

From an "Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies"—from which this information is derived—"The greatest part of Virginia is composed with Assistance of Messieurs Fry and Jefferson's Map of it. * * * * The Map in the Ohio, and its Branches, as well as the Passes through the Mountains Westward, is laid down by the Information of Traders and others, who have resided there, and travelled them for many years together. Hitherto there have not been any Surveys made of them, except the Road which goes from Shippensburg which goes round Parnell's Knob and by Ray's Town over the Allegheny Mountains." * * * * This Map and Analysis were printed in Phila. by B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1755. The Maps of the Ohio Company Surveys of 1750-51-52, were copied from the original in the Public Record Office London, by J. A. Burt, 1882 for Wm. M. Darlington, Esq., to whose work "Christopher Gist's Journals, with notes, etc." Pittsburgh, 1893, we are indebted for this, and other relevant data.

According to John Heckewelder—Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to Rivers, Streams and Lo-

calities, within the State of Pennsylvania, etc., Moravian Society's Publications," the word Loyalhanna is corrupted from Laweellhanne, signifying, the middle stream.

Other words in which the root of these two words are found, are Le-la-wi, the middle * * * * Lawi-lo-wan, mid-winter * * * * La-wit-pi-cat, mid-night * * * * La-wu-linsch-gan, the middle finger. (From the vocables to above on authority of David Zeisberger).

Han-ne, signifies stream, and is applicable to river or creek. It appears in many names and in different forms. Kittanning† from Kit-hanne, in Minsi Delaware, Gicht-hanne, signifying, the main stream, i. e., in its region of country. Tobyhanna, corrupted from Topi-hanne, signifying alder stream, i. e. a stream whose banks are fringed with alders. Youghiogheny, corrupted from Jud-wiah-hanna, signifying a stream flowing in a contrary direction, or in a circuitous course. * * * * Cawanshannock, corrupted from Gawunsch-hanne, signifying green-brier stream. The stream called Stony Creek in Somerset county is the English of the Indian name: Sinne-hanne, or Achsin-hanne.

A large creek on the eastern side of Laurel Hill is called by Frederick Post, Rekenpalin.* Vide Journal.

The designation, Middle Creek as given to the Loyalhanna was applicable probably from the fact that it was about midway between the Allegheny or Ohio and the Raystown Branch of the Juniata. It was direct on the Indian trail, as we have seen, between these two points. There was a Shawanese town on the site of Bedford, it is said.—(See Note to Juniata, in Heckewelder, supra.)

Heckewelder says that Hanne means a stream of flowing water. Mr. Russell Errett says, however, (Magazine of Western History, May, 1885, page 53), that the word in common use among the Algonkin tribes for river is sipu, and this includes the idea of "a stream of flowing water." But in the moun-

*"Rekenpalin." The translator of Post's Journal evidently mistook Post's German "k" for an "r." It should be Kekenpalin, which is a corruption of Keckenepaulin, the name of an Indian who had a cabin which stood on a tributary of Quemahoning Creek, near Jenner Cross Roads, Somerset County. This same Delaware Chief had a village at the mouth of Loyalhanna Creek. In Patten's table of computed distances (Colonial Records, V, p. 759), one entry reads, "From Cowamahony to Kacknapaulins—5 miles. From Kacknapaulins to Loyal Hannin—18 miles. The "Cowamahony" is intended for Quemahoning.

†Kittanning. In nearly all of these compound Delaware place names "ing," or "ink," as the German translators put it is the locative. Kit-hanna was the name of the stream. Kit-hanna-ing was the name of the village on the stream. Lawel-hanna was the name of the stream and Lawel-hanna-ing, the name of the village. Hence, Kittanning, Loyalhanning, etc.

tainous parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, sipu does not sufficiently convey the idea of a rapid stream, roaring down the mountain gorges, and Hanne takes its place to designate not a mere sipu, or flowing river, but a rapid mountain stream.

Proper Indian names, as have seen, were written phonetically, so that the least deviation was liable to convey a different impression. Thus some of Heckewelder's names, it is said, do not exactly give the correct pronunciations to the English, for the reason that he naturally gave his vowels and diphthongs German sound.

We have preserved a remarkable incident of the correctness of this observation in this particular word * * * * The Hon. Wm. Findley, member of Congress for many years from the Westmoreland district, an intimate friend of Washington, in reporting a conversation which they had touching Fort Ligonier, says (in part):

"The Fort, which is conversant with me, he [Washington] and many others called Layalhana, after the name of the creek, was also named Ligoniers, [Ligonier's] near which there is now a town of that name." Wm. Findley to editor of Niles' Register for May 9th, 1818, p. 180. Letter dated Youngstown, Pa., March 27th, 1818.

From the examination of a Delaware Prisoner [about] May, 1757, Arch iii, 147, "they reported (while yet the French were at Duquesne), that 135 Indians had set off from Fort Duquesne, not designed against any Particular Place, but divide and fall separately in different places on the frontier: A party divided at Lawelpanning, &c."

In the French official report it is called Royal Hannon. The Indians, it is known, could not pronounce "r." The only explanation of the French form is that they made it an English name. The vulgar conception of the name is that which gives it an English derivation. * * * * "The absence of the consonants r, f, and v, the accumulation of the k sounds (all enunciated from the depths of the throat), * * * * are marked peculiarities of their [the Delawares] dialect." Trans. Mor. His. Soc. Introduction to Names, Heckewelder.

It is known that the Indians generally could not say rum, but called it lum. Heckewelder says, in one place, an Indian

called him Quackel, taking him for a Quaker. (Indian Nations, p. 144.)

John McCullough's narrative of his captivity, written by himself is among the best productions of the kind, on account of its being accurate as well as entertaining. He is quoted frequently by Mr. Parkman—(See the Conspiracy of Pontiac, Chap. xviii, et seq.) * * * * The author of the Narrative says, as part of his introduction, that "his endeavour throughout the whole is to make it intelligible to the meanest capacity; wherever he had deemed it necessary to retain Indian words, he has divided them into syllables, in order to give the reader an idea of the pronunciation." * * * * He was captured on the 25th day of July, 1756 from the Conococheague settlement, now Franklin county, near Fort Loudon. He says: "I must pass over many occurrences that happened on our way to Pittsburgh, excepting one or two. The morning before we came to Kee-ak-kshee-man-nit-toos, which signifies Cut Spirit, an old town at the junction of La-el-han-neck, or Middle Creek, and Quin-nim-mough-koong, or Ca-na-maugh, or Otter Creek, as the word signifies."

(8.) Western Penna., page 136—note.

As evidence of this see Pos's Journal for 9th Nov., 1758. On this day he left Forbes and the army at the Loyalhanna, and proceeded with his friendly Indians on his journey to persuade the tribes about the Ohio to take part with the English. He says: "We waited until almost noon for the writing of the General. We were escorted by an hundred men, rank and file, commanded by Capt. Hazlet; we passed through a tract of good land, about six miles on the old trading path, and came to the creek again, where there is a large fine bottom, well timbered; from thence we came upon a hill, to an advanced breast-work, about ten miles from camp, well situated for strength, facing a small branch of the aforesaid creek; the hill is steep down, perpendicular about twenty feet, on the south side; which is a great defence on the west side the breast-work, about seven feet high, where we encamped that night." * * * *

Note—This was before the advance of the army under Forbes.

This place is easily located now. It is on the Nine Mile Run, a stream which flows into the Loyalhanna about a mile east of Latrobe. The land belongs to the heirs of John Rumbach,

dec'd., and is situated in Unity township, Westmoreland county, about a mile and a half from Latrobe. The hill has always been known as the Breast-work Hill. The breast-work running across the plateau, is within the memory of many persons still living. There can be no doubt that it marked the old Indian trail or trading path to Shannopin's Town from Loyal-hanna: as to which see Post's Journal, same date.

Also Col. Bouquet's letter from Loyal Hanna, Sept. 17th, 1758, to Gen. Amherst, (Fort Pitt by Wm. M. Darlington, p. 75), in which he explains the part he had in Grant's Expedition, contains the following: "I begged them to give me their opinion upon a project, of which I had spoken several times to Maj. Grant at Raystown, which was to attack during the night the Indians camped around the Fort in huts, and that the disposition could be made thus: Lieut.-Col. Dagworthy should march with 900 men to the post which was known to be 10 miles distance, there construct an entrenchment and remain with 200 men. The Major should march with 300 Highlanders, etc." * * * By this "post" he probably meant the Nine-Mile Run position.

He says further: "On the 9th he departed, and I joined him on the 10th at the post, where Lieut.-Col. Dagworthy should have stopped. I remained here all night, and saw him depart on the 11th with his detachment in good order. This post being nearly ready for defence, I returned to the camp." Id.

Also Gen. Forbes in a letter dated Raystown, Sept. 23, 1758, (referred to in the text hereafter) to Col. Bouquet at Loyal-hanna, says:

"I understand by these officers that you have withdrawn the troops from your advanced post, which I attribute to its being too small for what you intended it, or that it did not answer the strength that you at first described it to me. I shall be glad to hear all your people are in spirits, and keep so, and that Loyal Hannon will be soon past any insult without cannon." * * * From Bouquet Papers, British Museum; quoted in Fort Pitt, supra, p. 71.

Quaere. Whether Col. John Armstrong in letter to R. Peters, from Raystown, Oct. 3, 1758, Arch. iii, 551, does not mean this when he says: "The Road to be opened from our advanced

Post is not yet fully determined, and must be further reconnoitred." * * * * This letter to be compared with Forbes' letter above, as to the order for examining the country for a road from this point. * * * * See also the letter of Forbes first quoted. * * * * At no place in the correspondence of this period have we seen the distance from the Loyalhanna post to Fort Duquesne fixed at 40 miles, and it is not likely that Forbes alluded to the Loyalhanna post in that letter.

(9.) James Grant was born in the Parish of Inveravon, Banffshire, Highlands of Scotland, and after studying law entered the army in 1741, at Ensign, at the age of twenty-two, and became captain in the 1st Battalion, 1st Royal Scots, October 24, 1744. In 1747 he was appointed aid to Gen. James St. Clair, ambassador to the Courts of Vienna and Turin. Captain Grant served in the wars in the Netherlands.

In January, 1757, he was commissioned Major of the new 77th Regiment, 1st Battalion, known as Montgomery Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Eglintown. They were ordered to America, and sailed from Cork, Ireland, and arriving at Halifax, America, in August. Sailed from Charleston, South Carolina, arriving there September 29th, having been ordered there with a portion of the Royal Americans, in apprehension of an attack by the French, from the West Indies. In 1758 the regiment arrived at Philadelphia from Charleston, South Carolina, and became part of Genl. Forbes' army in his campaign of that year.

Grant and nineteen officers were captured. He was soon exchanged, and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 40th Foot in 1760, and was appointed Governor of East Florida. In 1761 he was despatched by General Amherst, with a force of thirteen hundred Regulars, against the Indians of Carolina.

Grant succeeded to the family estate on the death of his nephew, Major William Grant. In 1772 he became Brevet-Colonel; in 1773 he was returned to Parliament for Wick boroughs, and at the general election of the year after for Sutherlandshire. In December, 1775, he was appointed Colo-

nel of the 55th Foot. In 1776 Grant went as a Brigadier to America, with the reinforcement under General Howe. He commanded two British brigades at the battle of Long Island, was employed by Lord Howe on special services in New Jersey, accompanied the army to Phila., and commanded the 1st and 2d Brigades of British at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown.

In May, 1778, he was sent with a strong force to cut off Lafayette, but was unsuccessful. He commanded the force sent from New York to the West Indies, which captured St. Lucia in December, 1778, and defended the island against an attempt to recapture it, made by a French force under the Count d'Estaing.

Grant became a Major-General in 1777, Lieutenant-General in 1782, General, in 1796. He was transferred from the 55th to the 11th Foot, in 1791, and was Governor, in succession, of Dumbarton and Stirling Castles. He was noted for his love of good living and became immensely corpulent.

He died at Ballindalloch, April 13, 1806, in his eighty-sixth year. Having no descendants his estate went to his grand-nephew, George Macpherson, who assumed the surname of Grant. [Wm. M. Darlington in C. Gist's Journals, p. 207.]

Maj. Grant having been severely criticised on all sides for his rashness and what was regarded, his imprudence, it may be interesting to note the comments of an Indian chief, which have been preserved in the Narrative of Captain James Smith. He says: "When Tecaughretango had heard the particulars of Grant's defeat, he said he could not well account for his contradictory and inconsistent conduct. He said, as the art of war consists in ambushing and surprising our enemies, and in preventing them from ambushing and surprising us, Grant, in the first place, acted like a wise and experienced officer, in artfully approaching in the night without being discovered; but when he came to the place, and the Indians were lying asleep outside the fort, between him and the Allegheny river, in place of slipping up quietly, and falling upon them with their broadswords, they beat the drums and played upon the bagpipes. He said could account for this inconsistent conduct in no other way than by supposing that he had made too free with

spiritous liquors during the night, and became intoxicated about daylight."

Montcalm reports to Marshall De Belle Isle of an engagement as follows: "Montreal, 15th of Nov., 1758. We have just received news from Fort Duquesne of the 23d of Oct., Capt. Aubray of the Louisiana troops, has gained a tolerably considerable advantage there on the 15th. (?) The enemy lost on the occasion 150 men, killed, wounded and missing; they were pursued as far as a new fort called Royal Hannon, which they built at the head of the river d'Attique. We had only two men killed and seven wounded." (Arch. vi, 2d Series, 426.) The River Attique, is the name which is set down in early French maps for the Kiskiminetas. * * * * It is hardly enough exaggerated to answer for the French report of Grant's Defeat, but that is doubtless the one alluded to. * * * * Bougainville to Cremille reporting (Arch. 2d Series, vi, 425) the affair with Grant says: "Five hundred of them have been killed or taken, and almost all the officers. On our side, only eight men have been killed or wounded."

(10) Quoted in Arch. xii, 392. Also History Western Penna., p. 139, n.

The following is a list of killed, wounded and missing: Highlanders, 1 killed; First Virginia Regt., 4 killed, and 6 wounded; Md. Companies, 2 killed, 6 wounded, 11 missing; First Penna. Regt., 4 killed, 5 wounded, 12 missing; Second Penna. Regt., 1 killed, 4 wounded; Lower Country Company, 1 missing. Total—12 killed, 17 wounded, 31 missing."

(11.) See letter quoted in Fort Pitt, by Wm. M. Darlington, p. 81.

(12.) This engagement is mentioned in the Journal of Col. Samuel Miles, who says: "When the army lay at Ligonier [1758], we were attacked by a body of French and Indians, and I was wounded in the foot by a spent ball." * * * * Miles was then a lieutenant in the second battalion in the Penna. regiment. * * * * Mile's Journal, Arch. ii, 2d ser., p. 560.

* * * * *

. That Col. Burd was recognized as the hero of this engage-

ment is very evident from a letter of a domestic character, recently made public. In a biographical paper, entitled "Col. James Burd, of Tinian," by Mr. A. Boyd Hamilton, published in the *Historical Register* for September, 1884, Vol. ii, No. 3, the following letter is produced. The importance of this engagement would have been more generally recognized had it stood out alone, and had not the magnitude of succeeding operations somewhat obscured it. The letter is from Edward Shippen, Esq., the father-in-law of Col. Burd. It is of a private nature, and was not, of course, intended originally for the public. In this case, however, it serves the purpose of establishing the facts narrated. The preface is from the article.

"Colonel Bouquet writes Burd, on the 16th of October, that "General Forbes had fired a feu de joie for your affair" [meaning the engagement and repulse at the Loyalhanna]. That Burd actively participated in the victorious engagement at Loyal Hannon there can be no question, and the following from his father-in-law, Shippen, never hitherto published—the original is among the papers of the Dauphin County Historical Society—is interesting. It presents his conduct as it was understood by the public authorities and his fellow-soldiers. The neat self-glorification on the part of the writer gives a pleasant glimpse of the pride of a family circle over this "feat in arms" of a favorite son-in-law. The superscription bears an elaborate address [indicated by the lines of separation]. The bearer was Colonel George Gibson, father of the late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of this State, John Bannister Gibson, whose mother was Fanny West, a niece of Hermanus Alricks;

"To | Coll. James Burd, commander | of the Second Bat-
talion | of the Pennsylvania Regiment | at | Loyal Hanning
| Per Favour of | Mr. George Gibson, Q. D.:|

"Lancaster, 6th Nov., 1758.

"Dear Mr. Burd: About the 15th or 16th ultimo, Johnny Gibson, Messrs. Hans Barr, & Levi Andrew Levi, wrote us from Raystown, that an acc't was just arrived there from Loyal Hanning, of your being attackt by a very large party of

French & Indians from Fort du Quesne, & that you had killed two or three hundred and taken as many prisoners & beat off the rest. This now, you may be sure, gave us great cause of rejoicing, as it did the people of Philada., to whom Mr. Barnabas Hughes carried copy's of these letters. Nay, I sent down two or three copies of them to cousin Allen & Neddy, [his son, the Judge]. In two days afterwards we had the pleasure to see your letter to Sally [Mrs. Burd], of the 14th ulto., with a confirmation of the repulse you had given the enemy; and tho' you were quite silent as to the number killed, &c., yet our joy was greatly increased. I make no doubt you have slain a considerable number of the enemy, and I don't care a farthing whether I ever know the quantity, nor do I care whether you have killed more than half a dozen of them; it is enough for me to be convinced that you have driven off the enemy, & have bravely maintained the Post you were sent to sustain; & were you certain you had killed two or three hundred, out of 12 or fourteen hundred before their retreat, yet you could not be sure of success had you sallied out and pursued them. Indeed, by taking such a greedy step, you might have been drawn into an ambuscade, & by that means been defeated, which might have put an end to the present expedition. You happily call to mind, that a Bird in hand was worth two in the Bush; & tho you don't pretend to equal skill with an experienced officer, yet I think you may lay claim to some share of Bravery, as you have so well defended your post, & I make no question but y'r General will pronounce you a good & faithful servant & will entrust you another time. I suppose he is with you by this time, considering the season of the year, the badness (now) of the road and the quantity of Provisions now at Raystown and Loyal Hanning, and the difficulty, or rather, (if ye winter should shut in immediately,) the impossibility of getting ye any more before the spring; I say he is without doubt considering all things; and so am I. And I am almost ready to conclude it will be impracticable, not to say imprudent, to attempt to march a step further this fall. But let the glorious attempt be made now, or at any other time, I pray God to give Him success, & return you all home in peace and safety."

Extract from French Archives: On the side of the French there is a letter reporting their movements about this time. Vaudreuil to Massiac, in the letter above referred to (Arch. vi, 2d Ser., p. 553), adds: "The English suppose us to be very numerous at Fort Duquesne. I am not sure whether the enemy will organize an expedition this fall, or wait until spring; the advanced season and the two advantages we have gained in succession over them would lead me to hope that they will adopt the latter course. [Does he here allude to the defeat of Grant and the attack on the camp at Loyalhanna as the two victories?] 'Tis much to be desired, for 'twould not be profitable for M. de Ligneris to resist the superiority of the enemy's forces. Meanwhile, he will use all means in his power to annoy them; embarrass their communications and intercept their convoys. It is a great pity that he has been absolutely obliged, by the scarcity of provisions, to reduce his garrison to 200 men."

* * * * *

(13.) Fort Pitt, p. 82.

(14.) Technically, a tenth part of a legion—about five or six hundred soldiers—sometimes applied to about that number of fort soldiers. Here used probably in a sense other than literal.

(15.) Letter before referred to in Fort Pitt, p. 75.

(16.) Fort Pitt, p. 71.

(17.) Montcalm and Wolfe, Chap. xxii.

(18.) Olden Time, Vol. ii. p. 545. In a report by George Croghan and the rest of the gentlemen who had been appointed by Mr. Morris, Governor of Pennsylvania, to lay out a road from Carlisle to Fort Cumberland, etc., they say: "He [Sir John Sinclair] is extremely warm and angry at our province; he would not look at our draughts, nor suffer any representations to be made to him in regard to the province, but stormed like a lion rampant."

To be fair with Sir John, he had no better opinion of the provincials or of those with whom he was associated,—Indians included. He wrote at the tail of a letter to the Swiss

colonel: "Adieu my dear Bouquet. The greatest curse that our Lord can pronounce against the worst of sinners is to give them business to do with provincial commissioners and friendly Indians.' Parkman—Montcalm and Wolfe, Chap. xxii. * * * * See mention of Sir John Sinclair at note to Col. Adam Stephen, below.

(19.) Montcalm and Wolfe, Chap. xxii.

(20.) All of the army had not yet come up on the 7th of Nov., as on that date Post sets forth in the Journal: "We rose early, and made all the haste we could on our journey; we crossed the large creek, Rekempalin, near the Lawrel Hill. Upon this hill we overtook the artillery; and came, before sun set, to Loyal Hanning. We were gladly received in the camp by the general, and most of the people. We made our fire near the other Indian camps, which pleased our people." * * * * It appears by a return quoted in Provincial Letters, p. 142, of Oct. 21st, (1758), that Col. Washington, commanding the Virginia regiment, was then encamped at Loyal Hannon with 461 rank and file. On the 25th of Oct. the companies of the Royal American regiment, under Col. Bouquet, Captains Ralph Harding, Francis Lander, and Thomas Jocelyn, were there in want of numerous articles of clothing, as were also the Maryland troops under Lieut. Col. Dagworthy. * * * * As to Capt. Jocelyn, see quotation from Arthur Lee's Journal, *infra*.

(21.) Montcalm and Wolfe, Chap. xxii, et seq.

Washington desired to show his zeal and patriotism for a common cause, actuated as he invariably was, by motives the most noble. He was accused of being obstinate to an unwarranted degree in opposing this route. He had insisted with unusual warmth that the Braddock route was the one the expedition should pursue. It has been observed that the chances were against the success of Forbes, at least until the summer of the next year, but for Washington and his men and their ways. That these were large elements in the success in that campaign, is certain. See Bancroft's History U. S., Vol. iii, p. 204, Cent. Ed.: "Vast as were the preparations,

Forbes would never, but for Washington, have seen the Ohio." See Spark's Washington, Vol. ii, p. 315, etc.

(22.) Wm. Findley to the editor of Niles' Register, for May, 1818, p. 180, Vol. ii, new series.—Extract: "Since I am in the way about writing about Washington, I will add one serious scene through which he passed, which is little known and with which he concluded this conversation. He asked me how near I lived to Layalhana Old Fort, and if I knew a run from the Laurel Hill that fell into the creek near it. I told him the distance of my residence, and that I knew the run. He told me that at a considerable distance up that run his life was in as great hazard as ever it had been in war. That he had been ordered to march some troops to reëforce a bullock-guard on their way to the camp—that he marched his party in single file with trailed arms, and sent a runner to inform the British officer in what manner he would meet him. The runner arrived and delivered his message, but he did not know how it was that the British officer paid no attention to it, and the parties met in the dark and fired on each other till they killed thirty (30) of their own men; nor could they be stopped till he had to go in between the fires and threw up the muzzles of their guns with his sword." Letter dated at Youngstown, March 27th, 1818. * * * A charitable allowance, which is no apology for the integrity of Mr. Findley, may be made from the fact that this incident depended largely on his memory. His veracity is not to be questioned.

By Gordon's account, a lieutenant and 13 or 14 Virginians were killed.

The following, from the Gazette, "is said to be the best account that can be given at Philadelphia, November 30," [1758]:

"On the 12, Col. Washington being out with a scouting party, fell in with a number of the enemy about 3 miles from our camp, whom he attacked, killed one, took 3 prisoners (an Indian man and woman, and one Johnson, an Englishman, who, it is said was carried off by the Indians some time ago from Lancaster county), and obliged the rest to fly. On hearing the firing at Loyal Hanning, Colonel Mercer, with a party of Virginians, was sent to the assistance of Colonel Washington, who arriving in sight of our people in the dusk of the

evening, and seeing them about a fire the enemy had been drove from, and the two Indians with them, imagined them to be French; and Colonel Washington being under the same mistake, unhappily a few shots were exchanged, by which a lieutenant and 13 or 14 Virginians were killed. That Johnson being examined, was told he had forfeited his life by being found in arms against his king and country, and the only way to save it and make atonement, was to give as full an information of the condition of Fort Du Quesne, and of the enemy, as he could, which being found to be true, his life should be spared, and in case of success he should be well rewarded; but if he should give any false intelligence, or not so full as he had it in his power then to do, he should certainly be put to death in an extraordinary manner. That upon this threatening and promise Johnson said, that the Canadians who had been with Mons. Vetri at Loyal Hanning were all gone home; that the Ohio Indians had also returned to their several towns; that the attempt made by Vetri at Loyal Hanning was only to make us apprehend their strength at Fort Du Quesne to be very great, whereas they were very weak there, and added that our army would certainly succeed. That the Indian man being likewise examined, his relation, we are told, agreed with that of Johnson; and they both said the French were very scarce of provisions, as well as weak in men, and that upon this information Colonel Armstrong, with 1,000 men and part of the train, was ordered to march next day, and the General designed to have followed the next day after with the whole army, but was necessarily detained till the 17th, when he certainly marched, and we hope is now in possession of Fort Du Quesne."

"The General marched from Loyal Hanning 4,300 effective men, all well and in good spirits, besides Indians, and left a strong garrison there and at Ray's Town," &c.

"It is said Vetri and his people on their return from Loyal Hanning, were obliged to kill and eat several of our horses, whose skins and bones were afterwards found by some of our men."

Extract of a letter from Loyal Hanning, dated November 18:

"This day the General marched with the rear division of the army. The front division under the command of Colonel John Armstrong, is now about 16 miles from Fort Du Quesne, and they have made a good road to their camp from this garrison."

"The party of the enemy mentioned in last week's paper to be attacked by our people near Loyal Hanning, we hear consisted of above 200 French and Indians, and it is said that had before taken and sent off Lieutenant James Hayes, of our Provincials, and another man."

(23.) Western Penna. Appx., p. 300.

(24.) Records, Vol. viii, 224.

(25.) In his Journal for December 2d, 1758, Post mentions Pittsburgh." On the 4th he speaks of having drawn provisions for "Fort Ligonier" on his return. From Post's Journal December 27th, 1758: "Towards noon the general set out. * * * * It snowed the whole day. We encamped by Beaver Dam under Laurel Hill. 28th—We came to Stoney Creek, where Mr. Quicksell is stationed. The general sent Mr. Hayes, express, to Fort Bedford and commanded him to see if the place for encampment, under the Allegheny Mountains, was prepared; as also to take care that refreshments should be at hand at his coming."

These places for the convenience of the General had to be prepared in advance for him. In a letter to Bouquet, from Raystown (Bedford), Sept. 23d, 1758, on his way out, Forbes writes: "Pray make a hovell or hutt for me at L. Hannon or any of the other posts, with a fire place if possible."

(26.) Arch., iii, 571.

(27.) Arch., iii, 510. Mr. Shippen was Brigade Major in Gen. Forbes' army. Olden Time, Vol. ii, 465.

(28.) Arch., 2d series, vi, 428.

(29.) Arch., 2d series, vi, 553.

(30.) Arch., 2d series, vi, 564.

(31.) Arch., iii, 685.

(32.) Arch., iii, 669.

Samuel Jones, a captain who served in the Penn'a regiment, in 1758 and '59, is marked dead, in a list made out in 1760. Pa. Arch, ii, 2d Ser., 609.

Col. Adam Stephen, mentioned above, was one of the foremost soldiers of his day, and but for a single failing would have been classed with the greatest of the Revolutionary Generals. He was a Virginian, and was with Washington in his first campaign, at the Jumonville affair and at Fort Necessity, and fought with him again on that terrible day at Braddock's Field. At the attack on Jumonville's camp, he with his own hands, made the first prisoner, capturing the Ensign, M. Drouillon, "a pert fellow." (Sargent's Braddock's Expedition.) * * * * In the Forbes' campaign, he and Sir John Sinclair could not get along together; and they had some hot words at Ligonier, when Sir John ordered him under arrest. Part of his regiment went with Major Grant—(Grant's defeat); and, under the circumstances, Major Lewis had to command. It is probable that Stephen, who was of a fiery nature, would not brook the Quarter-master's ways. "From this cause or some other, Lieut.-Col. Stephen, of the Virginians, told him he would break his sword rather than be longer under his orders. 'As I had not sufficient strength,' says Sinclair, 'to take him by the neck from among his own men, I was obliged to let him have his own way, that I might not be the occasion of bloodshed.' He succeeded at last in arresting him." [Montcalm and Wolfe, Chap. xxii.]

The following extract from a letter from Gen. Arthur St. Clair (not to be mistaken for Sir John Sinclair, as they were in no way related), refers to this circumstance. The letter is to Gen. Greene, who desired St. Clair's opinion upon some questions of military precedence; it is dated at West Point, August 10th, 1779, and is found among the St. Clair papers, Vol. i, page 482. He says: "Some time in the campaign of 1758, the late Gen. Stephens (then, I think, a major of Provincials), commanded at Fort Ligonier, upon the Loyalhanning, when Sir John St. Clair [so he writes it], Quartermaster-General, with the rank of Colonel, arrived at that fort. He immediately assumed the command, and ordered Major Stephens to make returns of his garrison and stores to him. The

major insisted on his command, and refused to make the returns. Sir John put him in arrest. The major complained to General Forbes, and demanded a court-martial. Whether a court-martial sat upon the matter I do not recollect, but this is certain, the major was released, restored to his command, and Sir John censured."

Gen. Stephen served in the Revolution. In 1776 he was Colonel of a Virginia regiment, and shortly thereafter was made Brigadier-General and then Major-General. He fought at Trenton, at Princeton, and at the Battle of Brandywine, and won the praise of his commander. "But at Germantown, where he led a division, the sins of his youth lay triumphantly in wait for him. That which neither the red skins of the Indians nor the red coats of the British had accomplished, was wrought by 'an enemy less honorable than either.' The army was defeated; Gen. Stephen was dismissed. * * * * He was the founder of Martinsburg, Va., and called it after his friend Martin, a relative of Lord Fairfax." Near this place, in a corner of the beautiful estate of 'Boydville,' (Stephen's home), close by the road, is a heap of stone, some rough and some hewn as if in preparation for a monument, and under these lie all that was mortal of a pioneer, a patriot, and a general." [Rev. Geo. Hodges, in Pittsburgh Dispatch, Sept. 24th, 1894.]

(33.) Arch., iii, 674.

(34.) Arch., iii, p. Records, viii, 379.

(35.) Records, viii, 379.

(36.) Gen. Stanwix to Gov. Hamilton from Pittsburgh, Dec. 4th, 1759.

Arch., iii, 696. * * * * "The old battalions were last winter greatly distressed on the communication for want of pay, clothing and provisions. Numbers of them paid the debt of nature in the way of scalping, and many more died of the diseases arising from cold and hunger." * * * * Col. John Armstrong to Gov. Denny, from Fort Ligonier, Oct. 9th, 1759. Arch., iii, 688.

(37.) Arch., iv, p. 39.

A good idea of the movement of the troops and munitions from Ligonier in the summer of 1760 may be had from the journal of Col. James Burd, Arch., vii, 2d Ser., p. 419.

Col. Samuel Miles says that, "In the year 1759, I was stationed at Ligonier, and had 25 men picked out of the two battalions, Penna. regt., under my command," etc. Arch. ii, 2d Ser., p. 560.

In Arthur Lee's Journal there is mention of Fort Ligonier Lee passed here in 1784, as one of the Commissioners appointed by Congress to hold treaties with the Indians. Extracts are printed in *The Olden Time*, p. 334. He says: "On the 29th Nov. we traversed a part of the Allegheny called Laurel Hill, from an abundance of what is called in Virginia, ivy, growing upon it. On this mountain St. Joselin (this is the first time we have seen any allusion to this person, or to this attack, says the editor in a note, but Capt. Thos. Jocelyn was in the Royal American Regt. there) was attacked and killed by the Indians; but his convoy was saved. On this mountain Capt. Bullet was attacked and put to flight by a party of Indians within two miles of Ligonier, (Query: Does he here allude to the attack on Grant's Hill?)—and at another time the savages attacked the hospital, and that was going from the fort and massacred the sick. At night we reached Fort Ligonier, built in 1758, by Gen. Forbes, as a station, in his progress against Fort Pitt—Duquesne. It was frequently attacked by the French and Indians, and many of its troops killed. A very good and capacious stockade fort was raised there during the late war [the Revolution] as a defense against the Indian incursions. But they massacred the inhabitants as far as Bedford, having passed the fort, through the woods and over the mountains."

(38.) Pontiac, Chap. xviii.—Parkman.

(39.) Pontiac, Chap. xix.—Parkman. Express Riders.

(40.) Archives, iv, 109.

Mr. Parkman has told in a graphic manner of the perils which beset the express-riders, whose desperate duties it was to be the bearers of the correspondence of the officers of the forest out-posts with their commander. "They were usually,"

he says, "soilders, sometimes backwoodsmen, and occasionally a friendly Indian, who, disguising his attachment to the whites, could pass when others would infallibly have perished. If white men, they were always mounted; and it may well be supposed that their horses did not lag by the way. The profound solitude; the silence, broken only by the moaning of the wind, the caw of the crow, or the cry of some prowling tenant of the waste: the mistery of the verdant labyrinth, which the anxious wayfarer strained his eyes in vain to penetrate; the consciousness that in every thicket, behind every rock might lurk a foe more fierce and subtle than the cougar or the lynx; and the long hours of darkness, when streched on the cold ground, his excited fancy roamed in nightmare visions of a horror but too real and imminent, such was the experience of many an unfortunate who never lived to tell it. If the messenger was an Indian, his greatest danger was from those who should have been his freinds. Friendly Indians were told, whenever they approched a fort, to make themselves known by carrying green branches thrust into the muzzles of their guns; and an order was issued that the token should be respected. This gave them tolerable security as regarded soldiers, but not as regarded the enraged backwoodsmen, who would shoot without distinction at any thing with a red skin."

(41.) Pontiac, Parkman, Chap. xix.

(42.) Gen. Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief, although an able officer, did not understand the Indians or Indian warfare. He could not see how the posts which had not fallen could not hold out. He was constantly finding fault with his officers. "His correspondence," says Parkman, "breathes a certain thick-headed, blustering arrogancy worthy the successor of Braddock. In his contempt for the Indians, he finds fault with Capt. Ecuyer at Fort Pitt for condescending to fire cannon at them, and with Lieutenant Blane at Fort Ligonier for burning some out-houses, probably those referred to by Blane in the above letter, under cover of which 'so despicable an enemy' were firing at his garrison."

Amherst could not speak of the savages with reason. In a

postscript to this letter he made the suggestion to Bouquet, which has been much commented upon. He says: "Could it not be contrived to send the Small-Pox among those disaffected tribes of Indians? We must on this occasion use every stratagem in our power to reduce them." (Signed) J. A.

Bouquet was evidently somewhat chary about this method of proceeding, being afraid of catching the disease himself. Nevertheless in seeming to comply with the invitation to experiment in the manner suggested by his superior, he replies also in postscript: "I will try to inoculate them with some blankets, and take care not to get the disease myself. As it is a pity to expose good men against them, I wish we could use the Spanish method, to hunt them with English dogs, supported by rangers and some light horse, who would, I think, effectually extirpate or remove that vermin." * * * Amherst rejoined: "You will do well to try to inoculate the Indians by means of blankets, as well as to try every other method that can serve to extirpate this execrable race. I should be very glad your scheme for hunting them down by dogs to take effect, but England is at too great a distance to think of that at present. (Signed) J. A."

"There is no direct evidence that Bouquet carried into effect the shameful plan of infecting the Indian, though a few months after the small-pox was known to have made havoc among the tribes of the Ohio. Certain it is, that he was perfectly capable of dealing with them by other means, worthy of a man and a soldier; and it is equally certain, that in relations with civilized men he was in a high degree honorable, humane and kind." [Parkman—Pontiac, Chap. xix.]

It is not impossible, indeed, that Bouquet had a special horror of that disease, which might have been known. Surgeon J. Stevenson, in a letter preserved in Arch., iii, page 82, dated Phila., Dec. 13th, writes to Col. Bouquet: "The reason of my not paying my respects to you upon your arrival here, was owing to my being informed by Capt. Tullikins that you have never had the small-pox, and as I imagined from my being so often among the soldiers sick of that disease, that my coming near you might make you uneasy, I on purpose avoided you."

(43.) Col. Bouquet wrote to Gov. Hamilton, from Carlisle, July 3d, 1763: "Fort Ligonier has likewise stood a vigorous attack, by means of some men who reinforced that small garrison from the militia at Bedford. The Indians expect a strong reinforcement to make new attempts on these two posts."

(44.) An Historical Account of the Expedition, &c.—Parkman's Pontiac.

The last reënforcement reached Fort Ligonier probably about the beginning of July.

(45.) Parkman's Pontiac, Chap. xxvi.

(46.) Darlington's Fort Pitt, p. 121.

(47.) Vol. ii, No. 6, Magazine of Western History, Cleveland, O.

(48.) Darlington's Fort Pitt, 138.

(49.) Arch., iv, 591.

(50.) Isaac Stimble's son Isaac conveyed, Feb. 18th, 1775 (Deed Book A, p. 66, Westmoreland County Records), the land which Isaac Stimble had "improved," joining the garrison lands at Ligonier.

(51.) See biographical sketch in St. Clair Papers.

(52.) Arch., iv, 514.

(53.) It is probable that the fort he alludes to here was Wallace's Fort and the Indian was Wipey, an account of whose killing is given further on.

(54.) Consult his correspondence in Fourth Archives, and the St. Clair Papers.

(55.) Arch., iv, 519.

(56.) Arch., iv, 503.

"May, 1774.—A meeting was held at Colonel Croghan's house, Ligonier, at which were present Guyasutha, White Mingo and the Six Nation Deputies. Guyasutha was one of the orators."

* * * * Christopher Gist's Journal, 212.

(57.) He doubtless means as evidence at the trial to convict these offenders.

(58.) Arch., iv, 543.

(59.) Records, x, 198.

The proclamation was made in pursuance of a resolution of the Assembly passed July 20, 1774, as follows:

"Resolved, That this House will make Provision for Paying the reward of One Hundred Pounds to any Person who shall apprehend James Cooper and John Hinkson, who, it is said, have barbarously murdered an Indian on the Frontiers of this Province, and deliver them into the Custody of the Keeper of the Gaol, within either of the Counties of Lancaster, York or Cumberland, or the sum of Fifty Pounds for either of them." Arch., iv, 549.

When the proclamation was published printed copies were ordered to be sent into Westmoreland.

There is not a harmony of agreement as to the exact place, or the stream, at which Wipey was killed. It is altogether probable that he was killed at or near the mouth of Hinckston's Run, a stream which is a confluent of Conemaugh river, having its source in Blacklick and Jackson townships, Cambria county, flowing in a westerly direction and emptying into the Conemaugh in the Fourteenth ward of the city of Johnstown, which stream—Hinckston's Run—takes its name from Hinckston, one of the men who killed Wipey.

It is likely that Wipey hunted and fished along the Conemaugh; and while the tradition is very direct of his being killed at the place we have mentioned, the fact would not be inconsistent with his having lived and abided at the place referred to in Wheatfield township, Indiana county.

On this subject I am privileged to quote from a letter of the Hon. W. Horace Rose, of Johnstown, Pa., a gentleman who has given the subject of the early local history of his part of the country some attention. He says:

"In reference to the killing of John [Joseph] Wipey, St. Clair's statement is in entire accord with the fact of the Indian being killed as I have stated. It is not above eighteen miles, perhaps but fifteen by the old Mountain road, from the mouth

of Laurel Run, which is located about a mile and a half from Hinckston's Run [to Ligonier]. The old road, known as the Fairfield road, left the Conemaugh river about midway between the two runs. The statement I make about him having been shot below or near the mouth of Hinckston's Run is based upon the statement of the original settlers in this neighborhood made to my informants. The Adamses were well acquainted with Wipey, and from them directly those who informed me had the statement of his death, and the fact that he was killed while fishing, from a canoe or boat just below the mouth of Hinckston's Run. Their statement was that he was hidden in Laurel Run, to which point he floated in the canoe; and that the canoe was turned upside down and attracted the attention of some Indians who lived in the vicinity of what is now New Florence. They recognized the boat, which led to a search for Wipey. Hinckston and Cooper fled but were subsequently arrested. It was not claimed that Wipey made his permanent home at this point, but that he frequently came here and was associated with the Adamses. The information I have comes but second-handed from the Adamses who were interested in the Indian, he having at one time given them warning of a foray. It is hardly possible that the story could have been invented with such circumstantial particulars as were given in the tradition here. George Beam was well acquainted with the Adamses, and from them directly he obtained the statement. I knew Beam very well. He died at an advanced age, and resided in this locality from the close of the last century. He was thoroughly posted in the land-marks, and the history of the Valley.

"Hinckston, like Cooper, was a renegade, and tramped about the country, subsisting principally on game. Such is the account I have of the men who murdered the last of the Delawares.

"I wish to call your attention to the fact that if Wipey was killed about eighteen miles from Ligonier, Hinckston's Run would more nearly fill the distance than West Wheatfield."

The statement to which Mr. Rose alludes in the first sentence above was one made by him in the History of Johnstown (The Johnstown Daily Democrat, souvenir edition, autumn,

1894), viz: "In May, 1774, [Joseph] John Wipey, a Delaware Indian, the last of his race who lived in the valley, was shot while sitting in his canoe fishing, at the mouth of Hinckston's Run, by one of two renegade white men—John Hinckston and James Cooper."

Of the Adamases it is there said: "The Adamases were among the first to make a location in the vicinity of the Indian town (Conemaugh Old Town), and two of the streams, confluent of the Stony creek—Ben's creek and Solomon's run—take their names from them. They were located here before they made application for warrants." * * * * We shall hear of Capt. Hinckston later on in connection with Fort Ligonier.

John Hinckston, about this time—29th of August, 1774—conveyed "all his right, title and interest, &c., in a certain location by and for me obtained out of the Proprietary's Land Office for the Province of Penna., bearing date 3d April, 1769, for the quantity of 270 acres lying on the river Conemaugh, bounded on the E. by land of Wm. McCune and on the W. by land of John Wood, being the Squirrel Hill Old Town, with the improvements."—Deed Book, A, p. 65, conveyed to Thomas Galbraith, Innkeeper of Ligonier. Consideration, Four hundred pounds.

Hinckston was undoubtedly a deadly foe of the Indians.

In the narrative of Col. James Smith, before referred to, we have mention of this person. Col. Smith was, during part of the Revolution, a resident of Westmoreland county; and an office-holder here. He conducted an expedition, under commission from Brodhead, against the Indians on the upper Allegheny, which has been described very entertainingly by him. The following extract bears on the subject of Capt. Hinckston:

From Col. James Smith's Narrative: "In the year 1778, I received a colonel's commission, and after my return to Westmoreland, the Indians made an attack upon our frontiers. I then raised men and pursued them, and the second day we overtook and defeated them. We likewise took four scalps, and recovered the horses and plunder which they were carrying off. At the time of this attack, Capt. John Hinckston pursued an Indian, both their guns being empty, and after

the fray was over, he was missing. While we were inquiring about him, he came walking up, seemingly unconcerned, with a bloody scalp in his hand—he had pursued the Indian about a quarter of a mile, and tomahawked him.”

Col. Smith had some land in this county, situated on the headwaters of Sewickley creek. He is identified with the Sewickley settlement. In the summer and fall of 1778 most of the Indian fighters were on the line from Ligonier or Laurel Hill westward to the Allegheny river, along or to the north of the Forbes Road; while some inroads were made on the Sewickley settlement towards the Allegheny.

It might be that Smith's mention of this adventure refers to an account given by Col. Lochry to Thomas Wharton, President of the Council, December 6th, 1777, Arch., vi, 68, of the state of affairs here, in which he mentions that he has sent five Indian scalps, taken by one of the scalping parties which he had sent out, commanded by Col. Barr, Col. Perry, Col. Smith and Capt. Kingston [Hinckston], who were volunteers in the action which occurred near Kittanning.

As Col. Smith in his Narrative drew largely from his recollection, he might readily have been inaccurate in fixing the year 1778 as the time of his coming into Westmoreland county, or rather of this action, if it be the one he alludes to.

“An order was drawn in favor of Col. A. Lochry, Lieutenant of the county of Westmoreland, for the sum of twelve pounds, ten shillings, State money, to be paid to Capt. Samuel Brady, as a reward for an Indian scalp, agreeable to a late proclamation of this Board.” In Council, Feb. 19th, 1781. Records, xii, 632. For rewards for scalps, see Records, xii, 328.

(60.) St. Clair Papers, Vol. i, p. 347.

(61.) St. Clair Papers, Vol. i, p. 14.

(62.) Arch., v. 741.

(63.) Records, xvi, 170.

(64.) Records, xvi, 176.

(65.) Thomas Galbraith once had title to the land upon which the town of Ligonier now stands. The chain of title is as follows: David Espy, of Bedford, Pa., attorney-in-fact of

Arthur St. Clair, conveyed to Thomas Galbraith, of Fairfield township, Westmoreland county (Book A, p. 156)—13th of June, 1777, three plantations and tracts of land situate at Ligonier, in the county aforesaid, one of them including the town of Ligonier and containing 584 acres, and allowance.

Jasper Moylan, assignee of Francis and John West, who were the assignees of Arthur St. Clair, Esq., per John Brandon, Sheriff, sold to James Ramsey, of Franklin county, Pa., six hundred and sixty acres of land, more or less, known by the name of the Ligonier Tract; also about 10 acres, adjoining said tract, known as the Indian Field and Mill Creek, as the property of Thomas Galbraith, late of Fairfield township, in the county aforesaid, in the hands of Wm. Jamison and Buchanan, his administrators. Sold on the 22d of Sept., 1793. Book 4, p. 297, Recorder's Office of Westmoreland county.

From James Ramsey the title passed to his son, John Ramsey, who laid out the plan and founded the town of Ligonier.

We may remember here, as a place pertinent to recall it, that the only title that existed in those who had settled around the old fort was one of sufferance. Those who had property destroyed here by the Indians in Pontiac's War when the post was besieged and who wanted compensation therefor from the King, were reminded that they had no title whatever to the property, but were permitted to occupy the premises only by courtesy. St. Clair appears to have secured a warrant at the opening of the land office for this particular tract.

One of Thomas Galbraith's daughters is supposed to have been the wife of William Jamison, above mentioned, who had two children, Thomas Jamison and Ann Jamison, married to Robert McConnaughey, the father of Mr. J. C. McConnaughey, of Ligonier township, in whose possession the memorandum book referred to above was found. Mr. McConnaughey writes under date of Nov. 22, 1894: "In regard to the book. My grandfather Jamison used to keep store in Ligonier many years ago; when he died my father settled his estate; he had all his books, and among them was this memorandum book."

(66.) Records, xi, 329.

(67.) Second Arch., iii, 777, et. seq.

(68.) Records, xi, 373.

(69.) George Findley is said to have been the first white settler of Indiana county, in what then, of course, was Westmoreland. He migrated from the settlement made by John Pomroy and James Wilson in what is now Derry township, Westmoreland county. The date of his leaving and "tomahawking" a tract and making an improvement is given as 1764-5. He selected the tract occupied (now or lately) by his grandson, George Findley Matthews, in East Wheatfield township, Indiana county, where his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Matthews, born 28th of Jan., 1784 (lately), resided. When the Revolution began he had a clearing of about 10 acres, and a rude cabin for his bride, whom he had married in Maryland, not far from Hagerstown, in 1776. In 1784, he again returned to his improvement, and continued his residence there. He was repeatedly forced to seek shelter at Fort Ligonier, or Palmer's Fort. Biographical sketch in Hist. Ind. Co., 120.

East Wheatfield township lies on the Conemaugh adjoining Westmoreland county at the northern end of Ligonier Valley.

His home is spoken of, May 29th, 1769, in an application for a warrant, as the "Findley's cabbins." * * * * It is said that Findley's cabin was fitted for defense. * * * * His clearing or location was next to Whipey's—See before for an account of Wipey, the Delaware Indian murdered by the whites.

Robert Rodgers was a settler near George Findley's. The two came out together from Conococheague Valley. Findley then had an improvement of several years. Rodgers is said to have located about 1771 or 2. [Hist. Ind. Co., 422.]

There was also an Isaac Rodgers, a neighbor of Findley's.

(70.) Captain Samuel Shannon is frequently mentioned in the public records, and he had something more than a local reputation. He must have been very popular, as the name "Shannon" as a Christian name is so common throughout the valley as to be noticeable. He had a command under Col. Lochry in his expedition of 1781, and was taken by the Indians, and succeeded in command by Lieut. Isaac Anderson. (2d Arch., xiv, 685.) He, presumably, was exchanged or made

his escape, as letters of administration on the estate of Samuel Shannon were granted April 3d, 1785, to Elizabeth Shannon and Mary Slaughter, by the Register of Westmoreland county. There was a Captain Robert Shannon, who is said to have been a brother of Samuel. * * * * Capt. Robert Knox, Col. William McDowell, James and Charles Clifford, and others named here, were long remembered on account of being conspicuous figures in the history of the fort. Families of the same stock and name still live in the valley.

(71.) Capt. Hinkson (otherwise Hinkston) is spoken of before. It is altogether probable that this is the same person who was connected with the murder of the friendly Delaware, Wipey. Some of the whites of the neighborhood condoned the murder in their suspicions and distrust of all red men. Hinkston, Hinckston or Hinkson, as the name is variously spelled, was from that neighborhood. To the conveyance of a location he had made on the Conemaugh—he spells his name Hinkson.

(72.) The fact of this boy's killing is corroborated in a letter to Jeff W. Taylor, Esq., of Greensburg, Pa., from William Reynolds, Esq., of Bolivar, Pa., Nov. 15th, 1894, and given for reference here. Mr. Reynolds is a grandson of George Findley, spoken of, and is now seventy-six years of age. His account is from direct report. He says that George Findley and his bound boy, fourteen or fifteen years of age, but large and strong, started back from Palmer's Fort, whither they had fled, in hopes of recovering a mare that had left them and which they supposed had returned home. They kept in the woods, not venturing into the clearings, but notwithstanding this they were fired upon by some Indians, the boy falling. Findley, shot through the arm and bleeding much, effected his escape, and returned to Fort Palmer, bringing back with him, however, a girl who had remained about the Rogers settlement. This girl subsequently became the mother of the Hills, of near Ninevah. "The next morning a squad of men went back and found the boy scalped, his brains knocked out, and stripped naked. They buried him."

Fort Palmer was about six miles from Ligonier, on the line

of the flight of the settlers from the Conemaugh and Upper Ligonier Valley.

(73). See Wallace's Fort. * * * * Also Arch., v, 741.
* * * * Col. Charles Campbell was taken Sept. 25th, 1777. A copy of the proclamation referred to is found in Arch., v, 402. It is as follows:

"A Proclamation.

"By virtue of the power and authority to me given by his Excellency Sir Guy Carlton, Knight of the Bath, Governor of the Province of Quebec, General and Commander in chief, &c., &c., &c.

"I assure all such as are inclined to withdraw themselves from the Tyranny and oppression of the rebel committees and take refuge in this Settlement or any of the posts commanded by his Majesty's Officers shall be humanely treated, shall be lodged and victualled, and such as are off in arms and shall use them in defense of his majesty against rebels and Traitors till the Extinction of this rebellion, shall receive pay adequate to their former stations in the rebel service, and all common men who shall serve during that period, shall receive his majesty's bounty of two hundred Acres of Land. Given under my hand and seal, Henry Hamilton (L. S.), Lieut. Gov. & Superintendent."

"Eleven other persons killed and scalped at Palmer's Fort, near Ligonier, amongst which is Ensign Woods." Col. Lochry to President Wharton Nov. 4th, 1777. Archives, v, 741.

(74.) Col. Lochry, County Lieutenant, who had absolute control of the militia and arms of the county, lived on the Twelve Mile Run, in Unity township, between the turnpike and St. Vincent's Monastery. Lochry was a neighbor of Col. John Proctor. This was on the southern side of the Forbes Road. * * * * It will be remembered that Lochry recommended the erection of this fort.

(75.) Col. James Pollock was then a sub-lieutenant of the county. He was superceded in his office by George Reading, Esq., April 1st, 1778, Rec., xi, 455, where the reason is given. In the light of this journal the Council might have had some

suggestion from Thomas Galbraith. Col. Pollock lived toward West Fairfield, eight or nine miles from Fort Ligonier. He held civil offices much later; and was a candidate, unsuccessfully, against William Findley, for Congress.

(76.) This was not Archibald Lochry. Stony Creek was a station on the Forbes Road, where it crossed that stream, now Stoystown, in Somerset county. Guards and relays were kept here. There was a kind of stockade erected here when the road was cut by Bouquet and a small garrison stayed there. It was deserted for a time in Pontiac's War, 1763.

(77.) Charles Clifford, brother to James Clifford, was taken prisoner on the 22d of April, 1779, from their place on Mill creek, about two miles from Ligonier. It does not appear that he was treated with unusual severity or with any cruelty. He was taken to Canada, turned over to the British, and remained there somewhat above two years, then he was exchanged and returned home.

(78.) George Reading, not long after this, was appointed a sub-Lieutenant of the county in place of James Pollock.

(79.) The manuscript is sufficiently distinct to make it certain that Captain Ourrie is not the same person as Lieut. Curry, a reading that casually might make it appear otherwise.

(80.) Col. John Pomroy, of the Fort Barr and Fort Wallace (Derry) settlement; a prominent man in Indian affairs during all these times. * * * * William Richardson was a settler of some standing several years prior to this time.

(81.) The manuscript here is illegible. The meaning probably is, that the one who was behind the others, on being called upon, hurried up to the rest of the party, but it being dusk the party did not return to the place whence the voice proceeded until the next morning, and found the (tracks of Indians.)

(82.) The expedition here referred to had been planned by Gen. Hand, the Commandant at Fort Pitt, against the Indians at Sandusky, but it failed for the lack of men and supplies, which he expected from the western frontier of the State.

"One reason for the failure was a want of concert between Gen. Hand and the lieutenants of the border counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania." Wash.-Irv. Cor., 12.

(83.) Samuel Craig, Sr., who came from New Jersey, settled on the Loyalhanna in Derry township, near (now) New Alexandria, shortly after the opening of the land office. He and his sons were all actively engaged in frontier service. "The duties of Samuel Craig's appointments calling him to Fort Ligonier, he had to go there frequently; and on the last occasion he was taken on the road. A beautiful mare which he used for riding, was found on the Chestnut Ridge between his home and that post. The mare had eight bullets in her; but all efforts of the family to ascertain the fate of Capt. Craig were unavailing." Mrs. Margaret Craig, MS.

(84.) The writer (Thomas Galbraith) was, as stated before, evidently a Commissioner for the distribution of salt and other supplies, and was in the service of the Continental Congress as well as of the State.

The following entry is found in the book from which this journal is taken:

1777, March 15th, provisions left at Ligonier in care of James McDowell, for use of the Continent:

1625" Bacon.

532" Pork, salted.

300" Heads.

400" Beef.

(85.) Jollys—The station at Stonycreek (Stoystown).

(86.) Arch., vi, 3.

(87.) Arch., vi, 68.

(88.) Arch., vi, 532.

(89.) Archives, vii, 345.

(90.) Archives, vii, 173.

(91.) Archives, viii, 180.

(92.) Arch., viii, 485.

(93.) Arch., viii, 282

(94.) Arch., ix, 240.

(95.) Washington-Irvine Correspondence, 254.

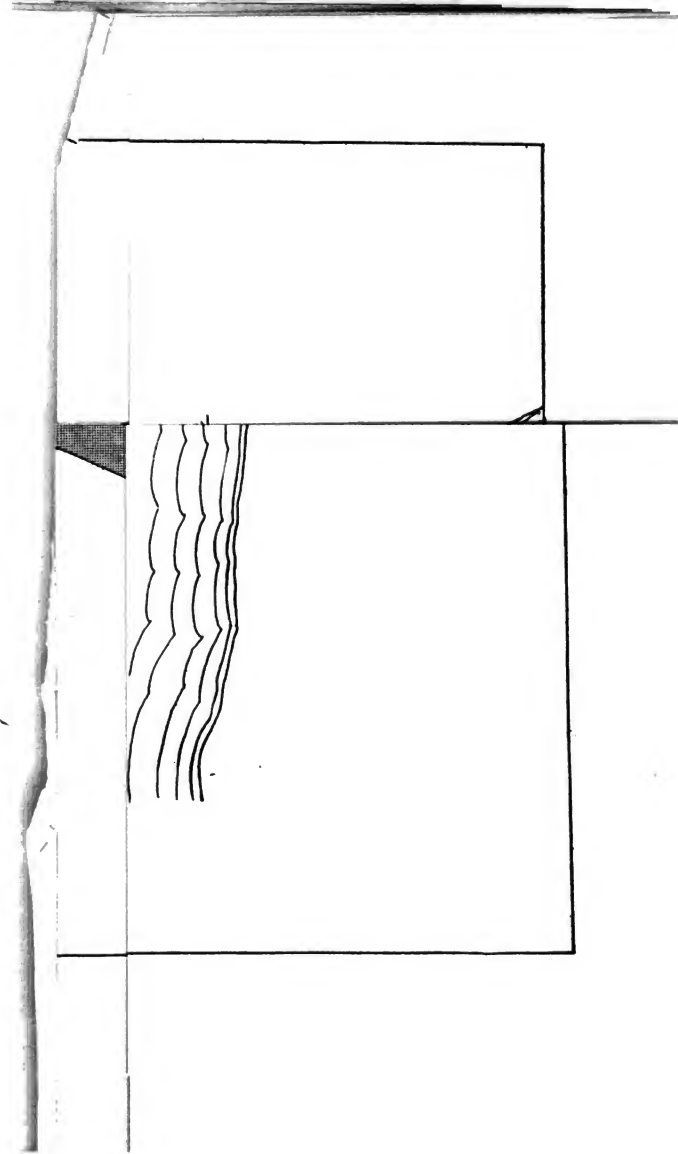
(96.) Olden Time, Vol. i, p. 200.

It was customary to name the forts erected about this time after some person prominent in military or civil affairs, for instance, of Loudoun, Bedford, Ligonier, Pitt.

For services of Sir John Ligonier, see Knight's History of England, Chapter clix.

At what time the name Ligonier was first applied has not at present been definitely ascertained. Forbes mentions "the fort of Loyalhannon, October 22d, 1758," (Records, viii, 224), and as late as November 9th, 1758, he dates his letter to the Indian chiefs "From my camp at Loyal Hannon." In his Journal for December 4th, 1758, Post says he drew provision (at Pittsburgh) "for our journey to Fort Ligonier."

(97.) A Chronological Table of Events in the career of Gen. St. Clair. Born at Thurso, in the County of Caithness, Scotland, March 23, 1736; Ensign in the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot (the Royal Americans, he being in the second battalion commanded by Lawrence), May 13th, 1757; with Amherst at Louisburg, Canada, May 28th, 1758; Lieutenant, April 17th, 1759; capture of Quebec, Sept. 13th, 1759; married at Boston to Miss Phoebe Bayard, a half sister of Gov. James Bowdoin, of Massachusetts Bay, May 14th, 1760; resigned his commission, April 16th, 1762; on special service in a civil capacity as agent of the Penns in Western Pennsylvania, having charge of Fort Ligonier, 1767-'69; appointed Surveyor for the District of Cumberland by Gov. Penn, April 5th, 1770; appointed County Justice and Member of the Proprietary Council for Cumberland county, May 23d, 1770; appointed Justice of the court (by special commission), Prothonotary, Register and Recorder for Bedford county, March 11th-12, 1771; appointed to same offices for Westmoreland county, February 27th, 1773; actively engaged as Penn's chief representative in Westmoreland county throughout 1774; Resolutions at Hannastown, May 16th, 1775; Colonel under Council of Safety, 1775; Colonel in the Continental service, January 3d, 1776; before Quebec, May 11th, 1776; Brigadier-General, August 9th, 1776; Major-



General, February 19th, 1777; detailed as Adjutant-General, March, 1777; member of Council of Censors, 1783; Auctioneer of Philadelphia, February 24th, 1784; Member of Congress (elected), November 11th, 1785; took his seat, February 26th, 1786; President of Congress, February 2d, 1787; Governor of the Northwestern Territory, chosen by Congress, October 5th, 1787; candidate for Governor for Penna., 1790; Commander-in-Chief of the army, 1791; Battle of the Wabash, November 4th, 1791; resigns his Generalship, 1792; removed from Governorship of Northwestern Territory by Jefferson, November 22d, 1802; died, August 31st, 1818, and buried in the Presbyterian graveyard, at present called the St. Clair cemetery, at Greensburg, Westmoreland county, Pa.

Remarks.

The location of old Fort Ligonier, with respect to the landmarks as they at present exist, is indicated with accuracy on the plan prepared with that object, which plan is hereto attached. It will be seen that most of the ground which was covered by the Fort and the garrison land adjacent is now the property of R. M. Graham, Esq., a gentleman who is a native of the valley, and who has taken much interest in all matters relating to the Fort.

Mr. Graham has made a statement in which he has authorized the writer to say that he will grant in perpetuity a plot of ground within these boundary lines, or contiguous thereto, for the purpose of erecting thereon a suitable memorial of a substantial character, commemorative of old Fort Ligonier. The people of Ligonier Valley may be congratulated on the circumstance that the ownership of such a historic and interesting spot is in a gentleman of such liberal and enlarged views.

The writer is here constrained to make mention of the commendable efforts of I. M. Graham, Esq., editor and publisher of the Ligonier Echo newspaper, in perpetuating the memorials of the Fort and Valley and in encouraging an active interest in their early history. He has thus been instrumental in bringing out from obscurity and making public

much information, interesting, and, from a local point of view, valuable; and he has in every possible way assisted the writer in the duties incident to this report.

HANNASTOWN.

By the treaty of November 5th, 1768, with the Six Nations, the right to the occupancy of the lands within the limits of what is called the New Purchase (1) was given to the Proprietors of the Province. Prior to that time, however, settlements had been made in the southwestern portion of the State, as it is now, under the patronage of Virginia, that colony assuming that the region so settled was within her territorial limits.

At the time of the opening of the land office (April 3d, 1769), for the application of those who desired to take up land in the New Purchase, the same was declared to be within the civil jurisdiction of the county of Cumberland, in which jurisdiction it continued till Bedford county was organized, March 9th, 1771.

The necessity for a new county organization westward of Bedford was so urgent, that Westmoreland county was erected February 26th, 1773. This county was the last one formed under the proprietary government. It embraced all that part of Bedford—and of the Province—lying west of the Laurel Hill, and was circumscribed only by the limits of the line of the New Purchase on the northward, Mason and Dixon's line on the south, and the farthest bounds of the charter grant to the Penns, on the west—limited by the act to where the most westerly branch of the Youghiogheny crossed the boundary line of the Province.

With the organization of the county it was provided that the courts should be held at the house of Robert Hanna until a court-house should be built, and a place definitely fixed by legislation for the county seat. On the 6th of April, 1773, under the reign of "Our Sovereign Lord George the Third,

by the Grace of God, of Great Britan, France and Ireland, King, &c.," the first court was organized at Robert Hanna's house before William Crawford, Esq., and his associates, justices of the same court. This was the first place west of the mountains where justice was administered judicially and publicly, under the forms and according to the principles of the English jurisprudence.

No sooner, however, had the legal government of the Penns been established here, than a conflict began between Virginia and the Province touching the rights of the respective colonies in this region—each one claiming this territory. The clashing of authority led to a condition of civil war; the causes of it, its progress, and a recital of its details cannot be given here. These culminated the next year, 1774. At that time John Murray, Lord Dunmore, was the royal governor of Virginia. Himself a subservient tory, his chief tool and representative was one Dr. John Connolly, a Pennsylvanian by birth. The chief representative of the Penns, (2) was Arthur St. Clair, who had held commissions under them for a number of years, and who had been identified with the affairs of the western portion of the Province in various capacities since early in 1770.

Hannastown, the county seat of this larger Westmoreland county, was about thirty-five miles east of Pittsburgh on the Forbes road. Here and eastward to Ligonier, Penns' interests were paramount. In many other settlements the inhabitants were largely in sympathy with Virginia.

In the meantime Connolly undertook with a high hand to dominate affairs. He seized upon Fort Pitt, erected a stockade which he called Fort Dunmore, issued proclamations in the name of the Governor of Virginia, commanding all to obey his authority, and proceeded by force against the adherents of Penn at Fort Pitt.

For the issuing of his proclamation and the calling of the militia together in pursuance of it, St. Clair had Connolly arrested on a warrant, brought before him at Ligonier, and committed to jail at Hannastown. Giving bail to answer for his appearance in court, he was released from custody. On being released he went into Augusta county, Va., where at Staunton, the county seat, he was created a justice of the peace. It was

alleged that Fort Pitt was in that county, in the District of West Augusta. This was to give a show of legality to his proceedings, and to cover them with the official sanction of the authority for whom he was acting. When he returned in March it was with both civil and military authority, and his acts from thenceforth were of the most tyrannical and abusive kind.

When the court, early in April, assembled at Hanna's, Connolly, with a force of a hundred and fifty men, armed and with colors, appeared before the place. He placed armed men before the door of the court-house, and refused admittance to the provincial magistrates without his consent. Connolly had had a sheriff appointed for this region. In the meeting between himself and the justices he said that in coming he had fulfilled his promise to the sheriff, but denied the authority of the court, and that the magistrates had no authority to hold a court. He agreed, however, so far as to let the officers act as a court in matters which might be submitted to them by the people, but only till he should receive instructions to the contrary. The magistrates were outspoken and firm. They averred that their authority rested on the legislative authority of Pennsylvania; that it had been regularly exercised; that they would continue to exercise it, and to do all in their power to preserve public tranquility. They urged the assurance that the proprietary government would use every exertion to have the boundary line satisfactorily adjusted, and that at least by fixing upon a temporary boundary the differences could be accommodated till one should be ascertained.

At this time, 1774, broke out the war in which the Indians made special head against the Virginians on the border of what we now call southwestern Pennsylvania and northwestern West Virginia. The effect of this uprising, added to the condition of the people under the tyrannizing of Connolly, created a panic which led almost to the depopulation of our frontiers. During this time Arthur St. Clair, Aeneas Mackay, Devereaux Smith and other staunch friends of the Penns, by their personal influence alone succeeded in quieting the Indians on the northern frontier and west of the Allegheny, and in allaying the fears of the people.

St. Clair writing to Gov. Penn from Ligonier, May 29th, 1774, says:

"The panic that has struck this Country, threatening an entire Depopulation thereof, induced me a few days ago to make an Excursion to Pittsburgh to see if it could be removed and the Desertion prevented.

"The only probable Remedy that offered was to afford the People the appearance of some Protection, accordingly Mr. Smith, Mr. Mackay, Mr. Butler, and some other of the Inhabitants of Pittsburgh, with Collonel Croghan and myself, entered into an Association for the immediate raising an hundred Men, to be employed as a ranging Company to cover the Inhabitants in case of Danger, to which Association several Magistrates and other Inhabitants have acceded, and in a very few days they will be on foot.

"We have undertaken to maintain for one Month at the rate of one Shilling six-pence a Man per Diem! this we will cheerfully discharge; at the same time. We flatter ourselves that your Honour will approve the Measure, and that the Government will not only relieve private Persons from the Burthen, but take effectual Measures for the safety of this Frontier, and this I am desired by the People in general to request of your Honor." (3.)

Col. John Montgomery writes to Gov. Penn from Carlisle, June 3, 1774:

"I am just Returned from the Back Country. I was up at the place where Courts are held in Westmoreland County; I found the people there in great Confusion and Distress, many families returning to this side the mountains, others are about Building of forts in order to make a Stand; But They are in Great want of Ammunition and Arms, and Cannot get Sufficient Supply in those parts. I wish some method would be Taken to Send a Supply from Philadelphia, and unless they are Speedily furnished with arms & ammunition will be obliged to Desert the Country. There is a fine Appearance of Crops over the mountains, and Could the people be protected in Saving them, it would be of Considerable Advantage in Case we should be involved in an Indian Warr and Obligated to raise Troops, to be able to Support them with provisions in that

Country. Capt'n Sinclair has wrote to your Honour a full State of Affairs in the Back Country, whose letter I send by Express from this place." (4.)

The next year 1775, was one full of excitement; and although civil affairs were unsettled in the early part of the year there was a lull toward spring time of a short duration. Public affairs of much greater moment were attracting the attention of the people. The New England colonies were in open revolt against the mother country. For a time, civil and local disputes and antipathies were allowed to rest, and common danger and a common patriotism led to a unity of the factions.

On the 16th of May, 1775, the inhabitants of Westmoreland county met at Hannastown in convention and then and there produced those remarkable Resolutions which, as long as our annals are preserved will keep the memory of this place ever fresh in the notice of men.

The Minute and Resolutions are as follows:

"Meeting of the inhabitants of Westmoreland county, Pa.

"At a general meeting of the inhabitants of the County of Westmoreland, held at Hanna's town the 16th day of May, 1775, for taking into consideration the very alarming situation of the country, occasioned by the dispute with Great Britain:

"Resolved unanimously, That the Parliament of Great Britain, by several late acts, have declared the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay to be in rebellion, and the ministry, by endeavoring to enforce these acts, have attempted to reduce the said inhabitants to a mere wretched state of slavery than ever before existed in any state or country. Not content with violating their constitutional and chartered privileges, they would strip them of the rights of humanity, exposing lives to the wanton and unpunishable sport of licentious soldiery, and depriving them of the very means of subsistence.

"Resolved unanimously, That there is no reason to doubt but the same system of tyranny and oppression will (should it meet with success in Massachusetts Bay) be extended to every other part of America: It is therefore become the indispensable duty of every American, of every man who has any public virtue or

love for his country, or any bowels for posterity, by every means which God has put in his power, to resist and oppose the execution of it; that for us we will be ready to oppose it with our lives and fortunes. And the better to enable us to accomplish it, we will immediately form ourselves into a military body, to consist of companies to be made up out of the several townships under the following association, which is declared to be the Association of Westmoreland County:

“Possessed with the most unshaken loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty, King George the Third, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful and rightful King, and who we wish may long be the beloved sovereign of a free and happy people throughout the whole British Empire; we declare to the world, that we do not mean by this Association to deviate from that loyalty which we hold it our bounden duty to observe; but, animated with the love of liberty, it is no less our duty to maintain and defend our just rights (which, with sorrow, we have seen of late wantonly violated in many instances by a wicked Ministry and a corrupted Parliament) and transmit them to our posterity, for which we do agree and associate together:

“1st. To arm and form ourselves into a regiment or regiments, and choose officers to command us in such proportions as shall be thought necessary.

“2d. We will, with alacrity, endeavor to make ourselves masters of the manual exercise, and such evolutions as may be necessary to enable us to act in a body with concert; and to that end we will meet at such times and places as shall be appointed either for the companies or the regiment, by the officers commanding each when chosen.

“3d. That should our country be invaded by a foreign enemy, or should troops be sent from Great Britain to enforce the late arbitrary acts of its Parliament, we will cheerfully submit to military discipline, and to the utmost of our power resist and oppose them, or either of them, and will coincide with any plan that may be formed for the defence of America in general, or Pennsylvania in particular.

“4th. That we do not wish or desire any innovation, but only that things may be restored to, and go on in the same way as before the era of the Stamp Act, when Boston grew great, and

America was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrate in carrying the same in execution.

"5th. That when the British Parliament shall have repealed their late obnoxious statutes, and shall recede from their claim to tax us, and make laws for us in every instance; or when some general plan of union and reconciliation has been formed and accepted by America, this our Association shall be dissolved; but till then it shall remain in full force; and to the observation of it, we bind ourselves by everything dear and sacred amongst men.

"No licensed murder! no famine introduced by law!

"Resolved, That on Wednesday, the twenty-fourth instant, the township meets to accede to the said Association, and choose their officers."

Arthur St. Clair in a letter to Joseph Shippen, Jr., from Lionier, May 18th, 1775, says: "Yesterday, we had a county meeting and have come to resolutions to arm and discipline, and have formed an Association, which I suppose you will soon see in the papers. God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity to such proceedings. I doubt their utility, and am almost as much afraid of success in this contest as of being vanquished." (5.)

To Gov. Penn, May 25th, he says: "We have nothing but musters and committees all over the country, and everything seems to be running into the wildest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the Congress, America has seen her golden days, they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of horror. An association is formed in this county for defense of American Liberty. I got a clause added, by which they bind themselves to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws they have been accustomed to be governed by."

This clause was the fourth one. This was the first step taken by St. Clair as a Revolutionary patriot. It shows a conservative spirit, and an unwillingness to do anything that might tend to anarchy or violation of just laws. (6.)

When with these people the actual war of the Revolution began, the situation of affairs in the western part of the Province was peculiar. The British government early employed the savages as their allies in the war with the colonies; and although a regiment of men—(seven companies of which were made up of Westmorelanders)—joined the Continental Army under Washington, yet the brunt of the war here had, for the time being to be borne by these people unaided and alone. Early in the war, a department was created called the Western Department, of which Fort Pitt was the headquarters, which was under command of a continental officer and a force mostly of regular soldiers, to which in times of emergency were added the militia of the counties.

The structures called a fort erected in 1774 at Hannastown was doubtless of a very temporary character, intended only, as it was, for the emergency. From early in 1776 there were quarters here for the accommodation of the regulars of the Eighth Penn'a Regiment and of the militia companies which from time to time were recruited. In 1776 it was a point where supplies were collected, and it so continued to be until the destruction of the place which was one of the last acts in the War. While it continued to be a recruiting and distributing station, there was also a fort erected here in 1776 which with the necessary additions was kept up until the day in which it did good stead for those who sought its shelter, as we shall see later.

From the Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council for Dec. 17th, 1790, among the reports of the Treasurer, Comptroller and Register-General, the following account, among others, was read and approved, vizt: "Of David Semple, for superintending the building of the fort at Hanna's Town in the year 1776, by order of Messieurs [Edward] Cook, [James] Pollock and [Archibald] Lockry, amounting to twenty-two pounds. (7.)

In a letter of Col. Lochry to the President of the Council of date Nov. 4th, 1777, referred to elsewhere, in which he sums up the tale of Indian depredations, he says—"We have likewise ventured to erect two stockade forts, at Ligonier and Hannas Town at the Public Expense, with a Store House in each to secure both Public and private property in and be a place of re-

treat for the suffering frontiers in case of necessity, which I flatter myself will meet your excellency's approbation."

It is altogether probable that the fort here alluded to was but an improvement or an addition to the fort then standing. This, however, is only supposition; and if it was a new structure altogether it took the place of the earlier one.

There are many reports of the Indians being in the neighborhood and of the people fleeing to Hannastown from this time on. The place, however, escaped an attack from the fact, probably, of there being constantly kept there either soldiers of the regular service or squads of militia, with a supply of arms and ammunition. The quantity of supplies was often extremely meagre.

Col. Lochry to President Reed from Hannastown, May 1st, 1779, says—"The savages are continually making depredations among us; not less than forty people have been killed, wounded or captivated this spring, and the enemy have killed our creatures within three hundred yards of this town." (8.)

Col. Lochry writes to Col. Brodhead from Hannastown, 13th of Dec., 1779, at a time when the people were suffering much and apprehending an outbreak in the spring, in which letter he says: "His Excellency, the president of this state, has invested me with authority to station Capt. Erwin and Capt. Campbell's companies of rangers to cover this county, where I may think their service will be of the most benefit to the distressed frontiers. I have received orders for that purpose. In consequence of which orders, I request you (sir) to send these troops to this place as soon as possible, where I shall assign them stations that I flatter myself their service will be of more benefit to this county than it can possibly be in Fort Pitt." (9.)

Col. Lochry from his home on the Twelve Mile Run writes to Pres. Reed, June 1st, 1780: "I have been under the necessity of removing the public records of the county from Hannastown to my own plantation on the Twelve Mile Run—not without consulting the judge of the Court who was of opinion it would be no prejudice to the inhabitants. My principal reason for moving them, I did not think them safe as the place is but weak, and is now a real frontier." (10.)

The fall of 1781 was a gloomy one indeed to the people of

Westmoreland county. This was the period of the ill-fated Lochry expedition. Besides all this they were harrassed all the summer from the inroads of the savages. Col. Lochry to President Reed, (11) July 4th, 1781, says: "We have very distressing times here this summer. The enemy are almost constantly in our country, killing and captivating the inhabitants."

In August, 1781, the detachment of the Seventh Maryland regiment, which had been serving under Brodhead, left Fort Pitt, and returned over the mountains home.

In a letter to Washington of Dec. 3d, 1781, (12) Irvine said:

"At present the people talk of flying early in the spring, to the eastern side of the mountain, and are daily flocking to me to inquire what support they may expect."

It was very generally believed, and Washington himself shared in the opinion, that the failure of Clark (with Lochry) and Gibson, in their expeditions of that year, would greatly encourage the savages to fall on the frontiers with double fury in the coming spring.

The month of Feb., 1782, was one of unusual mildness. War-parties of savages from Sandusky visited the settlements and committed depredations earlier than usual on that account. From the failure of the expeditions of the previous autumn, before alluded to, there had been a continued fear all along the border during the winter; and now that the early melting of the snow had brought the savages to the settlements at an unwonted season, a more than usual degree of excitement and apprehension prevailed. (13.)

Through the spring and summer of 1782 the settlers gathered together at various points of convenience, living in common and preserving the strictest watch. While the gloom from repeated disasters still rested upon the people, they gathered into the cabins about Hannastown and nearer the blockhouses and stations. The militia in the service of the State had deserted from the posts, because they were not paid and were in rags. The whole country north of the Great Road almost to the rivers northwestward was, so to speak, deserted.

Such was the condition of affairs at the time when Hannastown was attacked, on Saturday, July 13th, 1782, and almost

totally destroyed, an event of the greatest historical importance in the annals of Western Pennsylvania. The first of the following articles is from the pen of the Hon. Richard Coulter, at that time a practising attorney of the Westmoreland bar, and later one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Argus*, published at Greensburg, Pa., in 1836. Judge Coulter obtained his information from the persons who had been a part of what he narrates:

"About three miles from Greensburg, on the old road to New Alexandria, there stand two modern built log tenements, to one of which a sign-post, and a sign is appended, giving due notice that at the seven yellow stars, the wayfarer may partake of the good things of this world. Between the tavern and the Indian gallows hill on the west, once stood Hanna's town, the first place west of the Allegheny mountains where justice was dispensed according to the legal forms of the white man. The county of Westmoreland was established by the provincial legislature on the 26th of Feb., 1773, and the courts directed to be held at Hanna's town. It consisted of about thirty habitations, some of them cabins, but most of them aspiring to the name of houses, having two stories, of hewed logs. There were a wooden courthouse and a jail of the like construction. A fort stockaded with logs, completed the civil and military arrangements of the town. The first prothonotary and clerk of the courts was Arthur St. Clair, Esq., afterwards general in the revolutionary army. Robert Hanna, Esq., was the first presiding justice in the courts; and the first Court of Common Pleas was held in April, 1773. Thomas Smith, Esq., afterwards one of the judges on the supreme bench, brought quarterly, from the east, the most abstruse learning of the profession, to puzzle the backwoods lawyers; and it was here that Hugh Henry Brackenridge, afterwards also a judge on the supreme bench, made his debut, in the profession which he afterwards illustrated and adorned by his genius and learning. The road first opened to Fort Pitt by Gen. Forbes and his army, passed through the town. The periodical return of the court brought together a hardy, adventurous, frank, and open-

hearted set of men from the Redstone, the George's creek, the Youghiogheny, the Monongahela, and the Catfish settlements, as well as from the region, now in its circumscribed limits, still called "Old Westmoreland." It may well be supposed that on such occasions, there was many an uproarious merry-making. Such men, when they occasionally met at courts, met joyously. But the plough has long since gone over the place of merry-making; and no log or mound of earth remains to tell where justice held her scales.

"On the 13th of July, 1782, a party of the townsfolk went to O'Connor's fields, about a mile and a half north of the village, to cut the harvest of Michael Huffnagle. * * * * * The summer of '82 was a sorrowful one to the frontier inhabitants. The blood of many a family had sprinkled their own fields. The frontier northwest of the town was almost deserted; the inhabitants had fled for safety and repose towards the Sewickley settlement. At this very time there were a number of families at Miller's station, about two miles south of the town. There was, therefore, little impediment to the Indians, either by way of resistance, or even of giving warning of their approach. When the reapers had cut down one field, one of the number who had crossed to the side next to the woods, returned in great alarm, and reported that he had seen a number of Indians approaching. The whole reaping party ran for the town, each one intent upon his own safety. The scene which then presented itself may more readily be conceived than described. Fathers seeking for their wives and children, and children calling for their parents and friends, and all hurrying in a state of consternation to the fort. Some criminals were confined in jail, the doors of which were thrown open. After some time it was proposed that some person should reconnoitre, and relieve them from uncertainty. Four young men, David Shaw, James Brison, and two others, with their rifles, started on foot through the highlands, between that and Crabtree creek, pursuing a direct course towards O'Connor's fields; whilst Captain Matthew Jack, who happened to be in the town, pursued a more circuitous route on horse-back.

"The captain was the first to arrive at the fields, and his eye was not long in doubt, for the whole force of the savages was there mustered. He turned his horse to fly, but was observed and pursued. When he had proceeded a short distance, he met the four on foot—told them to fly for their lives—that the savages were coming in great force—that he would take a circuitous route and alarm the settlements. He went to Love's, where Frederick Beaver now lives, about a mile and a quarter east of town, and assisted the family to fly, taking Mrs. Love on the horse behind him. The four made all speed for the town, but the foremost Indians obtained sight of them, and gave them hot pursuit. By the time they had reached the Crabtree creek, they could hear the distinct footfalls of their pursuers, and see the sunbeams glistening through the foliage of the trees upon their naked skins. When, however, they got into the mouth of the ravine that led up from the creek to the town, they felt almost secure. The Indians, who knew nothing of the previous alarm given to the town, and supposed they would take it by surprise, did not fire, lest they might give notice of their approach; this saved the lives of David Shaw and his companions. When they got to the top of the hill, the strong instinct of nature impelled Shaw to go first into the town, and see whether his kindred had gone to the fort, before he entered himself. As he reached his father's threshold and saw all within desolate, he turned and saw the savages, with their tufts of hair flying in the wind, and their brandished tomahawks, for they had emerged into the open space around the town, and commenced the war-hoop. He resolved to make one of them give his death halloo, and raising his rifle to his eye, his bullet whizzed true, for the stout savage at whom he aimed bounded into the air and fell upon his face. Then, with the speed of an arrow, he fled to the fort, where he entered in safety. The Indians were exasperated when they found the town deserted, and after pillaging the houses, they set them on fire. Although a considerable part of the town was within rifle range of the fort, the whites did but little execution, being more intent on their own safety than solicitous about destroying the enemy. One savage, who had put on the military coat of one of the inhabitants, paraded himself so ostenta-

tiously that he was shot down. Except this one, and the one laid low by Shaw, there was no evidence of any other execution, but some human bones found among the ashes of one of the houses, where they, it was supposed, burnt those who were killed. There was not more than fourteen or fifteen rifles in the fort; and a company having marched from the town some time before, in Lochry's ill-fated campaign, many of the most efficient men were absent; not more than 20 or 25 remained. A maiden, Janet Shaw, was killed in the fort; a child having run opposite the gate, in which there were some apertures through which a bullet from the Indians occasionally whistled, she followed it, and as she stooped to pick it up, a bullet entered her bosom—thus she fell a victim to her kindness of heart. The savages, with their wild yells and hideous gesticulations, exulted as the flames spread, and looked like demons rejoicing over the lost hopes of mortals.

“Soon after the arrival of the marauders, a large party of them was observed to break off, by what seemed concerted signals, and march towards Miller's station. At that place there had been a wedding the day before. Love is a delicate plant, but will take root in the midst of perils in gentle bosoms. A young couple, fugitives from the frontier, fell in love and were married. Among those who visited the bridal festivity, were Mrs. Hanna, and her two beautiful daughters, from the town. John Brownlee, who then owned what is now the fine farm of Frederick J. Cope, and his family, were also there. This individual was well known in the frontier forage and scouting parties. His courage, activity, generosity, and manly form, won for him among his associates, as they win everywhere, confidence and attachment. Many of the Indians were acquainted with his character, some of them probably had seen his person. There were in addition to the mansion a number of cabins, rudely constructed, in which those families who had been driven from their homes resided. The station was generally called Miller's town. The bridal party were enjoying themselves in the principal mansion, without the least shadow of approaching danger. Some men were mowing in the meadow—people in the cabins were variously occupied—when suddenly the war-whoop, like a clap of thunder from a

cloudless sky, broke upon their astonished ears. The people in the cabins and those in the meadow, mostly made their escape. One incident always excites emotions in my bosom when I have heard it related. Many who fled took an east course, over the long steep hills which ascend towards Peter George's farm. One man was carrying his child and assisting his mother in the flight, and when they got towards the top of the hill, the mother exclaimed they would be murdered, that the savages were gaining space upon them. The son and father put down and abandoned his child that he might more effectually assist his mother. Let those disposed to condemn, keep silence until the same struggle of nature takes place in their own bosoms. Perhaps he thought the savages would be more apt to spare the innocence of infancy than the weakness of age. But most likely it was the instinct of feeling, and even a brave man had hardly time to think under such circumstances. At all events, Providence seemed to smile on the act, for at dawn of the next morning, when the father returned to the cabin, he found his little innocent curled upon his bed, sound asleep, the only human being left amidst the desolation. Let fathers appreciate his feelings; whether the Indians had found the child and took compassion on it, and carried it back, or whether the little creature had been unobserved, and when it became tired of its solitude, had wandered home through brush and over briers, will never be known. The latter supposition would seem most probable from being found in its own cabin and on its own bed. At the principal mansion, the party were so agitated by the cries of women and children, mingling with the yell of the savage, and all were for a moment irresolute, and that moment sealed their fate. One young man of powerful frame grasped a child near him, which happened to be Brownlee's, and effected his escape. He was pursued by three or four savages. But his strength enabled him to gain slightly upon his followers, when he came to a rye-field, and taking advantage of a thick copse, which lay by a sudden turn intervened between him and them, he got on the fence and leaped far into the rye, where he lay down with the child. He heard the quick tread of the savages as they passed, and their slower steps as they returned, muttering their gut-

tural disappointment. That man lived to an honored old age, but is now no more. Brownlee made his way to the door, having seized a rifle; he saw, however, that it was a desperate game, but made a rush at some Indians who were entering the gate. The shrill clear voice of his wife, exclaiming, "Jack, will you leave me?" instantly recalled him, and he sat down beside her at the door, yielding himself a willing victim. The party were made prisoners, including the bridegroom and bride, and several of the family of Miller. At this point of time, Capt. Jack was seen coming up the lane in full gallop. The Indians were certain of their prey, and the prisoners were dismayed at his rashness. Fortunately he noticed the peril in which he was placed in time to save himself. Eagerly bent upon giving warning to the people, his mind was so engrossed with that idea, that he did not see the enemy until he was within full gun-shot. When he did see them, and turned to fly, several bullets whistled by him, one of which cut his bridle-rein, but he escaped. When those of the marauders who had pursued the fugitives returned, and when they had safely secured their prisoners and loaded them with plunder, they commenced their retreat.

"Heavy were the hearts of the women and maidens as they were led into captivity. Who can tell the bitterness of their sorrow? They looked, as they thought, for the last time upon the dear fields of their country, and of civilized life. They thought of their fathers, their husbands, their brothers, and, as their eyes streamed with tears, the cruelty and uncertainty which hung over their fate as prisoners of savages overwhelmed them in despair. They had proceeded about half a mile, and four or five Indians near the group of prisoners in which was Brownlee were observed to exchange rapid sentences among each other, and look earnestly at him. Some of the prisoners had named him; and, whether it was from that circumstance or because some of the Indians had recognized his person, it was evident that he was a doomed man. He stooped slightly to adjust his child on his back, which he carried in addition to the luggage which they had put on him; and, as he did so, one of the Indians who had looked so

earnestly at him stepped to him hastily and buried a tomahawk in his head. When he fell, the child was quickly dispatched by the same individual. One of the women captives screamed at this butchery, and the same bloody instrument and ferocious hand immediately ended her agony of spirit. God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, and He enabled Mrs. Brownlee to bear that scene in speechless agony of woe. Their bodies were found the next day by the settlers and were interred where they fell. The spot is marked to this day in Mechling's field. As the shades of evening began to fall, the marauders met again on the plains of Hanna's town. They retired to the low grounds about the Crabtree creek, and there regaled themselves on what they had stolen. It was their intention to attack the fort the next morning before the dawn of day.

"At nightfall thirty yeomen, good and true, had assembled at George's farm, not far from Miller's, determined to give, that night, what succor they could to the people in the fort. They set off for the town, each with his trusty rifle, some on horseback and some on foot. As soon as they came near the fort the greatest caution and circumspection was observed. Experienced woodsmen soon ascertained that the enemy was in the Crab-tree bottom, and that they might enter the fort. Accordingly, they all marched to the gate, and were most joyfully welcomed by those within. After some consultation, it was the general opinion that the Indians intended to make an attack the next morning; and, as there were but about forty-five rifles in the fort, and about fifty-five or sixty men, the contest was considered extremely doubtful, considering the great superiority of numbers on the part of the savages. It became, therefore, a matter of the first importance to impress the enemy with a belief that large reinforcements were arriving. For that purpose the horses were mounted by active men and brought full trot over the bridge of plank that was across the ditch which surrounded the stockading. This was frequently repeated. Two old drums were found in the fort, which were new braced, and music on the fife and drum was kept occasionally going during the night. While marching and counter-marching, the bridge was frequently crossed on

foot by the whole garrison. These measures had the desired effect. The military music from the fort, the trampling of the horses, and the marching over the bridge, were borne on the silence of night over the low lands of the Crab-tree, and the sounds carried terror into the bosoms of the cowardly savages. They feared the retribution which they deserved, and fled shortly after midnight in their stealthy and wolf-like habits. Three hundred Indians, and about sixty white savages in the shape of refugees, (as they were then called), crossed the Crab-tree that day, with the intention of destroying Hanna's town and Miller's station.

"The next day a number of the whites pursued the trail as far as the Kiskiminetas without being able to overtake them.

"The little community, which now had no homes but what the fort supplied, looked out on the ruins of the town with the deepest sorrow. It had been the scene of heartfelt joys—embracing the intensity and tenderness of all which renders the domestic hearth and family altar sacred. By degrees they all sought themselves places where they might, like Noah's dove, find rest for the soles of their feet. The lots of the town either by sale or abandonment, became merged in the adjoining farm; and the labors of the husbandman soon effaced what time might have spared. Many a tall harvest have I seen growing upon the ground; but never did I look upon its waving luxuriance without thinking of the severe trials, the patient fortitude, the high courage which characterized the early settlers.

"The prisoners were surrendered by the Indians to the British in Canada. The beauty and misfortune of the Misses Hanna attracted attention; and an English officer—perhaps moved by beauty in distress to love her for the dangers she had passed—wooed and won the fair and gentle Marian. After the peace of '83 the rest of the captives were delivered up, and returned to their country."

The papers which follow contain information relative to the destruction of the place. The first account is the following:

Michael Huffnagle to Irvine:

"Hannastown, July 14, 1782.

"Dear Sir:—At the request of Major Wilson, I am sorry to inform you that yesterday about two o'clock, this town was attacked by about one hundred Indians, and in a very little time the whole town except two houses were laid in ashes. The people retired to the fort where they withstood the attack, which was very severe until after dark when they left us. The inhabitants here are in a very distressed situation, having lost all their property but what clothing they had on.

"At the same time we were attacked here, another party attacked the settlement. What mischief they may have done we have not been able as yet to know; only that Mr. Hanna, here, had his wife and his daughter Jenny taken prisoners. Two were wounded—one out of the fort and one in. Lieutenant Brownlee and one of his children with one White's wife and two children were killed about two miles from this town.

"This far I wrote you this morning. The express has just returned and informs that when he came near Brush Run the Indians had attacked that place, and he was obliged to return. If you consider our situation, with only twenty of the inhabitants, seventeen guns and very little ammunition, to stand the attack in the manner we did, you will say that the people behaved bravely. I have lost what little property I had here, together with my papers. The records of the county, I shall, as soon as I can get horses, remove to Pittsburgh, as this place will in a few days be vacated. You will please to mention to Mr. Duncan to do all he can for the supplying of the garrison until I shall be able to get a horse, having lost my horse, saddle and bridle."

Michael Huffnagle to Irvine:

"Hannastown, July 17, 1782,—4 o'clock P. M.

"Dear General:—I just this moment received yours by the soldier. I should have sent you an express on Saturday night, but could get no person to go, as the enemy did not entirely leave us until Sunday morning. A party of about sixty of our people went out last Monday and found where they were en-

camped within a mile of this place. And from the appearance of the camp they must have staid there all day Sunday. We have had parties out since and find their route to be towards the Kiskiminetas and that they have a large number of horses with them. They have likewise killed about one hundred head of cattle and horses and have only left about half a dozen horses for the inhabitants here.

"Last Sunday morning, the enemy attacked at one Freeman's upon Loyalhanna, killed his son and took two daughters prisoners. From the best account I can collect, they have killed and taken twenty of the inhabitants hereabouts and burn and destroy as they go along. I take the liberty of mentioning if a strong party could follow that they might still be come up with them; having so much plunder and so many horses with them, I imagine they will go slow. As for the country rousing and following them, I am afraid we need not put any dependence on it; as several parties, some of thirty, others of fifty [men], would come in on Sunday and Monday last and stay about one hour, pity our situation and push home again.

"I am much afraid that the scouting parties stationed at the different posts have not done their duty. We discovered where the enemy had encamped and they must have been there for at least about ten days; as they had killed several horses and eat them about six miles from Brush Run and right on the way towards Barr's fort. This morning about four miles from this place towards the Loyalhanna one of the men from this fort discovered four Indians whom he took to be spies.

"I have mentioned to the inhabitants the subject of making a stand here. They are willing to do everything in their power if assistance could be given them. It will take at least fifty men to keep a guard in the garrison and guard the people to get in their little crops, which ought to be done immediately; otherwise, they will be entirely lost. By a small party that returned last evening, I am informed from the different camps they saw, there must at least have been about two hundred of the enemy; and from the different accounts we have from all quarters, it seems that they had determined to make a general attack upon the frontiers.

"Sheriff [Matthew] Jack has been kind enough to let me have

a horse; to-morrow morning, I shall set out, and in a few days shall supply you with some whisky and cattle. I have just this moment been informed that Richard Wallace and one Anderson who were with Lochry, made their escape from Montreal and have arrived safe in this neighborhood. As soon as I shall be able to procure what intelligence they have, I shall inform you.

"P. S.—The inhabitants of this place having lost what provisions they had, they made application to me to supply them with some. I had a quantity of flour and some meat. I took the liberty of supplying them and hope it will meet with your approbation; and when I shall see you [you can give] me particular directions for that purpose." (13.)

Michael Huffnagle to President Moore:

"Fort Reed, July 17, 1782.

"Sir:—I am sorry to inform your excellency, that last Saturday, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Hannastown was attacked by about one hundred whites and blacks [Indians]. We found several jackets, the buttons marked with the king's eighth regiment. At the same time this town was attacked, another party attacked Fort Miller, about four miles from this place. Hannastown and Fort Miller, in a short time, were reduced to ashes, about twenty of the inhabitants killed and taken, about one hundred head of cattle, a number of horses and hogs killed. Such wanton destruction I never beheld,—burning and destroying as they went. The people of this place behaved bravely; retired to the fort, left their all a prey to the enemy, and with twenty men only, and nine guns in good order, we stood the attack until dark. At first, some of the enemy came close to the pickets, but were soon obliged to retire farther off. I cannot inform you what number of the enemy may be killed, as we saw them from the fort carrying off several.

"The situation of the inhabitants is deplorable, a number of them not having a blanket to lie on, nor a second suit to put on their backs. Affairs are strangely managed here; where the fault lies I will not presume to say. This place being of the greatest consequence to the frontiers,—to be left destitute of men, arms, and ammunition, is surprising to me, although

frequent applications have been made. Your excellency, I hope, will not be offended my mentioning that I think it would not be amiss that proper inquiry should be made about the management of the public affairs in this county; and also to recommend to the legislative body to have some provision made for the poor, distressed people here. Your known humanity convinces me that you will do everything in your power to assist us in our distressed situation." (14.)

The following is an extract from a letter written by Ephraim Douglass at Pittsburgh, July 26, 1782 (15):

"My last contained some account of the destruction of Han-nastown, but it was an imperfect one—the damage was greater than we knew, and attended with circumstances different from my representation of them. There were nine killed and twelve carried off prisoners, and, instead of some of the houses without the fort being defended by our people, they all retired within the miserable stockade, and the enemy possessed themselves of the forsaken houses, from whence they kept a continual fire upon the fort from about twelve o'clock till night, without doing any other damage than wounding one little girl within the walls. They carried away a great number of horses and everything of value in the deserted houses, destroyed all the cattle, hogs, and poultry within their reach, and burned all the houses in the village except two; these they also set fire to, but fortunately it did not extend itself so far as to consume them; several houses round the country were destroyed in the same manner, and a number of unhappy families either murdered or carried off captives—some have since suffered a similar fate in different parts—hardly a day but they have been discovered in some quarter of the country, and the poor inhabitants struck with terror thro' the whole extent of our frontier. Where this party set out from is not certainly known; several circumstances induce the belief of their coming from the heads of the Allegheny or toward Niagara, rather than from Sandusky or the neighborhood of Lake Erie. The great number of whites known by their language to have been in the party, the direction of their retreat when they left the country, which was toward the Kittanning, and no appearance of their tracks, either coming or going, have been discovered by the officer and

party which the general ordered on that service beyond the river, all conspire to support this belief."

David Duncan to Mr. [James] Cunningham, member of the Council from Lancaster, writes: (16.)

"Pittsburgh, July 30, 1782.

"Dear Sir:—I have taken the liberty of writing you the situation of our unhappy country at present. In the first place, I make no doubt but you have heard of the bad success of our campaign against the Indian towns [Crawford's campaign against Sandusky], and the late stroke the savages have given Hannastown, which was all reduced to ashes except two houses, exclusive of a small fort, which happily saved all who were so fortunate as to get to it. There were upwards of twenty killed and taken, the most of whom were women and children. At the same time, a small fort [Miller] four miles from thence, was taken, supposed to be by a detachment of the same party. I assure you that the situation of the frontiers of our county is truly alarming at present, and worthy of our most serious consideration. * * * * *

"I make no doubt but you will be informed of a campaign that is to be carried against the Indians by the middle of the next month. General Irvine is to command. I have my own doubts."

The following extract from a letter written by General Irvine to Washington on the 27th of January, 1783, (17), shows the origin of the attack upon Hannastown, and that the enemy, came from the "heads of the Allegheny," as Douglass surmised: "In the year 1782, a detachment composed of three hundred British, and five hundred Indians, was formed and actually embarked in canoes on Lake Jadaque [Chautauqua Lake], with twelve pieces of artillery, with an avowed intention of attacking Fort Pitt. This expedition * * * * * was laid aside in consequence of the reported repairs and strength of Fort Pitt, carried by a spy from the neighborhood of the fort.

"They then contented themselves with the usual mode of warfare, by sending small parties on the frontier, one of which burned Hannastown."

The following letter was written by General Irvine to William Moore, then President of the Supreme Executive Council.

The letter to which he refers was probably the one written by Huffnagle to him under date July 14th, 1782, heretofore given:

“Fort Pitt, July 16, 1782.

“Sir:—Enclosed is a copy of a letter which is the best account I have been able to get of the unfortunate affair related in it.

“The express sent by Mr. Huffnagle through timidity and other misconduct, did not arrive here till this moment (Tuesday, 10 o'clock), though he left Hannastown Sunday evening, which I fear will put it out of my power to come up with the enemy, they will have got so far if they please; however, I have sent reconnoitering parties to try to discover whether they have left the settlements and what route they have taken.

“I fear this stroke will intimidate the inhabitants so much that it will not be possible to rally them or persuade them to make a stand; nothing in my power shall be left undone to countenance and encourage them. But I am sorry to acquaint your excellency, there is little in my power—a small garrison scantily supplied with provision, rarely more than from day to day, and even at times days without—add to this that, in all probability, I shall be in the course of a few days, left without settlers in my rear to draw succors from. I have not time to add [more], having found a Mr. Elliott who is instantly setting out for Lancaster, from whence he promises to forward this. (17.)

It will be seen from the following extract from a letter of Edward Cook, lieutenant of Westmoreland county, to the governor of Penn'a that he used every expedient to aid those who suffered by the attack upon Hannastown:

“Westmoreland County, September 2, 1782.

“Sir:—It may be necessary to inform your excellency that upon an application made to me by some of the distressed inhabitants of Hannastown and the vicinity thereof, I have allowed them to enroll themselves under the command of Captain Brice and draw rations for two months, upon their making every exertion in their power to keep up the line of the frontiers.

“The ranging company, consisting of about twenty-two pri-
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vates and two officers, is stationed at Ligonier for the defense of that quarter." (18.)

In September of 1782, Capt. Hugh Wiley, (doubtless from Cumberland county, sent over the mountains to Irvine), was stationed at Hannastown. On Oct. 4th, 1782, from that place in a letter to the General he says: "Our County Lieutenant, (probably meaning the lieutenant of Cumberland county, Pa.), informed me that our business would be scouting on the frontier, which was the means of our coming out in the most light order that the season would admit of. We have been reasonably well supplied with provisions since a few days after our arrival here; and I keep out a scout of between twenty and thirty men on the frontier. * * * I enclose you a return of a lieutenant and a few men who came up since as will appear. I have nothing of importance to communicate. Our scouts have made no discoveries, and they are of opinion the coasts are pretty clear of the enemy." (19.)

Hannastown never recovered from its loss. From the fact that the place had never been definitely agreed upon as the permanent seat of justice, its destruction now terminated any expectation of its being favorably considered thereafter. The board of commisisoners had never been harmonious. In the fall of 1773, three members of the commission signed a recommendation favoring Pittsburgh, October 3d, 1774, four members signed a recommendation of Hannastown, or as an ultimatum, a site on Brush Run Manor, probably near Harrison City. Again on Aug. 23d, 1783, after the burning of the place, another recommendation of Hannastown was submitted. It was not acted upon, and before any final report was considered, the Assembly had authorized a State road to be made from Bedford to Pittsburgh, on a route through Westmoreland county, two or three miles south of the old Forbes Road; and on this road Greensburg began its existence within a few years after Hannastown was no more. The courts were still held at Hanna's—the last session in Oct., 1786. In the meantime the Commissioners who had been appointed by the Assembly to select a new location for a county seat, had reported in favor of the place, now known as Greensburg, where the first court was held for the January term of 1787.

The site of the town can now only be approximated, as the lots laid out, became merged long ago into the adjoining land. The grave-yard used by the first settlers is still enclosed and kept from desecration, as the tenure of the land has fortunately been in persons of liberal and humane sympathies.

The map accompanying this report has been prepared with much labor and great care under the direction of John B. Steel, Esq., of Greensburg, Pa., especially to illustrate what has been said with respect to this historic place. It shows perhaps as clearly and as certainly as it is possible, (or likely ever will be possible), the proximate points of interest in the old town and in the neighborhood. The spring marked Mier's Spring, a name appearing frequently in old title papers, is located; and so are such places as the site of the fort, the burying-ground, and of Gallow's Hill, which marks the spot where capital punishment was first meted out in these parts to malefactors found guilty by a verdict of twelve jurymen. The route of the marauders as they approached Hannastown, their course to Miller's the place where Brownlee was killed and where he was buried, their camping-ground on that terrible night and their trail back to the Kiskiminetas, are here laid down.

Beyond these muniments there is nothing to indicate to the stranger the spots made memorable by notable deeds, thrilling associations and marked historical events. And not the least thing to be remembered is the fact that, while the war for the independence of the colonies was practically over, yet this was the last place upon which the British and their savage allies wreaked their vengeance in a common hate. When it is considered how that the project originated in Canada and was carried out in pursuance of orders from the British agents, it may consistently be said that the destruction of Hannastown was the last act of war in the Revolution.

The site of the old town is on the farm now owned by Mr. William Steel, in Hempfield township, Westmoreland county, Pa.

Notes to Hannastown.

(1.) From the encroachments of the whites upon the hunting grounds of the Indians and on the lands not alienated by them, about the years 1767 and 1768, and for various other reasons there were at this conjuncture many indications that another Indian war was brewing—a war which promised to be a general one. The Indians had been quiet as long as was usual, and their mutterings all round the settlements of the whites from Western New York to Western Virginia were audible. To none was it more instinctively perceptible than to Sir William Johnson, the one man to whom more than to any other the Board of Trade and Plantations intrusted the management of the royal and colonial interests arising from trouble with the tribes. This war was thereupon averted by the intervention of Johnson, whose influence over the Six Nations was unbounded. At his suggestion a great council was held at Fort Stanwix, in New York. Here all grievances were redressed, chains brightened, and tomahawks buried. By the terms of this treaty made with the Six Nations, November 5, 1768, all the territory extending in a boundary from the New York line on the Susquehanna, towards Towanda and Tyadaghton creek, up the West Branch, over to Kittanning on the Allegheny, and thence down the Ohio and along the Monongahela to the Province line, was conveyed to the proprietaries. This was called the New Purchase. Of the most of this region was afterwards erected Bedford and then Westmoreland counties.

The New Purchase, or that of 1768, on our map begins at the Susquehanna in Bradford county; thence, following the courses of those local streams which then were designated by their Indian names, the line meanders in a south and west direction through the counties of Tioga, Lycoming, Clinton, to the northeast corner of Clearfield; passing through Clearfield from the northeast to the southwest corner, it reaches a point at Cherry Tree where Indiana, Clearfield, and Cambria meet; thence in a straight line across Indiana county to Kittanning, on the Allegheny river; thence down the Allegheny to the Ohio, and along the Monongahela till it strikes the boundary line of the State on its southern side.

(2.) John Penn (son of Richard, the grandson of William Penn, born in Phila., 1728, died 1795) was Governor of the Province from 1763 to 1771, and also from 1773 to the end of the proprietary government in 1776.

Richard Penn brother of John Penn, was Lieutenant-Governor from 1771 to 1773, during the absence of John Penn in England.

(3.) Arch. iv, 504.

(4.) Arch. iv, 506.

(5.) St. Clair Papers, Vol. i, p. 353, Arch. iv.

(6.) St. Clair Papers, Vol. i, p. 355, Arch. iv.

(7.) Records xvi, 541.

(8.) Arch. vii, 362.

(9.) Arch. viii, p. 42.

(10.) Arch. viii, 284.

(11.) Arch. ix, 247.

(12.) Washington-Irvine Cor., p. 381.

(13.) Wash.-Irvine Cor., p. 383.

(14.) Arch. ix, 596.

The circumstance that Huffnagle's letter to President Moore is dated at Fort Reed has been the source of annoyance to some narrators and the cause of some very erroneous notions. Fort Reed is mentioned in the Twelfth Volume of the Archives on the authority of this letter, and subsequent writers quoting from the Archives have made mention of Fort Reed as a place to which the people of Hannastown fled after the burning of the town. Mr. Darlington in his "Fort Pitt and Letters," etc., in a list of forts given—it would seem from "Notes by General O'Hara"—quotes: "Fort Reed, erected 1773, near Hannastown." In the list of forts, etc., given with the Historical Map of Penn'a, it is set down with the date 1782. On the Map itself it is placed some distance northward of "Hannastown Stockade," doubtless from the notion that it was "four miles" from Hannastown, a mistake which was likely to occur from a misconstruction of Huffnagle's letter above.

This ambiguity has been rendered more uncertain from the fact that no other mention is elsewhere made of any Fort Reed in those parts, nor is there any such name held in the traditions of the country.

It will be borne in mind that at the time the town was burned (except two houses) the fort was not taken. Those cooped up in it remained there until the enemy had left; nor is there any intimation that they had abandoned it at any time thereafter. The letter written by Hufnagle to General Irvine on the day following the attack, was written from "Hannastown." David Duncan on the 30th, (see letter above), speaks only of the fort at Hannastown, saying that "Hannastown * * * * was all reduced to ashes except two houses exclusive of a small fort [Reed?], which happily saved all who were so fortunate as to get to it."

The uncertainty of the language used by Hufnagle in his Fort Reed letter, has, as we say, been the most apparent cause of these mistakes. He states that "at the time this town was attacked, another party attacked Fort Miller, about four miles from this place." We think he meant by the expression "this place," both Hannastown and the Fort there which he calls Fort Reed.

There is no mention of a fort of any sort at Hannastown in 1773, and there is nothing made public from which one can assume that the fort built there in 1774 was called Fort Reed. (Archives, iv, 506, 3d June, 1774). The name Fort Reed could be applicable in a fitting sense only to the Revolutionary fort, the one which was erected in-the-new, or which was the old one rehabilitated, as we have seen, in 1777. Being a very important post it took its name, probably at the instance of Hufnagle then very active in affairs, in compliment to Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council from 1778 to 1781. As Reed was not of the Council in 1782, it may be inferred that it was known locally but not generally as Fort Reed from 1779.

There was a Reed's Blockhouse and Station on the Allegheny river which was noticeable during the Indian troubles after the Revolution. This place was not in the vicinity of Hannas-

town, and is not to be considered in this connection. We give some account of Reed's Station further on.

A theory sometimes advanced was thought to be tenable, which was that Fort Reed was but a mistaken reading of Fort Rook and applicable to Rugh's Blockhouse. Huffnagle had spoken of "Rook's Blockhouse," (see Rugh's Blockhouse) in a letter of Dec. 20th, 1781. This point, beyond doubt, was one of activity in the days following the raid on Hannastown. It was about the same distance from Miller's. Hence an inference was raised that Huffnagle had intended to write "Fort Rook" and that his writing was made to appear as "Fort Reed."

From these considerations it is a reasonable supposition—and to us conclusive—that the Hannastown fort was the one which Huffnagle calls Fort Reed.

(15.) Wash.-Irvine Cor.

(16.) Arch. ix, 606.

(17.) Wash.-Irvine Cor.

(18.) It has been said on behalf of Genl. Irvine that he advanced money and material aid to Huffnagle and others on account of the condition of these people. The following voucher would appear to confirm this:

"Fort Pitt, August 22, 1782.

"Received and borrowed from Brigadier General William Irvine, one hundred and thirty-two pounds and eight shillings, specie (money belonging to the State of Pennsylvania), which we promise to pay to General Irvine the first day of October next or bring an order from [the supreme executive] council [of Pa.] on him for that sum.

"MICH. HUFFNAGLE,
"DAVID DUNCAN."

From General Irvine's papers, edited by C. W. Butterfield, Esq., and frequently referred to here.

(19.) Wash.-Irvine Cor., 399.

Extracts from newspapers of 1782, relative to the attack on Hannastown:

[I.]

"Philadelphia, July 30. From Westmoreland county, 16 July. On the 13th a body of Indians came to and burnt Hannastown, except two houses. The inhabitants having received notice of their coming, by their attacking some reapers who were at work near the town, fortunately (except fifteen who were killed and taken) got into the fort, where they were secure. [Pennsylvania Packet, 30 July, 1782, No. 917.]

[II.]

"Richmond, Aug. 17. By our last accounts from the north-western frontier we learn that the Indians have lately destroyed Hannastown and another small village on the Pennsylvania side, and killed and captured the whole of the inhabitants." [Pennsylvania Packet, 27 Aug., 1782. [No. 929.]

[III.]

"Extract of a letter from Fort Pitt, dated Sept. 3: 'From the middle to the last of July, the Indians have been very troublesome on the frontiers of this country—Hannastown was burned, several inhabitants killed and taken, and about the same time Fort Wheeling [Henry] was blockaded for several days; for two weeks the inhabitants were in such consternation, that a total evacuation of the country was to be dreaded [feared]; but since the beginning of August matters have been more quiet, and the people have again, in a great degree, got over their panic.'" [Pennsylvania Packet, 1 Oct., 1782, No. 944; Salem Gazette, Oct. 17, 1782.

Guyasutha,* or Kiashuta as the name is more frequently spelled in the old Records, and which spelling probably corresponds more nearly with the true pronunciation—was the leading spirit of the Senecas in this part of the country, and was one of the most blood-thirsty and powerful chiefs of his time. The following sketch is by Neville B. Craig, Esq. It is of course very inadequate, but no biography of him has been attempted at any other hand.

"That ubiquitous character (whose name is so variously spelt Guyasoota, Keyasutha, Guyasotha, Kiashuta, and various

*The accepted spelling is Kiasutha, which signifies "it sets up a cross." Although he is always mentioned as belonging to the Seneca he probably belonged to the mixed band of Iroquois along the Allegheny and Ohio who were called Mingo. While the Iroquois as a confederation remained neutral, these Mingo were openly hostile to the English. They were of mixed blood rather than belonging to any one tribe.—Donehoe.

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other names), who long acted a conspicuous part near the Ohio, was at the treaty with Bradstreet, and afterwards was a leading actor in the conference with Bouquet.

"He was certainly a very active leader among the warriors of the Six Nations. The first notice we have of him is in Washington's journal of his visit to Le Boeuf, in 1753. The name does not appear in that journal, but Washington mentions in the diary of his visit to the Kenawha in 1770 that Kishuta called to see him while he was descending the Ohio, and then states that he was one of the three Indians who accompanied him to Le Boeuf. He was afterwards, as we have before stated, one of the deputies at the treaties with Bradstreet and Bouquet. In 1768, he attended a treaty in this place, of which we will give a full account. He was, we understand, the master spirit in the attack upon and burning of Hannahstown.

"The war of 1764 has sometimes been spoken of as Pontiac, and Guyasootha's war.

"We recollect him well, have often seen him about our father's house, he being still within our memory, a stout active man. He died, and was buried, as we are told, on the farm now owned by James O'Hara, called "Guyasootha's Bottom." (Olden Time, Vol. i, 337.)

In the History of Venango county, (compiled and published by Brown, Runk & Co., Chicago, Ill., 1890) it is said: "Guyasutha was one of the most prominent of all the Indians sachems on the Allegheny. He was a man of great ability and good judgment, an implacable enemy, and a firm friend. In his youth he accompanied Washington in his trip to Venango, and is probably known in his Journal as "The Hunter." We find him on all occasions and in all places, in times of peace, and in times of war. He had been the great leader in the burning of Hannastown, and in other operations at that time."

Two places dispute the honor of his burial-place. Mr. Craig, as we have seen, locates the place of his sepulture in Allegheny county, but some have contended that he died and was buried at Custaloga's town, a town of the Senecas on French

creek, some twelve miles above its mouth and near the mouth of Deer creek.

In respect to the burial of Guyasutha, at Custaloga's town, the late Charles H. Heydrich, a few years before his death, wrote as follows:

"Early in the present century, my father, the late Dr. Heydrick, made a tour of inspection of these lands and found evidences of occupation by the Indians, and other vestiges of the Indian village being still visible. At that time there was living upon an adjoining tract a settler named Martin, who had settled there soon after the remnant of land north and west of the Rivers Ohio and Allegheny and Conewango creek, not appropriated to Revolutionary soldiers, etc., had been thrown open to settlement—certainly as early as 1798. One of Martin's sons, called John, Jr., was a bright, and for the time and under the circumstances, an intelligent young man, and claimed to have been intimate with the Indians, and spoke their language.

"In 1819 I first visited the place, and stopped at Martin's house, while there I found many vestiges of the Indian village, and made many inquiries of its people. In answer to my inquiries John Martin, Jr., told me, among other things, that he had assisted in the burial of three Indians on my farm, an idiot boy, "Chet's" squaw, and a chief whose name he pronounced "Guy-a-soo-ter." He said that he made the coffin for "Guyasooter," and after it was finished the Indians asked him to cut a hole in it in order that he ("Guyasooter") might "see out." He farther said that "they buried all his wealth with him; his tomahawk, gun and brass-kettle." Martin pointed out to me the grave of the chief, and the spot was always recognized as such by the other pioneers of the neighborhood, though I do not remember that any of them except Martin professed to have witnessed the burial. * * * From all the evidence I had on the subject, much of which had doubtless escaped my recollection, and some of which was probably derived from other sources than Martin, I was so well satisfied that the chief named and others were buried at the place designated by Martin that I have to this day preserved a grove

about the reputed graves, and have had it in mind to mark the spot by some permanent memorial."

James M. Daily, a pioneer of French Creek township, Mercer county, whose farm adjoined those of Heydrick and Martin and who was a resident of that locality from 1804 until his death, made the following statement regarding the burial of Guyasutha under date of June 15, 1878:

"John Martin, Jr., who could converse in the Indian tongue, informed me that he made the coffin and assisted in burying a chief. They placed in the coffin his camp-kettle, filled with soup; his rifle, tomahawk, knife, trinkets, and trophies. I think they called him 'Guyasooter.'" (Id., p. 28.)

MILLER'S STATION.

Miller's Station, or Miller's Fort as it is sometimes called, attained celebrity at the time of the incursion of the Indians when Hannastown was destroyed. Captain Samuel Miller was a prominent settler at that place as early as 1774, his name appearing among petitions of that year to Governor Penn. He was one of the eight Captains of the Eighth Penna. Regiment in the Continental Line; was ordered from Valley Forge, Feb. 10th, 1778, to Westmoreland county, on recruiting service, and while here was killed, July 7th, 1778. (Arch. vi, 673.)

Throughout 1781-2 the Miller homestead was resorted to by many of the surrounding people, a fact attested by the most authentic account of the destruction of Hannastown, that has been preserved. (See Hannastown.) There does not appear, however, to have been any blockhouse or other structure suitable for warfare erected at this place. It is probable that there were ample accommodations in cabins temporarily erected for those who were there at that time. On the day when Hannastown was attacked and burned, Miller's Station was also attacked and many prisoners were taken. In the account which is given herewith of the destruction of Hannastown, the particulars of the attack on Miller's Station will be found also.

It will be seen from the copy of a paper which we give below that reference is made to the character of the building at the time of its destruction. The paper appears to have been a deposition made by the Hon. William Jack in some contested title arising out of the ownership of the old Miller farm. It was used apparently in evidence, but is no part of the records. The writing is in Judge Jack's own hand:

"Westmoreland county, S. S. Before me, a Justice of the Peace in and for said county of Westmoreland, personally appeared William Jack, Esq., who was duly sworn according to law, did depose and say that Captain Samuel Miller, who was killed by the Indians in the year 1778, at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, actually settled on a plantation now adjoining Peter Eichar, John Shoeffler, John Mechling, and others in Hempfield township in the county aforesaid, that Andrew Cruikshanks (who married the Widow of the said Captain Samuel Miller), Joseph Russell, who is married to one of the Daughters of the said Samuel Miller, dec'd, claims the benefit of an act of Assembly passed September 16, 1785, and that the said Andrew Cruikshanks was in the course of the said war actually in possession of the said plantation, and was drove away from his habitation on said land by the Indians on the 13th day of July, A. D. 1782, being the same day that Hannastown was burned and destroyed by the Indians, and that some of the heirs of the said Captain Samuel Miller was killed and taken prisoners on the said day, and that the House was burned and the property in the House by the Enemy, and that afterwards the said Plantation lay waste and vacant for some time for fear and dread of the Indians.

"WM. JACK.

"Sworn & subscribed before me the ninth day of March, A. D. 1814. R. W. Williams. (J. P.)"

The location of the Miller house was on the farm known as the William Russell farm, in Hempfield township, Westmoreland county, about two miles northeast of Greensburg, not far from the Pennsylvania railroad, on the northern side—within probably half a mile of the railroad.

FORT HAND.

Fort Hand was erected near the house of one John McKibben, whose "large log house" had been the refuge and asylum of a number of people whither they had fled at times preceding that event, as is noted in the sketch of Carnahan's Blockhouse. From the extract given there from the Draper Manuscripts, now in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, it appears that during the summer of 1777, when the Indians infested all that line of frontier, McKibben's house was one of the objective places, at which many families remained probably during the entire summer while the men gathered the crops and scouted and fought. Carnahan's Blockhouse was the nearest point; and although they were only about three or four miles apart the communication between them was frequently cut off.

This portion of Westmoreland—and of the frontier as well—would have been entirely deserted that summer, so much did it suffer from the savages, had not Colonel Lochry succeeded in raising sixty men whom he stationed in four divisions under command of two captains and two lieutenants, and who covered the line of the Kiskiminetas. (1.) A part of this force ranged this neighborhood and assisted the inhabitants from these two posts—Carnahan's and McKibben's.

McKibben's house, and subsequently Fort Hand, were from three to four miles south from the Kiskiminetas river at the ford, and the ford was about six miles above the mouth of the stream. The stream was northwest from Hannastown about fourteen miles.

Upon the particulars mentioned in the Draper Manuscripts, which were founded on the statement of James Chambers who was personally conversant with the facts, the reapers in the oat field, when they had been apprised of the presence of Indians, left to notify the people, taking their guns with them and "going to the house of John McKibben's where Fort Hand was made the ensuing winter, and where several families had collected for safety in McKibben's large log house."

The exact date of the erection of Fort Hand is not known, but it was sometime in the fall of that year for it was occupied and had its name (after Col. Hand) at least early in the winter.

On the 6th of December, 1777, Col. Lochry in a letter to President Wharton, after reciting the privations and dangers of the people from their exposed situation by reason of having sent some of his men to General Hand for the proposed expedition which the General had contemplated, says that there is "not a man on our frontiers from Ligonier to the Allegheny river, except a few at Fort Hand, on continental pay." (2.)

General (the Col.) Hand to Lochry, on the 18th of Oct., 1777, says—"Congress ordered a post in your county (The Kittanning); I could not support that and have ordered another to be erected as many forts and magazines as you please at the same time, and will support, if you lend me your aid; at the same time, beg leave to assure you that I don't mean to interfere with your command of Westmoreland county, or in your plan in erecting as many forts and magazines as you please at the expense of the State of Pennsylvania, and putting the whole county in its pay. * * * I shall to-morrow proceed to Wheeling with what troops I have; yours will receive every necessary I can afford them when they arrive here, [Fort Pitt] and when they join me shall be put on the same footing with the militia of any other county." (3.) The expedition to Wheeling was abandoned when it was found that not a sufficient number of men could be collected that season to enter the Indian country.

March 22d, 1778, Gen. Hand writes to Col. Lochry: "I am instructed by the Hon., the Commissioners appointed by Congress to fix on a plan for the defence of these frontiers, to desire that you may continue a hundred and fifty privates of the militia of your county, properly officered, on constant duty on the frontiers. Thirty of them to be added to Capt. Moorhead's company, stationed at Fort Hand, and the remaining one hundred and twenty placed at such stations as you will find best calculated for the defence of the county." (4.)

Capt. Moorhead and Col. Barr had been in the service of the militia raised by Westmoreland, from the summer preceding; they reported to Gen. Hand for service in the project against Wheeling.

Upon the arrival of Gen. McIntosh, about the beginning of August, 1778, at Pittsburgh, to take command of the Western

Department, there were but two fixed stations besides Fort Pitt, west of the Alleghenies, occupied by Continental troops. These two were Fort Randolph (Wheeling) and Fort Hand.(5.) There were, however, many smaller stations, or forts at different times garrisoned by militia.

From its situation on the line of the frontier at that particular time, the post was one of importance, and although it was not garrisoned by continental troops for any length of time after the erection of Fort Crawford, yet it was used infrequently throughout the Revolution, and was garrisoned sometimes by the militia. During the latter part of the Revolution it was kept up mainly by the exertions of the surrounding inhabitants, and was rather a station than a fort.

Thomas Scott, reporting the condition of affairs in Westmoreland, Aug. 1st, 1778, says: "The Indians have made several breaches on the inhabitants of late in different parts of this country. Captain Miller, of the Eighth Penn'a regiment, with a party of nine men, chiefly Continental soldiers, were bringing grain from the neighborhood to a fort called Fort Hand, about 14 miles north of Hannas Town, on the 7th of last month, and on their return were surprised by a party of Indians, who lay in wait for them and killed the captain and seven others." (6.)

Col. Brodhead succeeded Gen. McIntosh in the command of the Western Department in the spring of 1779. The whole force turned over to him by McIntosh, including continental and independent troops, consisted of seven hundred and twenty-two men, stationed at Fort Laurens and Fort McIntosh, Fort Henry and Fort Randolph, Fort Hand and Fort Pitt. A few other stations were garrisoned with small detachments.

Pursuant to a resolution of Congress, Pennsylvania about this time determined to raise five companies of rangers for service to the westward. Militia, also, were ordered "to march with all possible expedition" from the eastward, "for the immediate protection of the counties of Bedford and Westmoreland."

In the Introduction to the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, there is the following:

"Turning our eyes from the wilderness beyond the Ohio, to

the northern settlements of Westmoreland, we see that, as early as the 26th of Feb., 1779, Indian depredations began therein. On that day about twenty miles east of Pittsburgh, on the main road leading over the mountains, eighteen persons—men, women, and children—were either killed or taken prisoners. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first care of Brodhead, after assuming command in the west was to protect the northern frontier. His first order directed a detachment from Fort Pitt to occupy the vacant Fort Crawford, located a few miles up the Allegheny. The soldiers were instructed to scout on the waters of that river, as well as on Puckety Creek, and upon the Kiskiminetas as far as Fort Hand, thereby to protect as much as possible, from the death-dealing savages of the north, the exposed settlements to the east of Pittsburgh."

"The Indians seem to have taken quarters in Westmoreland," Brodhead wrote, on the 14th of April, (1779), "but they lost one of their scalps yesterday." On the 26th, Fort Hand, was attacked by a considerable force of the enemy,—supposed to be not less than one hundred. (7.) It was defended by Capt. Samuel Moorhead, commanding his independent company, then numbering only 17 men inside the fortification. The post was assailed about one o'clock in the afternoon, and a continual firing kept up until near mid-day of the 27th, when the foe retired. (8.) The garrison had none killed. Three were wounded—one soon died. There were a few women in the fort, who busily employed themselves during the attack in running bullets for their brave defenders. A company of forty men marched from Pittsburgh to intercept the enemy, but the attempt proved a failure. On the same day of the appearance of the savages around Fort Hand, the Indians attacked the settlement at Ligonier, killing one man and taking two prisoners." (9.)

It is likely that the account which follows refers to this attack. It is from the manuscript collection of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, now in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, by whom we have been favored with this extract:

"1779.—In April of '79, as two men were plowing adjoining Fort Hand they were fired on, but both escaped unhurt to the

Fort. The Indians killed the horses and oxen that they were plowing [with] and all the cows and sheep about the fort—fired on the fort and the fort on them. Phillip McGraw, a sergeant, an old Irishman, was in the sentry box in which was a crack, through which the Indians shot and killed him; and afterwards Sarjeant McCauley was slightly wounded at the same spot—after which that sentry box was abandoned. These were the only persons killed or wounded in the fort. The Indians stayed all that day and the ensuing night, and left the next morning, probably fearing the neighboring settlements would come in force to the relief of the fort. Capt. Samuel Moorhead (who had married a daughter of Col. Laughery's [Lochry] commanded the company stationed at Fort Hand, and William Jack, afterward Judge Jack, was his lieutenant: Every two hours the sentry was relieved and the cry "all's well" would be announced. During the night the Indians were there they fired a deserted house near the fort—the old building of McKibben's—which had been for some time occupied by William McLaughlin, but deserted on the approach of the Indians: There were many whites with the Indians who now taunted the fort people when the house was burning and asked if all was well now? This party of British and Indians was large—was not pursued being too strong. Don't know who commanded them—nor their loss, if any. * * * In the fall of '79 Fort Hand was abandoned."

Capt. Thomas Campbell who was stationed there with a company of militia, was, on the 2d of Oct., 1779, ordered by Col. Brodhead to take his command from Fort Hand to Fort Crawford. On the evacuation of Fort Crawford in the beginning of the winter of 1779, this company was sent back to Fort Hand by Col. Lochry's orders.

"A threatened attack by rangers and savages from Canada induced Brodhead to keep a watchful eye in the direction of Venango and the Indians towns far up the Allegheny. Scouts were frequently sent "to reconnoitre the Seneca country." A party from Fort Pitt, (June, 1779), of twenty white men and a young Delaware chief, "all well painted," set out toward the Seneca country and some of the Indian warriors came in to the

inhabitants above Kittanning. These savages had penetrated across the northern border, upon a marauding expedition. They had killed a soldier between Fort Crawford and Fort Hand, and a woman and four children in one of the settlements; they had also taken two children prisoners. The Indians were attacked by Brady and his band, their captain killed, their plunder retaken and the two prisoners rescued. It was the opinion of Brodhead that a garrison, respectable in size, stationed at Kittanning, would afford better protection against these attacks by the northern savages, than many little forts scattered through the settlements." (10.)

In the fall or winter of 1779, after the return of Brodhead from his expedition against the Seneca Indians, the regular soldiers were placed in such positions as, in the opinion of the commander would best protect the western country. Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford were evacuated. The principal points garrisoned above Fort Pitt on the line of the northern frontier, were Fort Hand, Fort Wallace and Hannastown: the two last mentioned were occupied by the ranging companies of Captains Erwin and Campbell, whose terms of service expired during the ensuing winter. (11.)

After the erection of Fort Crawford, and the establishment of a post at Kittanning, the line of the frontier being extended farther westward, Fort Hand was not such an important post as it had been prior thereto; but it continued to be a point of some importance till the close of the war, and there is mention of the place as late as the troublous times between 1785 and '91. (12.) There is, however, no reason to believe that it was fitted up after it had fallen into disuse by the withdrawal of the garrison from it. Carnahan's Blockhouse being, doubtless, further adapted to the necessities of the ranging companies, and from its location on the new line of the frontier being more of an objective point, took the place of Fort Hand. Carnahan's Blockhouse was nearer the Kiskiminetas river than Fort Hand.

Fort Hand was located on what is now the farm owned by Jacob M. Kearns, in Washington township, Westmoreland county. The farm is one mile north of the village of North Washington, and about three and a half miles southwest from

the West Penn Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Kiskiminetas river at Apollo. Francis Kearns, the father of Jacob M. Kearns, purchased and occupied the farm in 1835. At that time the signs of the ditch which marked the course of the palisade—the earth having been thrown up against it from the inside,—were to be seen distinctly. This line included nearly an acre, and would have enclosed the ground which is now occupied by the farm house, garden and spring. Inside the stockade were cabins which were used for the settlers and as barracks. From the fact that small cannon-balls (among other evidence of military occupancy) have been plowed up around the site of the fort, it is probable that at times small wall-guns were mounted upon it.

Notes to Fort Hand.

(1.) Arch., v. 344.

Col. Hand to Lochry on the 18th of Oct., 1777, says—"Congress ordered a post in your county (The Kittanning); I could not support that and have ordered another to be erected at the expense of the Continent. This I think sufficient, and will support, if you lend me your aid; and at the same time beg leave to assure you that I don't mean to interfere with your command of Westmoreland county, or in your plan in erecting as many forts and magazines as you please at the expense of the State of Pennsylvania, and putting the whole county in its pay. * * I shall to-morrow proceed to Wheeling with what troops I have; yours will receive every necessary I can afford them when they arrive here, (Fort Pitt) and when they join me shall be put on the same footing with the militia of any other county." * * * Fort Pitt, page 227. The expedition to Wheeling was abandoned when it was found that not a sufficient number of men could be collected that season to enter the Indian country.

From the dates mentioned in the correspondence cited, Fort Hand was built between Oct. 18 and Dec. 6, 1777.

(2.) Arch., vi, 68.

- (3.) Fort Pitt, 227.
- (4.) Fort Pitt, 231.
- (5.) Washington-Irvine Cor., p. 24.
- (6.) Arch., vi, 673.
- (7.) W.-I. Cor., p. 39.

(8.) Col. Lochry probably refers to this affair in his letter to President Reed, May 1st, 1779. * * * * "A few days ago the savages surrounded Fort Hand, and in general, they come against us in such bodies that it is almost in vain to make head against." Arch., vii., 362.

- (9.) W.-I. Cor., p. 40.
- (10.) W.-I. Cor., p. 41. Arch., xii, 131.
- (11.) W.-I. Cor., p. 46.
- (12.) Hist. Armstrong County, R. W. Smith, p. 158.

CARNAHAN'S BLOCKHOUSE.

Mention is frequently made of Carnahan's Blockhouse, especially during the latter part of the Revolution, although it was in existence much earlier. This blockhouse was erected on the land of Adam Carnahan, and the tract of land is now known as the William McCauley farm, from the name of its late owner, in Bell township, a short distance northeast of Perryville, about two miles from the Kiskiminetas river. This point was near eleven miles northwest of Hannastown. Not far from this locality is the place known as Old Town, otherwise Kiskiminetas Old Town, in ancient times an Indian village.

It was within the limits of what is now Westmoreland, and at that time on the frontier. The earliest mention of it indicates that it was a conspicuous place in the neighborhood. Dr. Lyman C. Draper, who collected much early history from personal interviews with those who could give him direct and

positive information, devoted much time with the patience and persistency of a confirmed antiquary to the object of securing his material at first hands. His collection of facts and statements on the subject of the Indian wars of this frontier was made about the year 1846, he intending to use this data in a History of the Pioneers. His manuscripts, a voluminous bulk not yet properly arranged or indexed, are in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and are designated "The Draper MSS." From them, by the courtesy of the Hon. Reuben G. Thwaites, Librarian, we extract the following:

"Adam Carnahan's Blockhouse was located about a mile south of the Kiskiminetas, and about six miles below the mouth of the Conemaugh. A party of six or seven men, my informant [James Chambers] one of the number, were in August, 1777, engaged in reaping oats six miles from Carnahan's, and one of the men had taken his gun and wounded a deer, and while hunting for it in the woods adjoining the oat field he discovered an Indian and signs of others. He immediately gave notice to the reapers, and they thought it prudent to leave and notify the people; took the guns which they had with them, and went to John McKibben's where Fort Hand was made the ensuing winter and where several families had collected for safety in McKibben's large log house. The intelligence was sent to Carnahan's. Next day, which was Saturday, a party went out from McKibben's to scout, and in the neighborhood of the oat field found the signs plenty, and the spot near the field where the Indians had the day before secreted themselves. That day the Indians plundered several cabins—Mr. Chamber's for one—which had been deserted by the occupant and property left behind. That afternoon Robt. Taylor and David Carnahan went from Carnahan's Blockhouse to McKibben's to learn what intelligence they could of the Indians, and when they were returning and had nearly reached the blockhouse they espied several Indians some distance from them making for Carnahan's—and the two men dashed there in great haste, got there a few minutes before the Indians, and had the doors made fast, etc. It was now towards night. The Indians proved to be fourteen in number. There were but few men in the blockhouse, some being absent. John Carnahan

opened the door and stepped out to get a good shot and was instantly shot and fell into the door. His body was dragged in and the door again fastened. The firing now briskly commenced and continued until dark, when the Indians decamped taking with them a couple of horses, probably to aid in carrying their wounded."

Carnahan's, as we have seen, became a regular station and a place of more importance after the garrison had been withdrawn from Fort Hand and placed along the line of the Allegheny river. Brodhead, Nov. 27th, 1779, (Archives xii, 193), ordering Lieut. John Jameson to evacuate Fort Armstrong, says that he can get some pack-horses to transport his stores if needed, from Capt. [James] Carnahan's where these horses were under his care to recover flesh. James Carnahan—afterward called Colonel, and John Carnahan who was killed at the blockhouse, were sons of Adam Carnahan.

Col. Archibald Lochry's force, which was intended to join Gen. Clark and take part in his expedition against the Indians in the northwest, rendezvoused at Carnahan's blockhouse July 24, 1781. From here they left for Wheeling, but on arriving there they found that Clark had gone twelve miles down the river, (from Wheeling the point at which they expected to join him,) leaving for them some provisions and a traveling boat, with directions to follow him thither. There were about 120 men of Westmoreland with Lochry. This force failing to join Clark, who still continued to precede them, was decoyed into an ambush and cut off to a man—all being either killed or taken prisoners. Their terrible fate is one of the most distressing episodes in the history of Western Pennsylvania.

Col. Edward Cook, who had succeeded Col. Lochry as County Lieutenant, writes to Gen. Irvine, April 8th, 1782, (Wash.-Irv. Cor., 323): "I must request you to furnish those militia with arms, such of them as want that article, likewise ammunition. It will be necessary to send those to Carnahan's blockhouse in order to scout toward Ligonier, etc., where I expect they will be joined by a draft from the north side of the Youghiogheny."

On the 18th of April, 1782, Cook writes to Irvine: "Last Thursday, the draft from the battalion in which I live (being the second) set out for their place of rendezvous at Widow

Myres'. They consist of about fifty men. I cannot tell whether the other company at Carnahan's blockhouse is complete, but I have ordered Captain [Joseph] Beckett, who commands this draft, to detach from his so as to make them complete. I have instructed him in the mode of defense agreeable to the arrangement. I furnished them with ammunition and expect they will obtain arms from those they relieve sufficient to equip them. Capt. Beckett will take the first opportunity to give you a return of those under his command. I was not at home when the drafts from the fourth or upper battalion went along being at court. I left orders for them to proceed to Carnahan's blockhouse. Col. [John] Pumroy of the first battalion [of Westmoreland county militia] is near Hannastown." (Id., 324.)

John Carnahan (said by the Carnahan family to have been a brother of James Carnahan and both sons of Adam Carnahan), "was killed just outside the blockhouse, and was buried not more than twenty rods from there, and the spot of ground has never been broken. The ground where he is buried is surrounded by timber." [MS. Mr. L. Carnahan, Salina, Pa.]

Remarks: Old Town. This was the site of an old Indian town, and was located on the banks of the Kiskiminetas opposite the present site of Saltsburg, Indiana county, some distance below the junction of the Loyalhanna. It was on the path which was a fork of the Kittanning Path. In Conrad Weiser's Journal for Aug. 25, 1778, is this entry—"Crossed Kiskeminetoes creek and came to Ohio [Allegheny] river that day." Mr. Smith in his History of Armstrong county, p. 157, commenting on this says: "The point where they crossed the Kiskiminetas must have been at the ford just below the mouth of Carnahan's (formerly Old Town) Run, having the latter name on Reading Howell's Map, so called from Old Town, on the opposite or Westmoreland side of the river. That must have been the town mentioned in Post's Second Journal, for Nov. 11th, 1758. Traveling on the path from Loyalhanna he says: "Pisquetomen [a friendly Indian with him], led us up on a steep hill, that our horses could hardly get up; and Thomas Hick-

man's [another Indian with him] horse tumbled, and rolled down the hill like a wheel; on which he grew angry, and would go no further with us and said he would go by himself. It happened we found a path on the top of the hill. At three o'clock we came to Kiskemeneco, an old Indian town, a rich bottom, well timbered, good fine English grass, well watered, and lays waste since the war began."

Mr. Smith thus says further: "The writer infers that Kiskemeneco must have been Old Town, from which the first name of Carnahan's run was derived, and that Weiser and his party crossed the Kiskiminetas at the ford just below the mouth of that run. According to the recollection of Phillip Mechling, who was, in his boyhood, familiar with the Kiskiminetas from Livermore to the Allegheny, that was the only ford between Kelly's, near Livermore, and the junction of those two rivers. In some old deeds, land about Leechburg is mentioned as being a mile or so below "Old Town."

On the meadow lands of this bottom the old and worn pack horses were sent to regain strength. This is sometimes mentioned in connection with Carnahan's Blockhouse and Old Town. (Arch. xii, 253, et seq.)

James Carnahan went out as second lieutenant with Captain Joseph Erwin's Company, raised in Westmoreland county, joined the Penna. Rifle Regiment, Col. Samuel Miles, at Marcus Hook. This company was subsequently included in the Thirtieth Penna. Regiment, then in the Second, and finally discharged at Valley Forge, Jan. 1, 1778, by reason of expiration of term of enlistment. He was made first lieutenant; was missing since the battle, Aug. 27th, 1776; upon release he reported to headquarters in Dec., 1776, and served as a volunteer at Trenton and Princeton; promoted first lieutenant in Eighth Penna., on Jan. 15th, 1777. Was in command of the company Mar. 1st, 1777. His services on the frontier and at the various posts along the Allegheny river were continued until the end of the War.

FORT CRAWFORD.

In the autumn of 1777, as we have seen, the border settlements were overrun by scalping parties. Many of these parties coming from eastern Ohio were known to cross the Allegheny river at a shallow place used by them as a fording. This point was about sixteen miles northward from Pittsburgh; and it was too remote from the posts at Kittanning or Fort Pitt to be guarded successfully by the military. It was therefore deemed necessary to erect a fort to cover this pathway, and to serve as a rallying point for scouts, as well as to afford protection to troops who were intended to garrison it. In the spring of 1778 as the inroads of the savages seemed to increase, one of the first duties assigned Colonel William Crawford, who in May of 1778 took command of the Virginia Regiment station in the Western Department, was the building of this fort. General McIntosh was then in command of the department with headquarters at Fort Pitt. Colonel Crawford, taking with him a small party of men went up the river to determine the most eligible site for the post, and to begin its erection. The place agreed upon was on the southeastern, or Fort Pitt side of the Allegheny river, a short distance above the mouth of Punkety creek. There a stockade was built, which, by direction of Brigadier General McIntosh, was called Fort Crawford. Colonel Crawford commanded here at intervals during the years 1778, '79 and '80. (1.)

From this time on to the close of the Revolutionary war, Fort Crawford was kept up as a depot and distributing place of supplies and munitions of war for the military; as a place of refuge for the surrounding inhabitants; of resort and as headquarters for scouts, and as post garrisoned by the continental soldiers under the General Commanding in the department, or by independent companies of militia who were called out by the County Lieutenant for short service. It served all the purposes of a frontier stockade fort.

Colonel Crawford at intervals during the year 1778, and the two following years, commanded at that post. When Colonel Brodhead succeeding McIntosh took command of the Western

Department, his first order, April 13th, 1779, was to direct Lieutenant Lawrence Harrison of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment to take a detachment from Fort Pitt to occupy Fort Crawford, then vacant. The soldiers were then instructed to scout on the waters of the Allegheny, as well as on Puckety creek and upon the Kiskiminetas as far as Fort Hand, in order to protect thereby, as much as possible, the exposed settlements, to the eastward of Pittsburgh. (2.)

Captain Samuel Moorhead who was in command of a company stationed here resigned in June, 1779, and the command of his company was turned over to James Carnahan, a subordinate officer, who had been recommended by Moorhead for the vacancy. The company at that time contained only seventeen men. (3.)

Under date of June 25th, 1779, Col. Brodhead reports that "Captain Brady with twenty white men and one young Delaware chief (all well painted) set out toward the Seneca country and some of the Indian warriors came in to the inhabitants. They killed a soldier between Forts Crawford and Hand, and proceeded towards the Sewickley settlement where they killed a woman and four children, and took two children prisoners. (4.)

Ensign Coleman commanded at Fort Crawford, July 19th, 1779, as on that date Col. Brodhead writes him a letter that he hoped Capt. Brady had fallen in with the party of Indians which Coleman's men had discovered and which the Ensign had reported. Brady had discovered their tracks and was after them.

Oct. 2d, 1779, the following orders were issued to Capt. Thomas Campbell by Col. Brodhead:

"On receipt hereof you are immediately to march your company with all your stores from Fort Hand to Fort Crawford, which post you are to garrison until further orders—Captain Erwin will be ordered to Kittanning, and I will order you a sufficient quantity of provisions. You are to send me an exact return of your company, accounting for all absentees, and sick present. You will keep out scouts daily between your garrison and the Kiskamanitis creek, and between your post and Fort Pitt; and upon any discovery of the enemy or their tracks.

you are immediately to send an express to me, with proper intelligence. Your officers and men must be kept strictly to their duty, and not suffered to straggle from the fort. I wish you may find your new post more agreeable than Fort Hand, and heartily wish you success." (5.)

Within a few days of the order to Capt. Campbell, Col. Brodhead sent a quantity of salt pork to Fort Crawford, and at the same time ordered another quantity to Fort Armstrong, (Kittanning), and as Campbell had not yet arrived at this post, the whole of the pork was taken to Fort Armstrong; (6), at which place he was directed, Oct., 16th, 1779, to get his supplies. In the letter acquainting Campbell of this circumstance, Brodhead wishes that it was in his power to supply "your men with blankets and shoes; I have wrote to the President and Council for them, which I expect will be forwarded, and if I had been made acquainted with the terms on which they are engaged perhaps I could now furnish some shoes, but neither the Council or Board of War have yet informed me a word about them." Campbell had evidently felt the need of a suitable barracks for his men, and had doubtless so written to the Colonel, for in the same letter to Campbell from which we have quoted, it is added further that "when you come to headquarters I will consider the propriety of building barracks for your company." (7.)

Nov. 4th, 1779, Colonel Brodhead in a letter to Campbell approves of his sending scouts up and down the river in the manner mentioned by him, and he advises that the practice should be invariably pursued. He thinks, however, that the Captain had better not build any barracks at the station as yet, it being uncertain whether his continuance there would be so long as to render it necessary. In the meantime he sends him two kegs of whiskey, and twenty pounds of soap, which were to be issued sparingly to the men, and only at such times as they appeared to really stand in need. The Captain was also directed to send a small party, soon as possible, to Pittsburgh, to drive some live cattle for the use of the garrison. (8.)

Nov. 20th, 1779, a request from Capt. Campbell for pack horses was thought by Col. Brodhead to be unnecessary for the reason that "the season is now in which the river never fails to rise sufficiently for transporting provisions, or anything be-

tween your post and Fort Armstrong. I have sent you three head of cattle, and two-horse load of flour to answer your present necessity, and hope you will endeavor to find those which are lost. I expected that the two kegs of liquor which I sent you the 4th inst., would have lasted your men considerably longer; nor can I comply with your requisitions for a further supply at present, as I expect to have occasion to make use of the stock on hand in a matter of more absolute necessity." In a post script to this letter, the Colonel adds: "Please send down to this place one subaltern officer, one sergeant, and fifteen rank and file to assist in laying in a quantity of provisions; if you have any butchers, coopers or masons, let them compose part of the number; and let any of your men that have been enlisted into the Eighth Penna. Regt. also be included in the number, and sent down as soon as possible." (9.)

Shortly after this the companies of rangers which had been stationed at Kittanning, (Fort Armstrong), and at Puckety [otherwise Pucketos] (10) (Fort Crawford), were ordered by Col. Brodhead to Fort Pitt. He gave as his reason for doing this that the terms of the men were nearly expired; that the river was soon likely to close with ice, and because he apprehended no danger from the enemy in the winter season. (11.)

November 27th, 1779, orders were issued from headquarters by Col. Brodhead to Capt. Campbell, which will best explain themselves. These were as follows:

"The terms for which your men were engaged being nearly expired, renders it both inconvenient to erect barracks or lay in a magazine of provisions, and as I do not apprehend any danger will ensue to the frontier by the evacuation of your post, and have no reason to expect blankets or clothing for your men, I apprehend your company can be best accommodated here where they are likewise wanted. You will therefore, on receipt hereof, evacuate Fort Crawford, and bringing off the stores of every kind march your company to headquarters. (12.)

There appears to have been some personal feeling about this time, or shortly after, between Col. Brodhead and Capt. Campbell. It would seem that one of these causes arose from the desire of Col. Brodhead to have the Eighth Pennsylvania Regi-

ment in regular service, kept up by transferring those who had enlisted in the ranging companies into the regiment to serve out their time. This was resisted by the County Lieutenant, Lochry, who evidently sided with Campbell. It was also the opinion of Lochry and others that it was of the utmost importance to have this post constantly garrisoned. Campbell was sent to the Council of Safety with letters from Lochry and others, to lay their complaint before that body. President Reed in his letter to Col. Brodhead throws some light on the contention. (13.)

Fort Crawford as well as Fort Armstrong, was thus evacuated late in 1779, but both the posts were garrisoned in the spring of 1780.

On April 2d, 1780, Col. Lochry, the Lieutenant of Westmoreland, was directed by Brodhead to order out from the militia of the county, sixty able bodied, rank and file, and a proportionate number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. A proper rendezvous was to be fixed upon, where a small quantity of provisions was to be laid up by the commissaries, and the men equipped with all possible expedition. One-third of the above number was to be detached to take post at Fort Crawford, one-third at Fort Armstrong, and the remaining third part was to go to the forks of Black Legs where the officer was to make choice of a commanding ground convenient to water, and act agreeable to such orders as they should receive from the commander. They were to be drafted for two months if not sooner discharged. This body of men with a number of regulars to support those detached to Fort Armstrong, the Colonel commanding hoped would give sufficient countenance and protection to the inhabitants of the county, (Westmoreland.) (14.)

May 6th, 1780, Brodhead, upon receiving news by express from Captain Thomas Beal, who was then in command at Fort Crawford, that a number of Indian warriors had been discovered opposite the fort, wrote him that, in order to discover their number and where they came from, he had sent two Indians with Billy Brady to gather information. But if the alarm should prove false, or if the Westmoreland militia under Guthrie, whom it was reported Captain Beal had sent

for, should arrive, then the Captain was to proceed immediately to Fort Armstrong. (15.)

In the latter part of the summer of 1780, various detachments and companies of rangers were at different times at Fort Crawford. Capt. James Carnahan was probably here as well as Fort Hand. Capt. Thomas Stokely having asked for supplies for his company, was answered by Brodhead, August 3rd, 1780, (16) that he had no provisions for the garrison at Fort Pitt, except what he seized. He was referred to Col. Lochry to learn whether any State Commissary was employed to furnish provisions for the militia in service; and if he received a negative answer then he was directed immediately to march his garrison headquarters to Fort Pitt, bringing with him all the stores belonging to The United States, and assist in foraging until a sufficient supply of provisions was served, "when you can again take your station at Fort Crawford. When it is known whether you continue or not, I will upon future application afford you any necessary stores you may stand in need of. If you want craft for transporting the public stores, send a party for it."

The garrisons, so far as they were under Colonel Brodhead, were seemingly withdrawn, but on the 19th of August, 1780, Brodhead in a letter to Colonel Lochry, says that the Monongahela is rising a little, and he hopes it will be speedily in his power to return the garrison of Armstrong and Crawford to their stations. (17.)

This post and fort were heard of from time to time until the close of the Revolutionary War, during which time its relative position was such as might be inferred from the foregoing account. From the Revolution nothing is heard of this station until the Indian troubles of 1791-'93. During this period it was suggested at one time that a company of State Militia to range from Fort McIntosh (Beaver) to Fort Crawford at the head of Pine Run, a distance estimated at about thirty-three miles, would afford protection to that part of southwestern Pennsylvania, which had been in earlier times on the route of the Indians in their incursions from beyond the Allegheny. (18.)

The structure itself was one of those stockades which re-

quired constant care and attention to keep in repair, and which when abandoned even temporarily soon fell into decay. It was similar in design to Fort Armstrong (Kittanning). (19.) Being intended for a garrison, it was partly fitted up with temporary barracks, as they probably might be called; but which scarcely answers the description usually given of such appurtenances. It stood a little way above the mouth of Puckety creek within now Burrell township, Westmoreland county, and near the line of the Allegheny Valley Railroad, on the eastern side of the Allegheny river, on land of the heirs of Mr. J. W. Logan, dec'd, now in the borough of Parnassus. The exact location cannot be found.

Wm. Ross, Esq., Braeburn, Pa., an aged gentleman who has resided in the locality all his life, writes: "I have not found anyone who can tell anything as to the time when the last remains were seen."

Notes to Fort Crawford.

(1.) Crawford's Expedition against Sandusky, p. 107. C. W. Butterfield.

(2.) Washington-Irvine Cor., p. 38. Butterfield.

(3.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 129.

(4.) Arch., vii, 505.

(5.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 160.

(6.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 171.

(7.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 172.

(8.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 179.

(9.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 187.

(10.) Pucketo, sometimes called Pucketos, more frequently Puckety, a stream (emptying into the Allegheny from the south), corrupted from pach gita, signifying throw it away, abandon it. (Heckewelder.)

(11.) Arch., viii, 38.

(12.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 194.

- (13.) Arch., viii, 109.
 - (14.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 215.
 - (15.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 230.
 - (16.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 255.
 - (17.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 257.
 - (18.) Letter from David Redick to Gov. Mifflin, 13th of Feb., 1792. Arch., iv, 2d Ser., p. 700-701.
 - (19.) Brodhead to Bayard, W.-I. Cor., p. 41, n., and Brodhead's Letter Book.
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WALLACE'S FORT.

From the best information at present obtainable, Wallace's Fort was erected probably as early as 1774. It contained about half an acre of ground, and had a good blockhouse within the enclosure. In case of an actual attack by the Indians, the women and children were placed in the lower story, while the men proceeded above, and used their rifles from the port-holes in the walls.

The fort was erected on the farm of Richard Wallace, who was one of the first settlers of that part of Derry township in Westmoreland county, which lay between the old Forbes road and the Conemaugh river. John Pomroy, James Wilson, William Barr, Alexander Barr, and William Guthrie belonged to this settlement.

This fort was the place of resort and refuge for the inhabitants of the frontier lying north of the Old Road and east of Hannastown and Fort Hand, all through the Revolution; and particularly for those who lived along the Conemaugh river and north of that as far as settlements were made. In that direction there was no other fort and no place of harborage worth speaking of; so that in the more perilous times the people gathered together there while it was dangerous to be abroad. (1.) At some periods, particularly during the open part of 1777 and 1778 and 1780 and '81 that frontier, for the

most part, was deserted. Arms and ammunition were kept here; it was a designated place for the supply of salt; and it was an objective point for the rangers. It thus was an attractive spot for the savages. In their incursions they came in mostly from beyond the Allegheny river, crossing it either above or below Fort Crawford, and frequently following the old Kittanning Path and the path which led down the Ligonier Valley. (2.)

Some idea of the condition of affairs here in 1777 may be had from the *Journal of Fort Preservation (Ligonier)*. * * * On the 4th of May, 1778, Col. John Piper, of Bedford, writes to President Wharton: "In the county of Westmoreland, at a little fort called Fort Wallace, within some sixteen or twenty miles from Fort Ligonier, there were nine men killed and one man, their captain, wounded last week; the party of Indians was very numerous, so that between Indians and the still more savage Tories, these backward counties are in real distress." (3.)

It is probable this affair was the same which is spoken of in a letter from Col. Lochry to President Wharton, of date May 13th, 1778, in which is this paragraph: "on the 28th April, the Indians came into the settlement at and about Wallace's Fort, attacked 20 of our men which were reconnoitering the woods, and killed 9 of our men and wounded Capt. Hopkins slightly, and we lost nine guns." (4.)

"From the time of the return of Brodhead from his expedition against the Seneca Indians to the end of the year (1779), a good degree of quietude existed along the northern frontier. Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford were evacuated. The principal points garrisoned were Wheeling, Holliday's Cove (in what is now Hancock county, W. Va.), and Fort McIntosh, down the Ohio; Fort Pitt, at Pittsburgh; and Fort Hand, Fort Wallace and Hannastown, on the northern frontier; the two last mentioned were occupied by the ranging companies of Captains Irwin and Campbell (Thomas), whose terms of service expired during the ensuing winter. Meanwhile, Captain Moorhead's independent company, which, for nearly three years, had been doing duty on the frontiers of Westmoreland

county, was removed to Fort Pitt, and made a part of the Eighth regiment." (5.)

Wallace's Fort is connected with the controversy between Col. Brodhead and Col. Lochry about the disposition of the two companies of militia under Capt. Erwin and Capt. Campbell, in the latter part of 1779. Brodhead ordered these companies to Fort Pitt upon the evacuation of Fort Armstrong (Kittanning), and Fort Crawford; but Lochry thereupon ordered them elsewhere for the immediate protection of the settlements over which he had command. Capt. Erwin was stationed at Hannastown and Capt. Campbell was ordered to Fort Wallace, upon which, he was arrested by Brodhead for disobeying his orders. Campbell addressed a letter to Council, of which the following is a copy:

"To the Honorable Members in Council, I Beeg Leav to present a true Copy of a Letter to Col. Brodhead, Which I am aristed for, and giv som Reasons for the Warmth Expressed in my Leter. Being ordered by Col. Loughry to March my Company to Fort Wallis, I then applied to Col. Brodhead for horses and provision to transport my Company to my New post. Was Refused Supplies of every kind; Likeways teen of My Men being inlisted into the 6 Pennsylvania Regt., Before the terms of their inlistments are expired. Now Wher the Discharged from My Company, the wher also Detained, and Not Sufered to March with the Company; therefore I submit My Celf to this Honourable bord." (6.)

It would appear that this fort, however, was maintained for the most part by the exertions and through the care of the surrounding inhabitants, and that the men who were kept there in the capacity of a garrison were for the most part volunteers or rangers called out for special emergencies. There is therefore, not frequent mention made of this place in the civil or military records extant; but interest in it has been kept up by contributions of a very respectable character, which, for the most part, are founded upon direct tradition and which are corroborated by many authentic circumstances. It is true that these accounts sometimes are mistaken in the matter of dates, associating incidents of indisputable occur-

rence with periods of time different from the actual fact. Wherever we have changed these accounts in this particular it is where we have been warranted in doing so.

The following is on the authority of Rev. William Cunningham: (7.)

"The Indians generally make their incursions in the fall of the year. During harvest time, also, they often become very troublesome. They lurked in the woods, and cut off the unsuspecting settler when he least apprehended danger. They plowed, they reaped, rifle in hand. Major Wilson used to relate how he stood with his rifle, in his cabin door, while his wife brought water from the spring.

"On certain occasions, the 'signs' of Indians had been seen in the woods, for several days, and it was supposed that Barr's Fort would be attacked the following morning. This fort (Barr's) stood about a mile north of New Derry. While they expected an attack there, they were much surprised to hear firing at Wallace's Fort, about five miles distant. Great anxiety was felt by those at Barr's Fort for their friends at Wallace's. Major Wilson with others volunteered to go to their aid. Leaving therefore a barely sufficient force at Barr's to protect the fort, and to keep the women in heart, they started. The firing continued all the time as they approached.

"When they reached Wallace's, the little party within were engaged in a hot conflict with a large number of Indians, who had made an early attack on the fort. The enemy no sooner perceived Wilson and his company than they turned upon them. There was formerly a bridge over the ravine, which is about 500 yards above the fort. Wilson, with a few of his party, had crossed this. Being compelled to retreat, he found the Indians had taken possession of the bridge. Here he was engaged hand to hand with them. He knocked several of them off, and thus prepared the way for himself and his friends.

"He then took his position near a large oak, on the bank beyond, and plied his rifle with deadly effect on them. But the Indians were too numerous for the little band, and they were compelled to retreat. They kept up a retreating fire all the way to Barr's Fort. About a mile from Wallace's [Alexan-

der?] Barr was killed. When they had nearly reached the fort, Robert Barr also fell. He was engaged with several Indians, fighting manfully with the butt of his gun. Major Wilson shot one of the Indians, who fell dead on Barr. The next instant a tomahawk was buried in Barr's skull.

"Shortly after this an alarm was again given of the approach of Indians. All in the vicinity of Wallace's Fort fled to it. Major Wilson happened to be among them. A man named Reddick, when seeking the fort, was attacked by a party who had concealed themselves under the bridge aforementioned, but he was fortunate to make good his escape to the fort. It was supposed that the Indians were few in number, and Major Wilson, with characteristic bravery, proposed to attack them with a small party.

"Taking some six or eight men he, pursued, and in a short time came up with them. They were found lying in the grass, on the top of what is known as Culbertson's Hill, about a mile from the fort, on the farm now belonging to John Stoffer. The Indians immediately fired. The band of Indians was much larger than they supposed, and Wilson and his party, with the Indians in pursuit, made for the fort.

"Loading and firing as they ran, they supposed they had killed several, but never certainly ascertained. These are a few of the many instances which occurred around the old fort, and give us some idea of the scenes through which the settlers of the regions were called to pass."

In a biographical sketch of the Rev. James Finley, by the Rev. Joseph Smith, D. D., published in *Old Redstone*, mention is made of this fort. (8.) It would appear that in 1772 Mr. Finley came over the mountains for his ministrations here. This was his third trip, and he brought with him his son Ebenezer, then a lad of fourteen years of age, whom he placed on a farm that he had purchased in Fayette county, in the bounds of Dunlap's creek congregation.

"This son, about three or four years after, had a perilous adventure with the Indians at Fort Wallace. This place is supposed to have been in or near the bounds of Salem congregation, not far from the Kiskiminetas. Young Finley had gone from Dunlap's creek on a short tour of militia duty to

this, then, frontier settlement, in place of Samuel Finley, who then lived with him, though not a relative. While this young man was in the fort, tidings were brought by a man on horseback in breathless haste, that Indians had made their appearance at a little distance; that he had left two men and a woman on foot trying to make their way to the fort; and that, unless immediately rescued or protected they would be lost. Some 18 or 20 men, and, along with them, young Finley, started immediately for their rescue. About a mile and a half from the fort, they came unexpectedly upon a considerable force of savages. They were, for a while, in the midst of them. A sharp fire began immediately, and a zig-zag, running fight took place. Our people making their way back toward the fort, numbers of them were shot down or tomahawked. Finley's gun would not "go off." He stopped for a moment to pick his flint, and fell behind. An Indian was seen leveling his gun at him, but was fortunately shot down at the moment. Being fleet of foot, he soon was abreast of one of his companions; and, in passing round the root of a tree, by a quick motion of his elbow against his companion's shoulder, succeeded in passing him, when, the next moment, his comrade sunk under the stroke of a tomahawk. A Mr. Moore, seeing Finley's imminent danger from a bridge on which he stood, stopped, and by his well directed fire, again protected him, and enabled him to pass the bridge. At last, after several doublings and turnings, the Indians being sometimes both in the rear and ahead of him, he reached the fort in safety." (9.)

In a sketch of the life of Randall Laughlin, the particulars of which were obtained from his immediate family, we learn that he came to this country from Ireland when a young man, probably about the year 1770; that he arrived in this section prior to the Revolutionary War; purchased the improvement right to a large tract of land lying partly in Blacklick and partly in Centre townships (Indiana county) on which a small quantity of ground had been cleared; that he remained for a while, built a cabin and otherwise increased his improvement; after which he returned to Franklin county, where he had formerly lived a short time.

"Some time in the winter of 1777, he was married, and the next spring came back to his farm, intending to remain here permanently. But he was sadly disappointed. Some time in the spring or summer, owing to the presence of hostile Indians in the neighborhood who were prowling about in all directions, but more especially in the north, he with his wife went to Wallace's Fort, a short distance south of Blairsville, where a number of persons were congregated.

"During their stay at Wallace's, the farmers went out occasionally to the different farms in small parties, always armed with their rifles, and prepared to meet the savage foe. His horses having strayed away from the fort, and supposing that they had returned to the farm, Laughlin, accompanied by Charles Campbell, Dixon, John Gibson and his brother went in search of them.

"While the party were in Laughlin's cabin preparing some dinner, they were surrounded by a number of Indians led by a Frenchman, and summoned to surrender, the leader telling them if they would submit none of them should be injured, but in case they resisted, their bodies should be burned up with the cabin. After consultation, it was resolved to surrender. They were permitted to write a statement on the cabin door, of what had happened, and assure their friends that they all expected to escape death, and return home again. (10.)

The captives were next marched off, well guarded by the Indians. They were taken to Detroit by way of Sandusky and thence to Montreal, thence to Quebec. After being exchanged, Laughlin, Charles Campbell and John Gibson returned to their homes, but two of their companions died on the way. Charles Campbell, who is spoken of above, was Colonel Charles Campbell, a very prominent officer of the rangers; he was a sub-lieutenant of the county at the time, and later, succeeded Edward Cook as the county lieutenant. In later life he was well known as Gen. Campbell. These men were taken prisoners at the time when the British Gov. of Detroit, Hamilton, was by the Tory agents and renegade whites, scattering proclamations and offering inducements to all those who should leave the service of the colonies and join that of

the King. At the time Campbell was taken, these proclamations were found at the cabin in which the above party were captured. Col. Campbell kept a journal of his travels during the period of his captivity, which was lately in existence. From it, it seems, they began their journey on Thursday, the 25th of Sept., 1777, and on the 14th of Sept., 1778, they came in sight of Cape Ann, and got into Boston Harbor that night. From Boston, Campbell traveled to Pennsylvania, sometimes afoot and sometimes riding in a vehicle, being about six weeks on the route.

Various accounts have been told of Richard Wallace, identified with this fort, touching his captivity among the Indians. The most of these are traceable to verbal representations; and while in substance, the published ones are mainly correct, yet they differ in the time in which the capture should have occurred. It is altogether probable that it had its origin in the following state of facts: When Colonel Lochry, Lieutenant of the county, led out a company to join Gen. Clark in the summer of 1781, in his expedition against Detroit, as contemplated, Lochry's command were assailed, surprised and surrounded when they had landed at the mouth of a small creek on the Ohio river, to this day called Lochry's creek. Lochry's force were all either killed or taken prisoners. Richard Wallace accompanied him as Quartermaster to his command. In a memorial directed to President Moore, endorsed July 3d, 1782, subscribed by Isaac Anderson, Lieut. of Capt. Shearer's company of rangers, and Richard Wallace, late Quartermaster to Col. Lochry, it was represented that "they had the misfortune to be made prisoners by the Indians on the 24th of August last and carried to Montreal, and there kept in close confinement till the 26th of May last, when they were so fortunate as to make their escape, and after a long and fatiguing march through the wilderness, they got to the city [Philadelphia] yesterday at 3 o'clock." They further represented that they were then destitute of money and clothes, without which they could not get home, wherefore they prayed the Governor and Council to take their case into consideration, and order them their pay from the time they were made prisoners to then; saying that they were under the com-

mand of Col. Lochry when taken, and that they had a list of these, both officers and privates, who were then prisoners of that party, together with such information as was in their power. (11.)

Col. Lochry to Col. Brodhead, April 2d, 1781: "I am just returned from burying a man killed and scalped by the Indians at Col. Pomroy's house, one other man is missing and all Pomroy's effects carried off. I have been attempting to get some militia to cover our frontier until some other succor arrives, which I hope will be soon. I am afraid from the disposition of the people you have little to expect from us." He here refers to the prospect of raising the volunteers for a projected expedition against the Indians. (12.)

The fort was still used when circumstances demanded. After the peace of 1783 it was rarely resorted to. It fell gradually into decay until the stockade walls, the monuments of troublous times in which they were built, had finally disappeared. Not a vestige now remains.

"This fort was a stockade enclosing half an acre or more. It stood on the hill a little west of the brick house, now occupied by Samuel Dixon and covered the mill and spring of water west of the brick house. The stockade on the side next the mill (for there was a flouring mill there then about where the present one stands) was about 60 yards distant, and on the high ground above McGee's run, which propels the mill. The mill and spring were both within rifle-range of the fort." (13.)

The site of Wallace's fort with regard to present surroundings, was on a rising ground running northward and southward, on something of an abrupt bank, the second rise above McGee's run, about a mile south from the Conemaugh, and one and a half miles from Blairsville. The spring which was enclosed within the stockade walls is still there. There is a mill on the old mill site of Wallace's Mill, which was within a stone's throw of the fort. The present farm house, occupied by W. T. McFarland, whose wife, the daughter of Samuel Barr. dec'd, is the owner of the premises, is about one hundred yards north of the old fort.

Notes to Fort Wallace.

(1.) St. Clair in his letter to Gov. Penn, June 12th, 1774, referred to elsewhere says that "All that great country between that Road (Forbes Road) and that River (Allegheny), being totally abandoned, except a few who are associated with the people who murdered the Indian (Joseph Wipey), and are shut up in a small Fort on Connymack (Conemaugh), equally afraid of the Indians and officers of Justice." * * * * There can be no doubt that he means Wallace's Fort.

"It became necessary to erect defences against Indian hostility, and two forts, as they were called, were built; one at Barr's, called Barr's Fort, on the farm occupied by Wm. Gilson (now Calvin Gilson); the other at Wallace's, called Wallace's Fort. They were stockades similar to those ordinarily erected against the Indians, and about five miles apart. After their erection, guard was kept in each, and in prospect of danger, the women and children were placed there for protection." [Greensburg Herald. Contribution by Richard McCabe, Esq.]

(2.) Some cabins were fitted temporarily as places of defence. It is said that George Findley's cabin, north of the Conemaugh, was so fitted. [Hist. Indiana Co.]

(3.) Arch., vi, 469.

(4.) Arch., vi, 495.

(5.) Wash.-Irvine Cor., 46.

(6.) Arch., viii, 36. Arch., viii, 106.

(7.) Hist. of the Cunningham family. Mr. Cunningham drew largely upon the contributions which were furnished to various journals, at different times, some of these as early as 1810,—by Richard B. McCabe, Esq., and Jonathan Row, Esq. (Indiana Register, 1859)—both excellent authorities. He also made use of the traditionary accounts furnished him from the family of the Wallaces, and others with whom he was related.

Major (at a later period frequently called Colonel), James Wilson, was one of the most conspicuous leaders in that section during the Indians troubles before and during the Revolution.

(8.) Old Redstone; or, Historical Sketches of Western Presbyterianism, its Early Ministers, its Perilous Times, and its First Records, by Jos. Smith, D. D., Phila.: 1854, p. 284.

(9.) The narrative continues: "But the most extraordinary part of this matter remains to be told. Mr. Finley, the father, then at home, east of the mountains, 300 miles off, had, as he thought, one day, a strange and unaccountable impression that his son was in imminent danger of some kind, but no distinct conception of its nature or cause. He betook himself to intense and agonizing prayer for his son; continued in this exercise for some time; felt at length relieved and comforted, as though the danger was passed. It was altogether to himself an extraordinary thing; such as he had never before experienced. He made a note of the time. A few weeks afterward, he received from his son, upon his return to his father's, an account of his narrow escape from death. The time precisely corresponded with the time of Mr. Finley's strange experience. This is the substance of the statement we have received. Its accuracy, in its most essential features, may be fully relied on. What shall we say of it? Mr. Finley was a man of most scrupulous veracity. We leave the simple statement of the case to the reflections of the reader." Id.

(10.) Note to "Randall Laughlin"—Hist. Indiana Co., p. 140. Jonathan Row in Indiana Register, 1859. * * * * John Pomroy was one of the five commissioners appointed by the Assembly in 1785 to locate a county seat for the county of Westmoreland, whose labors resulted in the selection of Greensburg. * * * * The mention of "Frenchmen" accompanying these Indian parties about this period arose from the fact that the French Canadians were largely in the service of the British Governor of Detroit.

Query.—Did Campbell hold out any inducement to his captors that he would accept a commission? It is probable he did, as their treatment of him can be explained in no other reasonable way. He might have done so without any question as to his integrity. He did good service after his return; was County-Lieutenant after Edward Cook, as stated; and is addressed as Colonel and General in 1791-4. 2d Arch., iv.

Lieutenant Lochry to President Wharton, on the 4th Nov., 1777, says: "Lieut. Col. Charles Campble and four other persons are made prisoners on the waters of Blacklegs creek; four other men killed and scalped near the same place; one man kill'd near Wallace's Fort on Connomouch." * * * * Archives, v, 741. See notes to Journal kept during the erection of Fort Ligonier, or "Fort Preservation."

(11.) Rec., xiii, 325, et seq. See compensation allowed them at that date.

(12.) Arch., ix, 51.

(13.) The Cunningham Family.

BARR'S FORT.

The tract of land upon which Barr's Fort was built, was located on April 3d, 1769—the day upon which the land office was opened—warranted and granted to Robert Barr, for whom it was surveyed in 1789. At the time of the location, the parties adjoining were Herman Gertson, James Fulton, James Eaton and others, among whom was James Barr, Esq. In 1796, Thomas Barr, eldest son of Robert Barr, deceased, conveyed to William Gilson, then late of Cumberland county, Pa., from whom it has descended to his great grandson, Calvin Gilson, the present owner and occupier. The grandfather of Mr. Gilson was born in the blockhouse.

This fort, originally the house of the early Barr, but later a stockade fort, was in the Derry settlement, where the Barrs, the Wallaces, George Findley, John Pomroy, James Guthrie, and others settled very early—most of them before the opening of the land office (1769). Col. John Pomroy's (Pumroy) wife was Isabella Barr, daughter of the elder Barr and sister of James and Alexander. The graveyard on this place contains, besides the grave of Major James Wilson, one of the most conspicuous men of the settlement, many other settlers, and is supposed to be, and doubtless is, the oldest burying-place in that section.

About five or six miles towards the Conemaugh was Wallace's Fort; Shields' Blockhouse was three or four miles away toward the southward, on the Loyalhanna. Events and incidents connected with Fort Barr are mentioned in the account of Wallace's Fort. The site is about a mile from New Derry village, and a little over two miles from Derry Station on the Penn'a Railroad, and in Derry township, Westmoreland county.

A stockade fort was erected here early, and was used throughout the Revolution. The area inclosed by the stockade was near one-half an acre, and included a spring, still in use. It is likely that within the stockade there were other cabins and accommodations adequate for those who here, for irregular periods, sought shelter with their families and effects. The blockhouse, which is habitually designated as "the fort" by those who speak of it, was at the northeast angle of the stockade, and the garden of Mr. Calvin Gilson, the present owner, marks its location. This stockade fort is in some places called Gilson's Fort, from the name of the succeeding owner from the Barrs; but Mr. Gilson, the elder, did not acquire title until after the border wars were over.

The stockade at Barr's was built, as said, probably very early in the Revolution, and the original house might have been used as a stronghouse as early as 1768. It was not so exposed in its situation on the frontier as was Wallace's Fort, but it was part of the Derry settlement, and the two forts were so near each other as to be mostly the common object of molestation. They were about five or six miles apart; and it would seem that during those times a series of danger signals was adopted by which alarms were given from one of the posts to the other, and to settlers around. The intervening land rises and falls in hills and valleys, so that shouts or gun-shots fired in quick succession could be recognized, and the tidings carried very rapidly.

During the Revolution the inhabitants surrounding this fort fled to it frequently. Mention is often made of these circumstances but not in a connected way, for as the fort was purely a settler's fort, it has little written history. It, however, served its purpose well. On one occasion a party under Major

Wilson had left Barr's Fort, for Wallace's Fort then surrounded by savages, but were compelled to return to Barr's, on which occasion one—at least—of the Barr's, Alexander, was killed before he got back; and it has been long asserted, and not contradicted, that two of them fell on that occasion, as related in the mention of Wallace's Fort.

Supplies of salt were distributed to this point for the inhabitants thereabout, of which circumstances there are various notices; one mentioned in the Journal of the building of Fort Preservation, now (Ligonier), in 1777.

Col. Cook, Lieutenant of the county, August 8th, 1782, issued the following order to Lieutenant Richard Johnson: "You are to proceed with the militia under your command to Myres' Station where you will receive arms and ammunition either there or by applying either through the field officer or in person to the general. You will have to detach a few men to Rayburn's, Waltour's and Fort Barr. I cannot inform you of the number necessary to each. You will be directed by the strength of your party or the number you can spare; and in this matter you will consult the field officer who superintends the different stations." (Wash.-Irvine Correspondence, 330.)

Michael Huffnagle in a letter to Gen. Irvine from Hannastown, July 17th, 1782, after the attack on that place, says: "I am much afraid that the scouting parties stationed at the different posts have not done their duty. We discover where the enemy had encamped and they must have been there for at least about ten days; as they had killed several horses and eat them about six miles from Brush Run and right on the way towards Barr's Fort." (Wash.-Irv. Cor., 383.)

The memory of the trials and troubles of the settlers about Barr's Fort during the pioneer period, lingered long in the Derry settlement; and traditions of the place were carried by the descendants of the first settlers to remote parts. Very little, however, has been available to us of an authentic character, beyond the references here given and the corroborating circumstances which naturally follow on the line of inquiry which these references suggest.

PALMER'S FORT.

The approximate date of the erection of Fort Palmer, or Palmer's Fort, may be learned from the record of conveyances. Robert Nox (Knox) conveyed to John Palmer the tract of land on which the stockade was built, by deed March 11th, 1771. John Palmer, farmer, of Fairfield township, on the 24th of Jan., 1776, passed over the paper title to Charles Griffen, by a deed acknowledged before Robert Hanna, Judge, etc. Charles Griffen obtained a patent for this land from the Commonwealth, Feb. 10th, 1787, in which it is described as a "tract of land situate in Fairfield township, Westmoreland county, Pa., called 'Fort Palmer.'"

This stockade was in existence early in the Revolution, and it might have been a place of resort in the troubles of 1774. This is altogether probable, but not at present provable. In the Journal kept at Ligonier during the building of the Revolutionary stockade there, Fort Palmer was then, (Nov. 1777), a place of defence in which settlers had gathered. It is mentioned frequently in sketches of the history of the families of the early settlers, or in obituary notices of the earlier pioneers, as a place of refuge, and is associated in the traditions of the Conemaugh and Ligonier Valleys with nearly all the Indian warfare and the perils of that frontier. It, however, is not to be forgotten that events which rest for the most part on oral tradition, are very apt to be shifted about to correspond with periods of time which are of marked prominence or illusively distant. All the testimony which is unimpeachable, in connection with this stockade, belongs to the Revolutionary era. There is probably no settler's fort in Westmoreland county with so much connected with it, and so little available, as this stockade. It was constructed early and remained among the last of the forts erected by the settlers as a defense against the Indians. From its location it was the point towards which the settlers to the north of the Conemaugh, in what is now Indiana and Cambria counties, fled. Here they remained while danger was imminent, and from here they went forth with their families and effects when it was safe to venture back to their clearings.

In that most explicit letter in which Col. Archibald Lochry



SPRING WHICH SUPPLIES FORT
200 FT THERE FROM

STOCKADE

UNDERGROUND
PASSAGE TO FORT.



200 FT FROM
CENTER OF FORT

FT. PALMER.
POST OFFICE

to Findley's Cabins

TURNPIKE

TO FORT LIGNIER

MAP OF FORT PALMER AND VICINITY

LOCATED IN FAIRFIELD TWP. WESTMORELAND CO. PA.
MIDWAY BETWEEN THE LAUREL HILL MOUNTAINS AND
THE CHESTNUT RIDGE ON THE TURNPIKE LEADING
FROM FORT LIGNIER NORTHWARD TO THE
FINDLEY CABINS.

WALNUT GROVE WHERE
THE INDIAN SCALPED THE
CHILDREN WHILE AT PLAY
937 FT FROM CENTER OF
FORT



PLAN OF FORT PALMER.

the County Lieutenant reported the depredations of the savages in the outbreak of the autumn of 1777, (Arch., v, 741.) he says: "The distressed situation of our country is such, that we have no prospect but desolation and destruction; the whole country on the north side of the road (Forbes Road) from the Allegheny mountains to the river is all kept close in forts; and can get no subsistence from their plantations." After specifying the particulars of this raid, he states that "eleven other persons [have been] killed and scalped at Palmer's Fort, near Ligonier, amongst which is Ensign Woods."

The Council of Safety to the Delegates of Pennsylvania in Congress, on the 14th of November, 1777, giving an account of the distressed condition of this frontier, says: "This Council is applied to by the people of the County of Westmoreland in this Commonwealth with the most alarming complaints of Indian depredations. The letter of which the enclosed is a copy, will give you some idea of their present situation. We are further informed by verbal accounts, that an extent of sixty miles has been evacuated to the savages, full of stock, corn, hogs and poultry; that they have attacked Palmer's Fort about seven miles distant from Fort Ligonier without success; and from the information of White Eyes, and other circumstances, it is feared that Fort Ligonier has, by this time been attacked."

In the Journal to Fort Preservation, (Ligonier), will be found narrated some events properly belonging to the history of Fort Palmer. The condition of affairs as they existed about this fort during the frontier wars may be imagined from the detail as given in that Journal covering as it does but a very short space of time. The killing of the two children within two hundred yards of the fort, mentioned in the Journal for Oct. 22nd, is a fact singularly preserved in an unbroken tradition from the time it occurred. William Reynolds, Esq., of Bolivar, Pa., a descendant of the George Findley mentioned above, writes under date of Nov. 15th, 1894, and repeats the details, giving the approximate distance from the fort, and other circumstances; and this gentleman had never heard of the existence of the Journal, but had received his version of the occurrence when very young and had carried it in his

memory as first narrated. It is seldom that such an incident has been so clearly preserved. On the accompanying map and plan, which was furnished at the instance of Jeff W. Taylor, Esq., of Greensburg, Pa., the grove in which these children were killed is marked, as the place is pointed out at this day. It is a matter of regret that not more authenticated data is obtainable, and that in a community in which there were so many intelligent persons interested in perpetuating its history, none should have been found to do so.

SHIELDS' FORT.

Among the petitions that were presented to Governor Penn on the occasion of the alarm from the uprising in 1774, was one from a large number of people "who had assembled at the house of a certain John Shields, near to, or about five or six miles of Hannas' Town and on the Loyalhanna, where, as a defense for their wives and families, they had erected a small fort, and by the direction of the gentlemen of the association took up arms for the general defense. Your petitioners, (say they), thought themselves extremely happy and secure, when your honor and the Assembly were pleased to order a number of troops to be raised for our general assistance and protection; but we are now rendered very uneasy by the removal of these troops, their arms and ammunition, on which our greatest dependence lay, and which we understand are ordered to Kittanning, a place at least twenty-five or thirty miles distant from any of the settlements. Your petitioners being left thus exposed without arms, ammunition or the protection of these removed troops, humbly conceive themselves to be in danger of the enemy, and are sorry to observe to your honor, that it is ours, as well as the general opinion, that removing the troops to so distant and uninhabited part of the province as Kittanning is, cannot answer the good purposes intended, but seems to serve the purposes of some who regard not the public welfare." (Rupps', Western Pa., Appx., 260). The petition was

signed by over a hundred persons, and the list includes the names of many whose descendants live within that neighborhood.

This structure, as stated, was erected on the farm of John Shields, one of the early settlers on the Loyalhanna, near, (now) New Alexandria, Westmoreland county. John Shields was one of the five commissioners appointed in 1785 to purchase a piece of land for the inhabitants of the county on which to erect a court-house and jail, whose labors resulted in the selection of Greensburg.

This blockhouse was within communicating distance of Wallace's Fort, Barr's Fort and Hannastown, and on occasions of alarm the inhabitants fled to the one most available. It continued as a place of resort and shelter during the Revolution. Persons living have seen some of the remains of the so-called fort. "It was built on an eminence above the present Shields' residence now occupied by the family of the late Matthew Shields. It was but a few rods distant from the line which separated the Shields' farm from one which Alexander Craig purchased from him, and which was known as the "Craig" farm. It was thus sometimes called Craig's Blockhouse, or Craig's Fort, but it was not known by that name to those of this locality. There is no doubt the Craigs assisted in building it. It was perhaps a mile from New Alexandria and eight miles from Greensburg. [MS. Mrs Margaret Craig, New Alexandria, Pa.]

WALTHOUR'S FORT.

Walthour's Fort, as Mr. Brackenridge, in the article which we quote at length hereto, says "was one of those stockades or blockhouses to which a few families of the neighborhood collected in times of danger, and going to their fields in the day returned at night to this place of security." It was located, with regard to the present surroundings, eight miles west of Greensburg on the turnpike to Pittsburgh, twenty-three miles east of Pittsburgh, four miles south of Harrison City

(Byerly Station, Forbes Road), and one and one-half miles from Irwin. It was built on the farm of Christopher Walthour, (the name is usually spelled now by the family, but spelled then Waldhower), who owned a large body of land there. The farm remained in the Walthour family and name until 1868—near one hundred years. Christopher, his brother George, the Studebakers, Kunkles, Byerleys, Williards, Irwins, Hiberghers, Wentlings, Baughmans, Gongawares, Fritchmans, Buzzards, Kifers, etc., belonged to that settlement.

The land is now owned by Michael Clohessey. The site of the blockhouse and stockade, is about three hundred yards south of the turnpike, a little to the left of the barn, between two springs of water. The stockade enclosed the house of Walthour, and "inside of this enclosure and blockhouse all the people of the community would gather. The dead"—(when Williard was killed, as hereafter referred to, and others not individualized),—"were buried near the old fort. Afterwards an apple tree grew upon the spot spontaneously, and my father (says Joseph S. Walthour, Esq., MS.) always took the best care of it, because it marked the grave of the dead there buried."

It would appear that the region about this fort suffered most during the seasons of 1781-2, and especially just before the destruction of Hannastown. Many petitions sent to Gen. Irvine from citizens of Washington and Westmoreland counties, show, in a clear light, the dangers and exposures of the border throughout this period. Of these petitions there was one from Brush creek, dated June 22d, 1782, of which Mr. Butterfield, the erudite historian of the Western Department, says: "This petition, so unexceptionably elegant in diction, as well as powerfully strong and clear in the points stated, is signed by nineteen borderers, mostly Germans. The document itself is in a bold and beautiful hand. It would be hard to find in all the Revolutionary records of the west a more forcible statement of border troubles, in a few words, than this." (Wash-Irv. Cor., 301, note.)

The names of these petitioners are given by Rev. Cyrus Cort in his *Col. Henry Bouquet, etc.*, p. 93. They are as follows: George, Christopher, Joseph and Michael Waldhauer (Walthour), Abraham and Joseph Studabedker, Michael and Jacob

Byerly, John and Jacob Rutdorf, Frederick Williard, Wiesskopf (Whitehead), Abraham Schneider, Peter and Jacob Loutzenheiser, Hanover Davis, Conrad Zulten, Garret Pendergrast and John Kammerer. The following extracts are from the petition: They represent: "That since the commencement of the present war, the unabated fury of the savages hath been so particularly directed against us, that we are, at last, reduced to such a degree of despondency and distress that we are now ready to sink under the insupportable pressure of this very great calamity. * * * * That the season of our harvest is now fast approaching, in which we must endeavor to gather in our scanty crops, or otherwise subject ourselves to another calamity equally terrible to that of the scalping-knife—and from fatal experience, our fears suggest to us every misery that has usually accompanied that season. * * * * Wherefore we humbly pray for such an augmentation of our guard through the course of the harvest-season as will enable them to render us some essential service. * * * * And as we have hitherto been accustomed to the protection of the continental troops during the harvest-season we further pray, that we may be favored with a guard of your soldiers, if it is not inconsistent with other duties enjoined on you."

A small force of continentals was stationed at Turtle creek, a post on the old Penn'a road where Turtle creek crossed. These were intended to protect all that settlement round about.

Of Walthour's Fort, little would be known outside of well-preserved traditions but for an event which, on account of its unique character and the circumstances connected with, had attracted the notice of H. H. Brackenridge who has in his narration redeemed this fort from a fate which otherwise would have been obscure. Mr. Brackenridge, who later was a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, was at that time a practicing attorney at Pittsburgh. In his leisure he directed his vigorous intellect to literary pursuits, and wrote various articles on such subjects as partook of an historical or legal complexion. Thus, whatever he wrote for the public has great value, and from his method of treatment his articles are of peculiar interest to the antiquary. His story of the lame Indian

depicts a peculiar phase of frontier life; and as its verity has never been questioned, we are constrained to admit it is as a record which deserves to be perpetuated. The account, therefore, is here given, accompanied with the letters illustrating it. It is as follows:

"In Pittsburgh (Penna.), about the year 1782, one evening just in the twilight, there was found sitting in a porch, an Indian with a light pole in his hand. He spoke in broken English to the person of the house who first came out, and asked for milk. The person (a girl) ran in and returning with others of the family they came to see what it was that had something like the appearance of a human skeleton. He was to the last degree emaciated, with scarcely the semblance of flesh upon his bones. One of his limbs had been wounded; and it had been on one foot and by the help of the pole that he had made his way to this place. Being questioned, he appeared too weak to give an account of himself, but asked for milk, which was given him, and word sent to the commanding officer of the garrison at that place, (General William Irvine), who sent a guard and had him taken to the garrison. After having had food and now being able to give some account of himself, he was questioned by the interpreter (Joseph Nicholson). He related that he had been on Beaver river trapping, and had a difference with a Mingo Indian who had shot him in the leg, because he had said he wished to come to the white people.

"Being told that this was not credible, but that he must tell the truth, and that in so doing he would fare the better, he gave the following account, to wit: that he was one of a party who had struck the settlement in the last moon, and attacked a fort, and killed some and took some prisoners.

"This appeared to be a fort known by the name of Walthour's fort by the account which he gave, which is at the distance of twenty-three miles from the town on the Penn'a road towards Philadelphia, and within eight miles of what is now Greensburg. He stated that it was there that he received his wound.

"The fact was that the old man Walthour, his daughter and two sons were at work in the field, having their guns at some distance, and which they seized, on the appearance of the Indians, and made towards the fort. This was one of these

stockades or blockhouses to which a few families of the neighborhood collected in times of danger, and going to their fields in the day returned at night to this place of security.

"These persons in the field were pursued by the Indians and the young woman taken. The old man with his son kept up a fire as they retreated and had got to the distance of about an hundred yards from the fort when the old man fell. An Indian had got upon him and was about to take his scalp, when one in the fort directing his rifle, fired upon the Indian who made a horrid yell and made off, limping on one foot. This was in fact the very Indian, as it now appeared, that had come to the town. He confessed the fact, and said, that on the party with which he was, being pursued, he had hid himself in the bushes a few yards from the path, along which the people from the fort in pursuit of them came. After the mischief was done, a party of our people had pursued the Indians to the Allegheny river, tracing their course, and had found the body of the young woman whom they had taken prisoner but had tomahawked and left. The Indian, as we have said, continuing his story to the interpreter, gave us to understand that he lay three days without moving from the place where he first threw himself into the bushes, until a pursuit might be over, lest he should be tracked; that after this he had got along on his hands and feet, until he found this pole in the marsh which he had used to assist him, and in the meantime had lived on berries and roots; that he had come to a post some distance, from here, where a detachment of soldiers was stationed, and thought of giving himself up, and lay all day on a hill above the place thinking whether he would or not, but seeing that they were all militia men and no regulars, he did not venture.

"The Indians knew well the distinction between regulars and militia, and from these last they expected no quarter.

"The post of which he spoke was about twelve miles from Pittsburgh on the Penn'a road at the crossings of what is called Turtle creek. It was now thirty-eight days since the affair of Walthour's fort, and during that time this miserable creature had subsisted on plants and roots and had made his way on one foot by the help of a pole. According to his ac-

count, he had first attempted a course to his own country by crossing the Allegheny river a considerable distance above the town, but strength failing to accomplish this he had wished to gain the garrison where the regular troops were; having been at this place before the war; and, in fact, he was now known to some of the garrison by the name of Davy. I saw the Indian in the garrison after his confession, some days, and was struck with the endeavors of the creature to conciliate good-will by smiling and affecting placability and a friendly disposition.

"The question was now what to do with him. From the mode of war carried on by the savages, they are not entitled to the laws of nations. But are we not bound by the laws of nature, to spare those that are in our power; and does not our right to put to death cease, when an enemy ceases to have it in his power to injure us. This diable boiteux, or devil on two sticks, as they may be called—his leg and his pole—would not seem to be likely to come to war again.

"In the meantime the widow [Mrs. Mary Williard] of the man who had been killed at Walthour's fort and mother of the young woman who had been taken prisoner and found tomahawked, accompanied by a deputation of the people of the settlement, came to the garrison, and addressing themselves to the commanding officer, demanded that the Indian should be delivered up that it might be done with him, as the widow and mother and relations of the deceased should think proper. After much deliberation, and the country being greatly dissatisfied that he was spared, and a great clamour prevailing through the settlement, it was thought advisable to let them take him, and he was accordingly delivered up to the militia of the party which came to demand him. He was put on a horse and carried off with a view to take him to the spot where the first mischief had been done (Walthour's fort). But, as they were carrying him along, his leg, the fracture of which by this time was almost healed, the surgeon of the garrison having attended to it, was broken again by a fall from the horse which had happened some way in the carrying him. The intention of the people was to summon a jury of the country and try him, at least for the sake of form, but, as they alleged, in order to ascertain whether he was the identical Indian that

had been of the party of Walthour's fort; though it was not very probable that he would have had an impartial trial, there having been a considerable prepossession against him.

"The circumstance of being an Indian would have been sufficient evidence to condemn him. The idea was, in case of a verdict against him, which seemed morally certain, to execute him, according to the Indian manner, by torture and burning. For the fate of [Colonel William] Crawford and others, was at this time in the minds of the people, and they thought retaliation a principle of natural justice. But while the jury were collecting, some time must elapse, that night at least; for he was brought to the fort, or blockhouse in the evening. Accordingly a strong guard was appointed to take care of him, while, in the meantime, one who had been deputed sheriff, went to summon a jury, and others to collect wood and materials for the burning, and to fix upon the place, which was to be the identical spot where he had received his wound, while about to scalp the man whom he had shot in the field, just as he was raising the scalp nalloo, twisting his hand in the hair of the head, and brandishing the scalping-knife. It is to be presumed that the guard may be said to be off their guard somewhat on account of the lameness of the prisoner, and the seeming impossibility that he could escape; but so it was, that while engaged in conversation on the burning that was to take place, or by some other means inattentive, he had climbed up at the remote corner of the blockhouse, where he was, and got to the joists, and thence upon the wall-plate of the blockhouse, and thence as was supposed got down on the outside between the roof and the wall-plate; for the blockhouse is so constructed that the roof overjuts the wall of the blockhouse, resting on the ends of the joists that protrude a foot or two beyond the wall, for the purpose of those within firing down upon the Indians, who may approach the house to set fire to it, or attempt the door. But so it was that, towards morning, the Indian was missed, and when the jury met, there was no Indian to be brought before them. Search had been made by the guard everywhere, and the jury joined in the search, and the militia went out in all directions, in order to track his course and regain the prisoner. But no discovery

could be made, and the guard were much blamed for the want of vigilance; though some supposed that he had been let go on the principle of humanity that they might not be under the necessity of burning him.

The search had been abandoned, but three days, when a lad looking for his horses, saw an Indian with a pole or long stick, just getting on one of them by the help of a log or trunk of a fallen tree; he had made a bridle of bark as it appeared which was on the horse's head and with which and his stick guiding the horse he set off at a smart trot, in a direction towards the frontier of the settlement. The boy was afraid to discover himself, or reclaim his horse, but ran home and gave the alarm, on which a party in the course of the day was collected and set out in pursuit of the Indian. They tracked the horse until it was dark, and were then obliged to lie by; and in the morning taking it again, they tracked the horse as before, but found the course varied taking into branches of streams to prevent pursuit, and which greatly delayed them, requiring considerable time tracing the stream and to find where the horse had taken the bank and come out; sometimes taking along hard ridges, though not directly in his course, where the tracks of the horse could not be seen; in this manner he had got on to the Allegheny river where they found the horse with the bark bridle, where he appeared to have been left but a short time before. The sweat was scarcely dry upon his sides; for the weather was warm and he appeared to have been ridden hard; the distance he had come was about ninety miles. It was presumed the Indian had swam the river, into the uninhabited (and what was then called the Indian) country, where it was unsafe for the small party that were in pursuit to follow.

"After the war, I took some pains to inform myself whether he had made his way good to the Indian towns, the nearest of which was Sandusky, at the distance of about two hundred miles; but it appeared that, after all his efforts, he had been unsuccessful, and had not reached home. He had been drowned in the river or famished in the woods, or his broken limb had occasioned his death."

The following account written by Ephraim Douglass at Fort Pitt (see Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. i, pp. 46-48), gives particulars, also, of the escape of the "Pet Indian:"

"Pittsburgh, July 26, 1782.

"My Dear General: Some three months ago, or thereabouts, a party of Indians made a stroke (as it is called in our country phrase) at a station [Walthour's] distinguished by the name of the owner of the place, Wolthower's (or as near as I can come to a German name), where they killed an old man and his sons, and captivated [captured] one of his daughters.

"This massacre was committed so near the fort that the people from within fired upon the Indians so successfully as to wound several and preventing their scalping the dead. The girl was carried to within six miles of this place, up the Allegheny river, where her bones were afterward found with manifest marks on her skull of having been then knocked on the head and scalped. One of the Indians who had been wounded in the leg, unable to make any considerable way and in this condition deserted by his companions, after subsisting himself upon the spontaneous productions of the woods for more than thirty successive days, crawled into this village in the most miserable plight conceivable. He was received by the military and carefully guarded till about five days ago, when, at the reiterated request of the relations of those unfortunate people whom he had been employed in murdering, he was delivered to four or five country warriors deputed to receive and conduct him to the place which had been the scene of his cruelties, distant about twenty-five miles. The wish, and perhaps the hope of getting some of our unfortunate captives restored to their friends for the release of this wretch, and the natural repugnance every man of spirit has to sacrificing uselessly the life of a fellow-creature whose hands are tied, to the resentment of an unthinking rabble, inclined the general to have his life spared, and to keep him still in close confinement. He was not delivered without some reluctance, and a pre-emptory forbiddance to put him to death without the concurrence of the magistrate and most respectable inhabitants of the district; they carried him, with every mark of exultation,

away. Thus far, I give it to you authentic; and this evening, one of the inhabitants returned to town, from Mr. Wolthower's neighborhood, who finishes the history of our pet Indian (so he was ludicrously called) in this manner: That a night or two ago, when his guards, as they ought to be, were in a profound sleep, our Indian stole a march upon them and has not since been seen or heard of.

"I may perhaps, give you the sequel of this history another day; at present, I bid you good-night; my eyes refuse to light me longer."

"Pittsburgh, 4th of August, 1782.

"Dear Sir: To continue my narrative—our pet Indian is certainly gone; he was seen a day or two after the night of his escape very well mounted, and has not since been seen or heard of; the heroes, however, who had him in charge, or some of their friends or connection, ashamed of such egregious stupidity, and desirous of being thought barbarous murderers rather than negligent block-heads, have propagated several very different reports concerning his supposed execution, all of them believed to be as false as they are ridiculous.

"EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

"To Gen'l William Irvine."

The following was the order issued by Irvine:

"You are hereby enjoined and required to take the Indian delivered into your charge by my order, and carry him safe into the settlement of Brush creek. You will afterwards warn two justices of the peace, and request their attendance at such place as they shall think proper to appoint, with several other reputable inhabitants. Until this is done and their advice and direction had in the matter, you are, at your peril not to hurt him nor suffer any person to do it. Given under my hand at Fort Pitt, July 21, 1782.

"To Joseph Studibaker, Francis Birely, Jacob Randolph, Jacob Birely, Henry Willard, and Frederick Willard."

POMEROY OR POMROY'S BLOCKHOUSE.

In the Derry settlement of Westmoreland county there were several stronghouses which were constantly kept ready for emergencies and to which settlers sometimes fled for protection. One of these was the house of Col. John Pomroy, a man highly spoken of by his neighbors and commended by those in authority for the performance of the official duties entrusted to him. He held a colonel's commission during the Revolution in the militia service, and was engaged in many of the short campaigns. His house stood about a mile from Barr's Fort, and a little off the line from the point to Wallace's Fort. The farm on which it stood is now owned by Mr. John C. Walkinshaw, and is about one-half a mile from Millwood Station (on the Penn'a railroad) towards New Derry village, on the main road.

WILSON'S BLOCKHOUSE.

Of like character to Col. Pomroy's domicile was that of Major James Wilson, also of the Derry settlement. This is now in the ownership of Mr. Benjamin Ruff's estate, and the farm is about a mile from New Derry village northeastward, and would be a little to the right, going from Barr's to Wallace's.

RUGH'S BLOCKHOUSE.

Michael Rugh came into Westmoreland in 1782 from Northampton county, Penna. He early built a large two-story log-house a little south of the present barn and a little above the spring on the farm now owned by Mr. John Rugh, a grandson of Jacob Rugh, third son of Michael. The farm is situate in Hempfield township, Westmoreland county, in what has long been known as the Rugh settlement, about two miles south of Greensburg, and near the County Home.

This house was what was regarded as "very large and strong, with holes to shoot through." What was left of the house was torn down in 1842, and up to that time it bore marks evident of the use to which it was in part intended.

Michael Rugh was a man of some prominence, especially in the latter part of the Revolution. He was elected Coroner in 1781, and was also, later in the same year, one of the Commissioners of Purchases, (*Arch.*, iii, 176, 2d Ser.), and a Common Pleas Judge in 1787, (*Rec.*, xv, 269).

Rugh's Blockhouse—probably the large house referred to specially fitted for defense—was a designated point where supplies were delivered and kept for distribution throughout the latter part of the War. Michael Huffnagle, the contractor for supplying the post of Fort Pitt with provisions, proposed to the Council, Dec. 20, 1781, "to supply the militia and ranging company for Westmoreland county, the ration to consist of the same article as for the continental troops, and to be paid for at the same rate, which is eleven pence half penny for every ration, in gold or silver,—to be delivered at Hannastown and Ligonier; and twelve pence per ration at Rook's [Rugh's] Blockhouse (Washington-Irvine Cor., 161, note.) This proposal is made through Christopher Hayes, Esq., Member of the Council from Westmoreland county."

What was known as the "old barn" on this farm is described by the older members of the Rugh family as a very large building built of large logs divided into four compartments, with holes commonly called port-holes in the walls. This building, we take it, was the remains of the structure erected for the storage of the supplies which were delivered here; and it might have been intended for harborage, as well. The structure was an uncommon one; and this fact well established by direct personal knowledge, taken in connection with other well known facts, such as those above referred to, would allow this circumstantial evidence to have the weight of positive proof.

There is an unbroken tradition of the people's fleeing to Rugh's Blockhouse from all the surrounding country after the attack on Hannastown. The place was well known, much frequented, and, beyond doubt, was a harborage on that occasion.

Rugh's name is spelled variously both in official documents

and in correspondence. It takes on such forms as Rugh, Ruch, Rough, and Rook. (See note to Hannastown—Michael Huffleagle's letter dated Fort Reed, July, 1782.)

FORT ALLEN. (HEMPFIELD TOWNSHIP.)

Fort Allen was the name given to a structure erected in "Hempfield township, Westmoreland county, between Wendel Oury's and Christopher Truby's," at the same time that Fort Shippen at Capt. John Proctor's, Shields' Fort and others of like character were erected, that is, in the summer of 1774. This structure was probably a stronghouse, or a blockhouse erected for the emergency and never required, so far as is known, for public use. It was named probably in honor of Andrew Allen, Esq., of the Supreme Executive Council. From the names of the signers, the locality was manifestly in the German settlement of Hempfield township to the northwest of Greensburg. No other mention of this place by that name is found. (See Rupp's West. Pa., Appx.) All knowledge of its exact location has passed away.

KEPPLE'S BLOCKHOUSE.

What was known as Kepple's Blockhouse was located on the farm of Michael Kepple in Hempfield township, Westmoreland county, about a mile and a half from Greensburg on the road leading to Salem (Delmont, P. O.) It was a stronghouse built of hewn logs on a stone foundation with loop-holes for rifles, and with all the exposures well protected by heavy planking. It was occupied as the residence of the owner but was resorted to by neighbors during the incursions of 1781-2. The farm is now owned by Mr. Samuel Ruff, whose wife, Sibilla was a daughter of Jacob Rugh, whose wife was the daughter of Michael Kepple, former owner. The remains of this strong-

house were still standing within living recollection. Some of the logs with notches in them which were intended for port-holes, may still be seen in a building on the place used for a corncrib.

STOKELY'S BLOCKHOUSE.

A blockhouse erected on the farm of Nehemiah Stokely, and called Stokely's Blockhouse, was well known and much frequented during the Revolution. It was located on the Big Sewickley creek within about a half mile of Waltz's mill, earlier called Carr's mill. It stood on an elevated ground from which one could see quite a distance round, excepting on the northward on which side there was a hill. The building was two-storied, the timber was all whip-sawed, and its sides were covered, at least in part with heavy boards; the roof was shingled and fastened with hammered nails made by the blacksmith.

A man by the name of Chambers was captured near this blockhouse by the Indians; he returned after a captivity of several years. The people about this blockhouse were much harrassed during the summer of 1782, and an armed force was kept constantly during that time at this blockhouse. [David Waltz, Esq., Waltz's Mill, Pa., MS.]

McDOWELL'S BLOCKHOUSE.

A blockhouse or stronghouse stood at a point in the village of Madison, Hempfield township, near one of the angles at the crossing of the Greensburg and West Newton road and the Clay pike from Somerset westward, on land now owned by Thomas Brown, called McDowell's Blockhouse, after the first occupant of the land. The late James B. Oliver, Esq., of West Newton, father of Mrs. Edgar Cowan, widow of the Hon.

Edgar Cowan, U. S. Senate, was born here, whither his parents had fled a few days before that event, for protection from the Indians. Mr. Oliver was born in 1781. This land was at that time in the nominal occupancy of Thomas Hughes and was sometimes called Hughes'. It adjoined land of James Cavett, (Cavet), one of the Commissioners with Robert Hanna to locate a county town at the time of the organization of the county, and passed to him in 1786, to whom it was surveyed in the name of Thomas Hughes. It was within the limits of the Sewickley settlement.

MARCHAND'S BLOCKHOUSE.

What was called a blockhouse, but what was probably a stronghouse which was situated on what was better known as the Doctor David Marchand farm, on the north fork of the Little Sewickley in Millersdale, Hempfield township, about four miles southwest of Greensburg, has been connected with the Revolution as a place of refuge against the Indians. Rev. Cyrus Cort, of Wyoming, Delaware, writes: "It is one of the traditions of our family that my great grandfather, John Yost Cort, had charge, in perilous times, of the women and children in that 'fort'." (M. B. Kifer, Esq., of Adamsburg, Pa., furnishes MS. authorities.)

FORT SHIPPEN, AT CAPT. JOHN PROCTOR'S.

Among the petitions sent to the Governor in 1774, incident to the apprehension of an Indian war, was one from "Fort Shippen, at Capt. John Proctor's." (Arch., iv, 534.) The petition sets forth, in part, "That there is great reason to fear that this part of the country will soon be involved in an Indian war. That the consequences will most probably be very striking; as the country is in a very defenseless state, without any places of strength or any stock of ammunition or necessary

stores. * * * * In these circumstances, next to the Almighty, they look to your Honour and hope you will take their case into consideration, and afford them such relief as your Honor will see meet."

The structure was named doubtless in honor of Edward Shippen, Esq., one of the Council.

John Proctor was a very conspicuous man in the early history of the county. He was commissioned to various offices by the Penns, which he held in Cumberland and Bedford counties, prior to the erection of Westmoreland. He was the first sheriff of Westmoreland county; took an active part in the affairs of 1775 at the outbreak of the Revolution; was Colonel of the First Battalion of Associators organized in pursuance of the Resolutions of 16th of May, 1775, at Hannastown. The flag of the battalion—a rattlesnake flag—is still in possession of Mrs. Margaret Craig of New Alexandria, Pa. He raised a company of riflemen in the early summer of 1776 with Van Swearingen, and joined the continental army with it where he served with Washington for a short campaign. He then returned to Westmoreland; was a strong candidate for Colonel of the battalion authorized by Congress to be raised in Westmoreland and Bedford, but was unsuccessful, Col. Mackay being selected for that office; was appointed paymaster of the militia of Westmoreland county, Sept. 13, 1776, and, shortly after, with Thomas Galbraith, was appointed commissioner in pursuance of an ordinance passed by the Council of Safety, Oct. 21st, 1777, to seize upon the personal effects of those who had deserted to the King of Great Britain, General William Irvine, Commander of the Western Department, addressed a letter to Col. John Gibson from "Proctor's," Jan., 1782. (Wash.-Irv. Cor., 349.)

Proctor was a neighbor of Col. Archibald Lochry, Lieutenant of the County; his place of residence was in Unity township near a stream called Twelve Mile Run, about three miles from Latrobe, and called seven miles from Hannastown. It was not far from the Forbes Road. The structure called Fort Shippen was erected probably in the early part of the summer of 1774, as on June 3d it is reported "many families [about Hannastown] returning to this [eastern] side of the moun-

tains, others are about building of forts in order to make a stand," (Arch., iv, 505), and "a fort is to be built at Capt. John Proctor's" (Arch., iv, 507). By the directions and authority of Arthur St. Clair, during that season, twenty men were stationed here. (Arch., iv, 504.) It is probable the place was frequently resorted to during the Revolution in time of excitement and fear, although no public or other mention is made of the blockhouse or stronghold after the period of its erection; but "Proctor's" is mentioned frequently.

LOCHRY'S BLOCKHOUSE.

Reference is sometimes made in the Archives to Lochry's Blockhouse. This structure was built on the farm occupied by Col. Archibald Lochry, the County Lieutenant, whose farm was situate on a small stream called the Twelve Mile Run, from which he sometimes dates his correspondence. This stream joins another called the Fourteen Mile run which empties into the Loyalhanna about a mile eastward of Latrobe. The residence of Lochry would be now in Unity township, near the turnpike from Youngstown to Greensburg on the right hand side going in that direction and between the turnpike and St. Vincent's Monastery.

Col. Lochry in a letter to President Reed dated April 17th, 1781, (Arch., ix, 79), recounts the circumstances which impelled him to erect this building. He says: "The savages have begun their hostilities; since I came from Phila. they have struck us in four different places—have taken and killed thirteen persons with a number of horses and other effects of the inhabitants. Two of the unhappy people were killed one mile from Hannastown. Our country is worse depopulated than ever it has been. * * * There is no ammunition in the country, but what is public property; when the Hostilities commenced, the people came to me from all Quarters for ammunition, and assured me that if I did not supply them out of the public magazine, they would not attempt to stand. Under the Circumstances I gave out a large Quantity, and would be glad to have your Excellencies approbation, as I am certain this

County would have been evacuated had I not have supplied them with that necessary.

"I have built a magazine for the state stores, (in the form of a Blockhouse) that will be defended with a very few men. I have never kept men to guard it as yet, and will be happy to have your Excellencys Orders to keep a Sergeants Guard at our small magazine, the consequence of moving to the interior parts of the Country would discourage those people on the Frontiers who have so long supported it."

To this communication President Reed replied, May 2d. 1781, (Arch., ix, 115.). "With respect to Ammunition we have had the greatest Difficulty to procure it, there not being one thousand pounds of Lead in this City (Phila.). You and the Gentlemen of the County will therefore see the indispensable Necessity of using it with Frugality and preventing all Waste. * * * * With Respect to the Magazine built near your House, Council do by no means approve of it, as they think the collecting of all ammunition at one Place is exposing it to the Enemy, and they do not wish to encourage the erecting Buildings without being previously consulted. Instead, therefore, of keeping the whole ammunition at one Place, we would choose it should be kept at sundry Places. The establishing a Serjeant's Guard therefore appears unnecessary."

Of this blockhouse we have found no further mention. At that very time Col. Lochry was making arrangements to gather a force of Westmorelanders to co-operate with General George Rogers Clark in his projected expedition against the Indians in the northwest. It was Lochry's hope that by distressing the savages by means of an active campaign carried on against them in their own country, some relief might be brought to the afflicted frontiers of that county which he had served so long and so well. That he was harrassed and distressed and worried beyond all measure in the performance of his official duties, there can be no doubt; as his correspondence preserved in the Archives abundantly shows. Later in the season he left with the forces which he had gathered together to join Clark at Wheeling. He never returned. With him perished the most of his men—among whom were many of the best frontiersmen of the county.

PHILIP KLINGENSMITH'S HOUSE.

Col. James Perry writes to President Reed from "Westmoreland County, Savikley [Sewickley], July 2d, 1781," (Arch., ix, 240) :—"This morning a small garrison at Philip Clingensmith's (Klingensmith's), about eight miles from this, and four or five miles from Hannastown, consisting of between twenty and thirty men, women and children was destroyed; only three made their escape: The particulars I cannot well inform you, as the party that was sent to bury the dead are not yet returned, and I wait every moment to hear of or perhaps see them strike at some other place. The party was supposed to be about seventeen, and I am apt to think there are still more of them in the settlements."

James Perry was one of the eight delegates that Westmoreland sent to the Convention which met in Philadelphia, July 14th, 1776, to frame a constitution. He was a colonel of militia and an active citizen during all these times. In 1781 was a commissioner of supplies. He resided in the Sewickley settlement in Westmoreland county.

The Klingensmiths belonged to what is called the Brush creek, and sometimes the Manor, settlement; and although the exact location of Philip Klingensmith's house is unknown, it is certain that this place was a favorable one for the settlers thereabout. Philip Klingensmith with his family, of which Peter Klingensmith was one, were early settlers; their names being among those who signed the petition to Governor Penn in 1774, headed at "Fort Allen, Hempfield Township, between Wendel Oury's and Christopher Trubee's." The name is there spelled Klingelschmit; and his neighbors were Peter Wannemacher, Adam Bricker, the Altmans, Baltzer Moyer, Jacob Hauser, and others whose names are familiar in that region and who were of German lineage. The name is also associated with the Byerleys, the Walthours, and others with whom they were connected by marriage. The place was sometimes called Fort Klingensmith, (see "Col. Henry Bouquet and His Times" by Rev. Cyrus Cort, p. 92.). It is probable that the old house stood somewhere on the farm now owned by Daniel Mull, in Penn township, Westmoreland county, about three miles

northeast of Manor station on the Pennsylvania railroad, about one and a half miles northwest of Harrison City village, and about half a mile westward from Brush creek. This supposition is founded on the line of title to lands which about that time were in the seizin of Philip Klingensmith. This situation was on the line of the Brush creek settlement and was an exposed one. While the tradition is a pronounced one in all the neighborhood that the Klingensmith house was what is usually called a block-house, there is no positive assurance derivable from any source as to its exact location. On this point we would not, therefore, assert a positive opinion, for there are some who believe that the location of the house was on what is best known as the Bigelow farm, which is now on the northeastern margin of the borough of Jeannette, and about a mile from the Pennsylvania railroad, on the old road from Greensburg. This was one of the Klingensmith farms, of which there were a number. Although diligent inquiry was made, no information more definite than this given, has been obtained. The traditions of the place vary. This last point would be near two miles from the former.

The Brush creek settlement suffered much from Indian depredations from an early day. On the 26th of Feb., 1769, "about twenty miles east of Pittsburgh, on the main road leading over the mountains, eighteen persons—men, women and children—were either killed or taken prisoners." Such marauds were distressingly frequent—especially in 1781 and 1782. It had become the custom of the Commandants at Fort Pitt to send out small squads of soldiers to protect the inhabitants while they gathered in the harvest. (See Walthour's Fort.) In the letter of Col. Perry, quoted above, he speaks of a small garrison there at the time. It may be inferred that the unusual number of people there was incident to the gathering of the harvest, as well as to the terror of the times. Col. Lochry writes July 4th, 1781, (Arch., ix, 247), "We have very distressing times here this summer. The enemy are almost constantly in our county killing and captivating the inhabitants."

GASPARD MARKLE'S HOUSE AND STATION.

Gaspard Markle in 1770 removed from Berks county, Pa., to Westmoreland. From a biographical sketch prepared from data furnished by his descendants it is said that "for several years after the settlement of the family in Westmoreland the neighboring settlements on the Allegheny and Kiskiminetas were harassed by the Indians, and the residence of Gaspard Markle was the post of refuge to which the settlers fled for succor and safety." Gaspard Markle was the ancestor of the Markle family long identified with the financial and political affairs of Western Pennsylvania. His house stood on the Sewickley creek in South Huntingdon township, about two miles from (now) West Newton. The present owner is George W. Markle. Markle's Mills were among the oldest in Western Pennsylvania, built as early as 1772. The forces of Col. Lochry in his expedition of 1781 to join Clark, made this place an objective point, and the last letter of Lochry to President Reed is dated from Miracle's [Markle's] Mill, Aug. 4th, 1781 (Arch., ix, 333)—properly called Maracle's Mill" in the Journal of Lieut. Isaac Anderson (Arch., xiv, 685, 2d Ser.).

"Markle's" is spoken of late in the Revolution, and sometimes it is referred to as Markle's Station. It was a part of the Sewickley settlement, the people of which were to a great extent mutually dependent on each other. At times many families were gathered together here. Among the first settlers hereabout were the Simralls, the Blackburns, the Fultons, Isaac Robb. Somewhat later George Plumer located in that neighborhood. Jonathan Plumer, his father, was a Commissary in Braddock's Expedition, (1755), and in 1761 he made improvements near Fort Pitt by permission of Col. Bouquet. His son George Plumer, was born on this improvement in 1762. He is said to have been the first child born of British-American parents in the British Dominions west of the Allegheny Mountains—that is after this portion of the country had been adjudged by the treaty of peace to England. This treaty of peace was signed at Fontainebleau, Nov. 3d, 1762, and Geo. Plumer was born Dec. 5th, of the same year. He died June 8th, 1843.

FORT BURD—REDSTONE OLD FORT.

The first occupancy of the place known as Redstone Old Fort was by Capt. Trent for the Ohio Company, who erected here, in February, 1754, a strong storehouse for their supplies and munitions. In the *Journal of M. Coulon de Villiers*, who commanded the French at the affair at Fort Necessity, it is thus described:

"June the 30th.—Came to the Hangard,* which was a sort of fort built with logs, one upon another, well notched in, about thirty feet in length and twenty in breadth; and as it was late and would not do anything without consulting the Indians, I encamped about two musket-shots from that place. At night I called the sachems together, and we consulted upon what was best to be done for the safety of our periaguas [large canoes], and of the provisions left in reserve, as also what guard should be left to keep it.

"July the 1st.—Put our periaguas in a safe place. Our effects and everything we could do without we took into the Hangard, where we left one good sergeant with twenty men and some sick Indians. Ammunition was afterward distributed, and we began our march."

This force was sent out by the French, who had lately taken possession at the Forks of the Ohio, to intercept Washington, who was on his way from Wills creek with a force of Virginians and Provincials to occupy the same region. Washington's instructions, in the words of Gov. Dinwiddie, were as follows: (2.)

"By the advice of my Council, I gave orders to the Commander-in-Chief [Col. Fry] to collect his Forces together at Wills creek and march over the Allegheny Mountains; if he find it impossible to dispossess the French of the Fort, he is to build a Fort at Redstone creek, the crossing Place [Gist's?], or any other place proper that may be determined by the Council of War."

Washington, however, was obliged to capitulate at Fort Necessity, and so returned with his forces without getting

*The Hangard appears to be confused with Redstone Old Fort. The Hangard was located in the flat just north of the confluence of the Redstone creek with the Monongahela, in the obtuse angle, and at least half a mile north of the site of Redstone Old Fort which was on an eminence near the mouth of Nemocollin's Creek, later known as Dunlap's Creek, the location of which is determined perfectly by the old well still visible Jas. Hadden.

further than that point. No further attempt was made to occupy Redstone Old Fort during the French occupancy.

In the latter part of 1759, Col. James Burd was sent out with two hundred men, by order of Col. Bouquet, then commanding the King's troops at Carlisle, to open and complete the road which had been opened by Braddock, to the Monongahela river, at or near the mouth of Redstone,* and there erect a fort. The English, under Gen. Stanwix, were, about the same time, commencing to build Fort Pitt, at the head of the Ohio.(3.) The great object of Col. Burd's expedition was to facilitate communications with this important fort from Maryland and Virginia, by using the river.

Col. Burd was instructed, when he had cut the road and finished the fort, to leave one officer and twenty-five men, and march with the remainder of his battalion to Pittsburgh. In his Journal for Saturday, 22nd of September [1759], he says: "This morning I went to the River Monongahela, reconnoitred Redstone, &c., and concluded upon the place for the post, being a hill in the fork of the River Monongahela and Nemo-collin's Creek, the best situation I could find, and returned in the evening to camp."

Fort Burd was erected on the site of "Redstone Old Fort;" but in common, or even official designation, could never supplant it, in its name. (4.) According to the science of backwoods fortification in those days, it was a regularly constructed work of defense, with bastions, ditch and draw-bridge; built, however, wholly of earth and wood. The bastions and central "house" were of timbers laid horizontally; the "curtains" were of logs set in the ground vertically, like posts, in close contact—called a stockade or palisades.

In the twelfth volume of the Penna. Archives, page 347, are the plan and dimensions of the fort, as found among the papers of Jos. Shippen, an engineer, etc., who accompanied Col. Burd: "The curtain, 97½ feet; the flanks, 16 feet; the faces of the bastions, 30 feet. A ditch, between the bastions 24 feet wide, and opposite the faces, 12 feet. The log-house for a magazine, to contain the women and children, 39 feet square. A gate 6 feet wide and 8 feet high; and a draw-bridge,—feet wide."

*See Appendix 6.

From this description has been constructed the accompanying diagram:

The gallant colonel had rather a hard time of it, in constructing this fort. "I have," says he, "kept the people constantly employed on the works since my arrival; although we have been for eight days past upon the allowance of one pound of beef and half a pound of flour per man a day; and this day we begin upon one pound of beef, not having an ounce of flour left, and only three bullocks. I am, therefore, obliged to give over working until I receive some supplies." He, however, soon got some supplies, and held on. The following is from his journal: "Oct. 28.—Sunday.—Continue on the works; had sermon in the fort." The last entry is: "Nov. 4.—Sunday.—Snowed to-day; no work. Sermon in the fort. Dr. Allison sets out for Philadelphia."

"The Fort was not designated to be a place of great strength for danger. Col. Burd garrisoned it with one officer and 25 men. How long the garrison held it is unknown. But it seems to have been under some kind of military possession in 1774, during "Dunmore's War;" and during the Revolution and the contemporary Indian troubles, it was used as a store-house and a rallying point for defense, supply and observation by the early settlers and adventurers. It was never rendered famous by a siege or a sally. We know that the late Col. James Paull served a month's duty in a drafted militia company, in guarding continental stores here, in 1778. It is said that in and prior to 1774, Capt. Michael Cresap (who has unjustly acquired an odious fame by being charged with the murder of Logan's family), made this fort the center of operations for a long period. He was a man of great daring and influence on the frontier. He early acquired a kind of Virginia right to the land around the fort, which he improved, erecting upon it a hewed log, shingle-roofed house—the first of that grade in the settlement. He held his title for many years, and sold out to John McCullough, or to Thomas, or Bazil Brown, to whom a patent from Pennsylvania was issued in 1785." (5.)

The incidents related in the following extract belong to a period of time shortly after the erection of the fort. It is taken from Wither's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*:

"Thomas Decker and some others commenced a settlement on the Monongahela river, at the mouth of what is now Decker's Creek. In the ensuing spring it was entirely broken up by a party of Delawares and Mingoës, and the greater part of its inhabitants murdered.

"There was at this time at Brownsville a fort, then known as Redstone Fort, under the command of Captain Paull. One of Decker's party escaped from the Indians who destroyed the settlement, and making his way to Fort Redstone, gave to its commander the melancholy intelligence. The garrison being too weak to admit of sending a detachment in pursuit, Capt. Paull dispatched a runner with the information to Capt. John Gibson, then stationed at Fort Pitt. Leaving the fort under the command of Lieut. Williamson, Capt. Gibson set out with thirty men to intercept the Indians, on their return to their towns.

"In consequence of the distance which the pursurers had to go, and the haste with which the Indians had retreated, the expedition failed in its object; they, however, accidentally came on a party of six or seven Mingoës, on the head of Cross Creek, in Ohio [near Steubenville]; these had been prowling about the river, below Fort Pitt, seeking an opportunity of committing depredations. As Capt. Gibson passed the point of a small knoll, just after day-break, he came unexpectedly upon them—some of them lying down; the others were sitting round a fire, making thongs of green hides. Kiskepila, or Little Eagle, a Mingo chief, headed the party. So soon as he discovered Capt. Gibson, he raised the war-whoop and fired his rifle—the ball passed through Gibson's hunting shirt and wounded a soldier just behind him. Gibson sprang forward, and swinging his sword with herculean force, severed the head of the Little Eagle from his body. Two other Indians were shot down, and the remainder escaped to their towns on Muskingum."

"When the captives, who were restored under the treaty of 1763, came in, those who were at the Mingo town when the remnant of Kiskepila's party returned, stated that the Indians represented Gibson as having cut off Little Eagle's head with a long knife. Several of the white persons were then

sacrificed to appease the manes of Kiskepila; and a war dance ensued, accompanied with terrific shouts and bitter denunciations of revenge on the Big Knife warrior. This name was soon after applied to the Virginia militia generally; and to this day they are known among the northwestern Indians as the "Long Knives," or "Long Knife Nation."

These are believed to have been the only attempts to effect a settlement of Northwestern Virginia, prior to the close of the French war. The capture of Fort Duquesne and the erection and garrisoning of Fort Pitt, although they gave to the English an ascendancy in that quarter, yet they did not so far check the hostile irruptions of the Indians as to render a residence in that portion of Virginia by any means secure. It was consequently not attempted till some years after the restoration of peace, in 1765.

During Pontiac's war the post was abandoned for want of men. (6.)

The following extract from Campbell's History of Virginia refers to the outbreak of Dunmore's war, 1774:

"Apprized of impending danger, many of the inhabitants on the frontiers of Northwestern Virginia retired into the interior, before any depredations were committed in the upper country; some took refuge in forts which had been previously built, while others, collecting together at particular houses, converted them into temporary fortresses, answering well the purposes of protection to those who sought shelter in them. Fort Redstone, which had been erected after the successful expedition of Gen Forbes, and Fort Pitt, at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, afforded an asylum to many. Several private forts were likewise established in various parts of the country; and everything which individual exertion could effect, to insure protection to the border inhabitants was done."

The following particulars are taken from Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, into which they were copied, by permission, from a manuscript sketch by James L. Bowman, Esq. He afterward sent the sketch to the American Pioneer, where it appeared in February, 1843:

"The name given to the fort at that time constructed was "Fort Burd;" but so accustomed had the traders and hunters

been with that of "Redstone Old Fort," that they did not abandon it. Blockhouses were also erected, but how long it remained a stationed military post we cannot state; certain it is, however, that it pre-eminently was a place of rendezvous for the white men, who acted as spys to watch the movements of the numerous tribes of Indians inhabiting the head waters of the Ohio and tributaries; and when settlements were made on the west side of the Allegheny ridge, it was resorted to as a place of concentration for defense in cases of alarm or expected attacks. * * * * This fort was Capt. Cresap's rallying place for himself and those under his direction. Thither they resorted at stated periods to interchange views and adopt plans for future action; or at more congenial times, when the warlike dispositions of the red men were lulled into inaction, and the tomahawk and scalping-knife, stained with the blood of innocent victims, were converted into emblems of the chase."

From the same authority, in speaking of the Indian war which broke upon the frontier in 1777, we have the following:

"In the commencement of Indian depredations on north-western Virginia, during this war, the only places of refuge for the inhabitants, besides private forts and blockhouses, were at Pittsburgh, Redstone, Wheeling and Point Pleasant. Garrisons had been maintained at Fort Pitt and Redstone, ever after their establishment, and fortresses were erected at the two latter places in 1774. They all seemed to afford an asylum to many when the Indians were known to be in the country, but none of them had garrisons strong enough to admit of detachments being sent to act offensively against the invaders. All that they could effect was the repulsion of assaults made on them and the expulsion from their immediate neighborhoods of small marauding parties of the savage enemy.

"The establishment, from 1770 to 1774, of several stockade forts at different points on the Ohio, with intermediate private ones and blockhouses, restricted the operations of the savages pretty much to the west side of that stream, and intercepted marauding parties upon the settlements upon the east side. Security being thus given to the settlements on the

Monongahela, induced others to join, and the country became rapidly depopulated. In 1785, the town of Brownsville was laid out the site of the old fortification."

In January, 1778, Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark, who had planned a secret expedition against the Illinois country, then in possession of England, arrived in the Western Department to enlist soldiers for the enterprise. By the end of the month, he had all his recruiting parties properly disposed, and at Redstone Old Fort he prepared books, light artillery and ammunition." (Wash-Irv. Cor., 15.)

At this point the Virginians in the civil troubles of 1774 held frequent musters (Arch., iv, 481), and the first public meeting of the discontents during the whiskey insurrection was held here, July 27th, 1791.

Notes to Fort Burd—Redstone.

- (1.) The Hangard—Storehouse.
- (2.) Records, vi, 137.
- (3.) Col. Mercer reports to Gov. Denny, from Pittsburgh, September 15, 1759 (Arch. iii, 685), that Col. Burd was forming a post at Redstone creek.
- (4.) The Monongahela of Old, p. 30.
- (5.) Id, p. 32.
- (6.) Bouquet to Maj. Gladian, August 28, 1763.—In Fort Pitt, by Darlington, p. 144.

SETTLERS' FORTS IN FAYETTE COUNTY.*

In the following mention of settlers' forts and blockhouses which were erected within the limits of what is now Fayette county, we have followed literally the account of them given by the late Judge James Veech in his *Monongahela of Old*, and the extracts are indicated in each instance by quotation marks. This authority is so excellent and the book so rare

*For description of fort at Stewart's Crossings see Appendix 9.

that the insertion of these extracts here is made without comment. At the time he wrote (the title page bearing the imprint 1858, but his material was collated earlier) he had difficulty in obtaining the little information he imparted, although his opportunities were good and his zeal apparent. The historical mention of any of these forts is vague and unsatisfactory. The reason is obvious. These structures were erected in the earliest periods of the settlements; and were first needful at the outbreak of Dunmore's War, 1774. After that war there were few incursions of the savages in force east of the Monongahela. These structures, such as they were, in most instances were erected in that emergency, although some of them were in use much later.

Fayette county was not erected until September 26th, 1783, when it was taken out of Westmoreland county; but the name of the county is used to designate the locality of these forts as we are now accustomed from association to speak of them.

I am indebted to James Ross, Esq., of High House, Fayette county, Pa., for much aid in locating these structures with regard to their present surroundings; and also to the gentlemen of the Fayette County Historical Society for favors and courtesies.

"The territory of Fayette county," says James Veech, the historian of this region, "was, after the end of the old French War in 1763 and during all the period of its early settlement, remarkably exempt from all those terrific incursions of the savages which made forting so common and necessary in the surrounding country. Hence, we have but few Settlers' Forts, and those few of but little note.

These forts were erected by the associated effort of settlers in particular neighborhoods, upon the land of some one whose name was thereupon given to the fort, as Ashcraft's, Morris,' etc. They consisted of a greater or less space of land, enclosed on all sides by high log parapets or stockades, and cabins adapted to the abode of families. The only external openings were a large puncheon gate and small port-holes among the logs, through which the unerring rifle of the settler could be pointed against the assailants. Sometimes, as

at Lindley's, and many of the other forts in the adjacent country west of the Monongahela, additional cabins were erected outside the fort, for temporary abode in times of danger, from which the sojourners could, in case of attack, retreat within the fort. All these erections were of rough logs, covered with clap boards and weight poles, the roofs sloping inwards. A regular-built fort, of the first class, had at its angles, blockhouses, and sometimes a ditch protected a vulnerable part. These blockhouses projected a little past the line of the cabins, and the upper half was made to extend some two feet further, like the over-jut of a barn, so as to leave an overhanging space, secured against entrance by heavy log floors, with small port-holes for repelling close attacks, or attempts to dig down, or fire the forts. These rude defences were very secure, were seldom attacked, and seldom, if ever, captured. They were always located upon open, commanding eminences, sufficiently remote from coverts and wooded heights to prevent surprise." [Mon. of Old, p. 21.

MINTER'S FORT.

"One of the earliest erected forts of the kind described by Veech, was by John Minter, the Stevensons, Crawfords and others, on land of the former, since Blackiston, then Ebenezer Moore." * * * * John Minter made improvements in 1769; obtained his land on Virginia warrant calling for four hundred acres. Surveyed December 17, 1785, found to contain three hundred and ninety-seven and one-fourth acres and allowance. Entered February 7th, 1780. Situate near the Youghiogheny and Jacobs creek in Upper Tyrone township, about a mile and a half westwardly of Pennsville. On land now of the H. C. Frick Coke Co., about three-fourths of a mile southwest of Tinsman's Station, on the Mount Pleasant and Broadford railroad.

GADDIS' FORT.

"There was one on the old Thomas Gaddis farm where Basil Brownfield now (1858) lives. But what was its real name we cannot certainly learn, or by whom or when erected; probably, however, by Col. Gaddis, as he was an early settler, and a man of large public spirit." (Veech.)

Col. Thomas Gaddis was third in command in Crawford's unfortunate expedition. (Wash.-Irvine Cor., 365.)

Situate in Georges township, south of Uniontown, about two miles, near the road leading from Uniontown to Morgantown, W. Va., on land now owned by the Brownfields. The site of the old fort is on that part which is still called the Brownfield farm, in the ownership of Isaac A. Brownfield, a son of Basil Brownfield. It was still standing when Daniel Boone with his company of settlers went by it on his way to Kentucky; as the association of his name with it came from the circumstance of his camping near it with his companions. (James Ross, Esq., MS.) It is known as Gaddis's Fort. The approximate location of the fort, as preserved in the memory of those who had seen some remains of it (probably the stockade excavations), is about one hundred and fifty rods from the residence of the present owner and occupier.

PEARSE'S FORT.

"Pearse's Fort was on the Catawba Indian trail, about four miles from Uniontown, near the residence of William and John Jones, in North Union township. Some old Lombardy poplars, recently fallen (1858), denoted its site." It was erected on what was called the Isaac Pearse tract, a part of which is in the ownership of the Jones family.

CRAFT'S FORT.

"Craft's Fort was on land of John Craft, about one mile northwest of Merrittstown. Its name is forgotten." (Veech,

1858.) This fort was sometimes called Patterson's Fort. It was originally the dwelling-house of the owner of the land, was built about 1773 or '74, and stood about one and a half miles northward of Merrittstown, Fayette county, on the farm owned by John Craft, then Daniel Sharpnack, and latterly by Doctor Henry Eastman. During the summer of 1774 and afterward in the early years of the Revolution, the settlers there were kept in a state of constant fear from the Indians, who were very troublesome, so much so that a stockade was built around the fort, enclosing a considerable area of ground. The women remained here while the men attended to their usual agricultural pursuits. A number of children were born in this fort; and the fact is well preserved that a number of dogs owned by the frontiersmen were kept here and utilized for guards. The last person who lived in what originally had been the fort house (so called) was William G. Sharpnack, who occupied it from 1876 to 1881. The structure was destroyed about the year 1885." (Wm. G. Sharpnack, MS.)

LUCAS' FORT.

"One of considerable capacity was erected on the old Richard Brown farm, now (1858) Fordice, near the Presbyterian frame meeting-house, in Nicholson township." * * * Now the Pierce Griffin farm. It was built on the hill a short distance from the house. Mr. Griffin has lived here nearly all his life; he was born September 2d, 1809. He had a sister born in what was called the old fort. Tradition preserves the report of a fight between the settlers and Indians near it.

SWEARINGEN'S FORT.*

"Swearingen's Fort was in Springhill township, near the cross-road from Cheat river towards Brownsville. It derived its name from John Swearingen, who owned the land on which it stood, or from his son Van Swearingen, afterwards sheriff

*The site was marked recently by the erection of a metal tablet, when a descendant of Van Swearingen, Judge John C. Van Swearingen made an address.

of Washington county, a captain in the Revolution and in the frontier wars, and whose nephew of the same name fell at St. Clair's defeat."

The Swearingen Fort was on the Catharine Swearingen tract of 468 acres, surveyed April 17th, 1786; not more than one mile from Morris' Cross Roads. It stood on a knoll; the spot can be pointed out definitely. Duke Swearingen was captured by the Indians near it while fetching the cows. He never returned.

"The fort was built of split puncheon and dirt [stockade], and covered a large space of ground. There are no signs of the old fort visible, except what is indicated by the surface of the ground being at this place a little higher than the surface immediately around it." (Geo. H. Swearingen, MS.) The land originally was owned by John S. Van Swearingen; it is now owned by the heirs of Michael Crow, dec'd. This fort was made in 1774.

McCoy's Fort.*

"McCoy's Fort, erected on the land of James McCoy, stood where now stands the barn of William C. Dixon, the present owner (formerly Eli Bailey), in South Union township."

"James McCoy, upon locating here, built a log cabin which was situated at the foot of the Bailey orchard. Very soon, however, this cabin was reconstructed and made into 'McCoy's Fort,' which was the rendezvous for all the immediate neighbors in times of danger, the 'Col. Thomas Gaddis' Fort' being two miles away to the southwest." (Hist. of Fayette County, Pub. Everts & Co., Phila., 1882, p. 681.)

FORT RIFFLE.†

Fort Riffle, situate in Nicholson township, was built by Nicholas Riffle, about 1779-80. Court was held in it in 1782, Virginia jurisdiction. It was also the voting place for

*The site of McCoy's Fort is now owned by the Uniontown Country Club, and their clubhouse stands near the fine spring that was enclosed within the old stockade. Jas. Hadden.

†See Appendix 7.

German, Georges, and Springhill townships until after the second election of James Monroe. A few logs of the original structure remain. The site is owned by Mr. James Richey, and is near the Lutheran church.

CASELL'S (CASTLE) FORT.

Cassell's Fort or Castle Fort was on the Monongahela river just above the mouth of Little Redstone, at or near the site of an old Indian fort (so called), which "Indians forts" were plentiful in the Fayette county region. "The sites of the 'old forts' were sometimes chosen for settlers forts. This was the case with the site on the Goe land, just above the mouth of Little Redstone, where, as already stated, was a settlers' fort, was Cassell's, or Castle." (Veech.) Nothing further has been learned of this fort.

ASHCRAFT'S FORT.

"Ashcraft's Fort stood on the land of the late Jesse Evans, Esq., where Phineas Sturgis lived, in Georges township. Tradition tells of a great alarm and resort to this fort, on one occasion. It appears that to this eminence the early settlers were wont, in times of danger, daily to resort, to reconnoitre the country, sometimes climbing trees, to see whether any Indians had crossed the borders, by which they judged by the smoke of their camps. This hill commanded a view from the mountains to the Monongahela, and from Cheat Hills far to the northward. On this occasion, the alarm being given, the settlers from all over the country with their wives and children, guns and provisions, flocked to Ashcraft's Fort. Happily, the alarm proved false; and the tradition of the occurrences remains to this day." (Veech.)

Ashcraft's Fort, built by Ichabod Ashcraft, near a spring on

a tract of land called Buffalo Pasture. Patented May 29th, 1770. Owned now by Benjamin Goodwin. This fort was, as were nearly all the old settlers' forts in that region, a two-story log blockhouse with stockade.

MASON'S FORT.*

Mason's Fort, at Masontown, was built by John Mason, between 1774-78. The site belongs to S. T. Gray, and is near a spring in his field east of town. The structure was removed into Masontown by John Debold in 1823, and utilized as a "pot shop." It is now standing on the west side of Main street in Masontown; is weather-boarded and used as a dwelling-house. Owned by Mrs. Isaac N. Hague. (James Ross, Esq., MS.)

CONWELL'S FORT.

A fort, or blockhouse, was built by Jehu and Capt. William Conwell in 1774, on the Colman plantation, on the west side of Dunlap's creek, near Merrittstown. (Veech).

In the History of Fayette County, published by L. H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia, 1882, it is said: "Jehu Conwell and his brother, Capt. Wm. Conwell, settled within the limits of this (Luzerne) township in June, 1767. * * * * The country was at that time infested by savages and wild beasts, but with neither had the settlers then any trouble, for the former were friendly, and the latter not so much inclined to pursue man as afraid of themselves being pursued. By and by, however, the Indians began to show signs of hostility, and the Conwells thought it advisable to withdraw for a brief season to a more populous locality. In August, 1772, Jehu returned to his old home in Delaware, in October was married, and in November of the same year set out with his wife for the Luzerne clearing.

Existence was comparatively quiet and uneventful until 1774, when Indian aggression set in earnest. Jehu Conwell and

*Mason's Fort was later owned by Morgan H. Deffenbaugh who tore it down preparatory to the erection of a modern building. A metal tablet was placed on the original site recently. Jas. Hadden.

his brother, Capt. William, then bestirred themselves and started the project of building a fort. A site was selected upon the Colman plantation, on the West side of Dunlap's creek, not much more than half a mile from Merrittstown, on the place now (1882) occupied by Harrison Henshaw. There a blockhouse was hastily constructed, to include within its inclosure the spring near the present Henshaw house. Assisted and directed by the Conwell's, the settlers had the fort completed in quick time, and in May, 1774, it was occupied. There appears to be no evidence that the fort was ever attacked, or that the people living in that portion of Luzerne met with serious injury at the hands of the savages, although they were for a time in great terror for fear of Indians. Several children are said to have been born within the fort during 1774. One was Ruth, daughter of Capt. Wm. Conwell. She married Abram Armstrong. Another was a daughter of Jehu Conwell. She married Judge Wm. Ewing. After the autumn of 1774, the clouds of alarm cleared away, the blockhouse life was abandoned, and the peaceful pursuits of the pioneer were pushed forward with renewed vigor."

SPARK'S FORT.

Spark's Fort, on the south side of the Youghiogeny, is mentioned as one of the places where the people of one of the two districts into which Westmoreland county was divided for the election of representatives in the convention of 1776 to form a Constitution, met to hold their election. Hannastown was the other voting place. The Youghiogeny was the division line.

"Spark's Fort was near Burns' ford, in what is now Perry township, Fayette county. Observe how that the residents west of the Monongahela were disregarded, either as supposed to be within the power of Virginia at that time, or were treated as living south of the Youghiogeny." (Hon. Boyd Crumrine's Hist. of Wash. Co., p. 155, n.)

The judges appointed to hold the election at Hannastown

were James Barr, John Moore and Clement McGeary. Those appointed to serve at Spark's Fort were George Wilson, John Kile and Robert McConnel. There is nothing but the name to indicate the character or further history of the place.

BEESON'S BLOCKHOUSE.*

A blockhouse—probably but the domicile of Henry Beeson, and likely a strong structure,—stood within what is now the borough limits of Uniontown, near the sheriff's residence and jail as they now stand. It was near the mill then in operation; and was erected approximately about 1774, by Henry Beeson, the founder of the town, although Mr. Beeson had located there and made a settlement several years before that time.

The following is extracted from the History of Fayette County, published by Evarts & Co., 1882:

"The locality was known far and wide as 'Beeson's Mill,' and here in 1774 was built a strong blockhouse of logs as a place of refuge for the few inhabitants of the surrounding country during the universal panic which, in the spring and summer of that year, attended the opening of the hostilities known as Dunmore's war. When this primitive defensive work was built, there were few, if any, inhabitants other than Henry Beeson's family within the limits of the present borough (Uniontown) to avail themselves of its protection; but there were many other settlers located within a few miles of it, and its site was probably chosen because of its proximity to the mill, which was the most public place in all the region,—the place to which the earliest intelligence of Indian incursions would naturally come, and where moreover, there was usually to be found a considerable supply of grain and meal for the subsistence of families who were suddenly driven from their homes and obliged to seek its shelter against the savages. The site of this old blockhouse was on the brow of the bluff, and very nearly identical with the spot where the sheriff's residence now stands."

*See Appendix 7.

BRAYBILL'S BLOCKHOUSE.*

Captain J. C. Woodward, of Brownsville, Fayette county, states in writing that there are the remains of an old fort-house on the farm which he owns, situate one mile south of Brownsville, on the edge of Bridgeport borough. He has known of it since 1819. The tract descended from the original patentee through intervening holders to the present owner. This house was built of hewn white oak logs, and had loop-holes, still discernable, for rifles. It is not known by any other name than the "Old Blockhouse." Part of it is still standing, being utilized as a smoke-house.

The loop-holes are an unmistakable evidence of its design. This house was probably built at a time when it was common and necessary to take such extra precautions; and although it was manifestly so fitted up, yet there is nothing connected with its history to justify the assertion that it was ever used as a place of refuge or defense.

The land was patented to Joseph Graybill, August 27th, 1788; now owned by Capt. J. C. Woodward; situate in Luzerne township, Fayette county.

VALETINE CRAWFORD'S BLOCKHOUSE.

In a letter from Valentine Crawford to Gen. Washington, written from the Fayette county region, where Washington owned land, May 25th, 1774, he says: "I have, with the assistance of some of your carpenters and servants, built a very strong blockhouse, and the neighbors, what few have not run away, have joined with me and we are building a stockade fort at my house. Mr. Simpson, also, and his neighbors have begun to build a fort at your Bottom; and we live in hopes we can stand our ground till we can get some assistance from below."

The lands known as Washington's Bottoms are situate near Perryopolis, on the southwestern side of the Youghiogheny river, in the northwestern part of Fayette county. "These

*See Appendix 7.

forts were in what is now Perry township, and probably one of them within the limits of the town of Perryopolis." (James Ross, Esq., MS.)

Valentine Crawford was the agent of Washington, and had control of his lands in this region.

Gilbert Simpson, whom Washington sent out to manage his mill and that part of his property about it, built his cabin near the present residence of John Rice, in Perry township.*

Note to Settlers' Forts in Fayette County.

Note.—Although Morris' Fort† was not a Pennsylvania fort, yet it was used by Pennsylvanians, being just across the line separating the states. It attained notoriety far beyond the ordinary settlers' fort, chiefly from the fact that it had for its historiographer the celebrated Dr. Joseph Doddridge. Judge Veech speaks of it as follows: "Morris' Fort, which was one of the first grade, was much resorted to by the early settlers on the Monongahela and Cheat, and from Ten Mile. It stood on Sandy creek, just beyond the Virginia line, outside our county limits. It was to this fort that the family of the late Dr. Joseph Doddridge resorted, in 1774, as mentioned in his Notes. The late Col. Andrew Moore, who resided long near its site, said that he had frequently seen the ruins of the fort and its cabins, which may yet be traced (1858)."

THE CATAWBA TRAIL.

Mention has been made of the Catawba Trail. The following is Hon. James Veech's account and description of it as given in *The Monongahela of Old*:

"The most prominent, and perhaps the most ancient of these old pathways across our county, was the old Catawba or Cherokee Trail, leading from the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, &c., through Virginia and Western Pennsylvania, on to Western New York and Canada. We will trace it within our limits

*The Washington Mill is still standing, about one mile north of the village of Perryopolis. (Haddon.)

†Morris' Fort stood almost immediately in the angle where the line dividing Maryland and Virginia joins the Mason & Dixon line. (Haddon.)

as well as we can. After crossing and uniting with numerous other trails, the principal one entered Fayette territory, at the State line, at the mouth of Grassy run. A tributary trail, called the Warrior Branch, coming from Tennessee, through Kentucky and Southern Ohio, came up Fish creek and down Dunkard, crossing Cheat river at McFarland's. It run out a junction with the chief trail, intersecting it in William Gans' sugar camp, but it kept on by Crow's mill, James Robinson's, and the old gun factory, and thence toward the mouth of Redstone, intersecting the old Redstone trail from the top of Laurel Hill, afterwards Burd's road, near Jackson's, or Grace Church, on the National Road. The main Catawba trail pursued 'the even tenor of its way,' regardless of minor points, which, like a modern grand railroad, it served by branches and turn-outs. After receiving the Warrior Branch junction, it kept on through land late of Charles Griffin, by Long's Mill, Ashcraft's Fort, Phillip Rogers' (now Alfred Stewart's), the Diamond Spring (now William James'); thence nearly on the route of the present Morgantown road, until it came to the Misses Hadden's; thence across Hellen's fields, passing near the Rev. William Brownfield's mansion, and about five rods west of the old Henry Beeson brick house; thence through Uniontown, over the old Bank house lot, crossing the creek where the bridge now is, back of the Sheriff's house; thence along the northern side of the public grave-yard on the hill, through the eastern edge of John Gallagher's land, about six rods south of John F. Foster's (formerly Samuel Clarke's) house, it crossed Shute's Run where the fording now is, between the two meadows, keeping the highland through Col. Evans' plantation, and passed between William and John Jones' to the site of Pearse's Fort; thence by the Murphy school-house, and bearing about thirty rods westward of the Mount Braddock mansion, it passed a few rods to the east of the old Conrad Strickler house, where it is still visible. Keeping on through land formerly of John Hamilton (now Freeman), it crossed the old Connellsville road immediately on the summit of the Limestone Hill, a few rods west of the old Strickler distillery; thence through the old Lawrence Harrison land (James Blackiston's) to Robinson's falls on

Mill Run, and thence down it to the Yough river, crossing it just below the run's mouth, where Braddock's army crossed, at Stewart's Crossings. The trail thence kept through the Narrows, by Rist's, near the Baptist meeting-house, beyond Pennsville, passing by the old Saltwell on Green Lick run, to the mouth of Bushy run, at Tinsman's or Welshouse's mill. Thence it bore across Westmoreland county, up the Allegheny, to the heads of the Susquehanna, and into Western New York, then the empire of the Iroquois. A branch left the main trail at Robinson's mill, on Mill or Opossum run, which crossed the Yough at the Broad ford, bearing down across Jacobs creek, Sewickley and Turtle creeks, to the forks of the Ohio, at Pittsburgh, by the highland route. This branch, and the northern part within our county [Fayette], of the main route, will be found to possess much interest in connection with Braddock's line of march to his disastrous destiny.

"This Cherokee or Catawba Indian trail, including its Warrior branch, is the only one of note which traversed our county northward and southward. Generally, they passed eastward and westward, from the river, to and across the mountains.

"Decidedly the most important of all these [trails passing eastward and westward] is Nemaquin's Trail, afterward adopted and improved by Washington and Braddock, the latter of whom, by a not unusual freak of fame, has given to the road its name, while its shrewd old Indian engineer, like him who traced for Napoleon the great road across the Simplon, has been buried in forgetfulness."

For mention of Nemaquin's Trail, see notes to Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt. •

FORTS IN WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Doddridge in his "Notes on the Early Settlements and Indian Wars," says the "settlers' fort" of those days was "not only a place of defense but the residence of a small number of families belonging to the same neighborhood. As the Indian

mode of warfare was an indiscriminate slaughter of all ages and both sexes, it was as requisite to provide for the safety of the women and children as for that of the men. The fort consisted of cabins, blockhouses, and stockades. A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions or partitions of logs separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten to twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors, the greater part were earthen. The blockhouses were built at the angles of the fort. They projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stories were about eighteen inches every way larger in dimension than the under one, leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story to prevent the enemy from making a lodgment under the walls. In some forts the angles of the fort were furnished with bastions instead of blockhouses. A large folding gate, made of thick slabs, nearest the spring, closed the fort. The stockades, bastions, cabins, and blockhouse walls were furnished with port-holes at proper heights and distances. The whole of the outside was made completely bullet-proof. It may be truly said that necessity is the mother of invention, for the whole of this work was made without the aid of a single nail or spike of iron, and for the reason that such things were not to be had. In some places less exposed a single blockhouse, with a cabin or two, constituted the whole fort. Such places of refuge may appear very trifling to those who have been in the habit of seeing the formidable military garrisons of Europe and America, but they answered the purpose, as the Indians had no artillery. They seldom attacked, and scarcely ever took one of them."

The foregoing description of the different kinds of forts and blockhouses is peculiarly applicable to this region. Later and after the Revolution there were many so-called stations along the Ohio river and in Kentucky and the western country then being settled. "A station was a parallelogram of cabins, untied by palisades so as to present a continued wall on the outer side, the cabin doors opening into a common square, on the inner side. These were the strongholds of the early settlers."

(Note to Border Warfare, p. 235.) Further this description might possibly answer for some of the stations in the Panhandle or the western border of Washington county.

In speaking of the condition of the settlements in the Washington county region towards the close of the Revolutionary War, Mr. Butterfield in his Crawford Expedition against Sandusky, p. 39, says:

"The people of the border were forced into forts which dotted the country in every direction. These were in the highest degree uncomfortable. They consisted of cabins, blockhouses, and stockades. In some places, where the exposure was not great, a single blockhouse, with a cabin outside, constituted the whole fort. For a space around, the forest was usually cleared away, so that an enemy could neither find a lurking place nor conceal his approach.

"Near these forts the borderers worked their fields in parties guarded by sentinels. Their necessary labors, therefore, were performed with every danger and difficulty imaginable. Their work had to be carried on with their arms and all things belonging to their war-dress deposited in some central place in the field. Sentinels were stationed on the outside of the fence; so that, on the least alarm, the whole company repaired to their arms, and were ready for the combat in a moment.

"From Pittsburgh south, including the Valleys of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny, and the territory west of these to the Ohio, was a scope of country having, at this time, considerable population; nevertheless, there were few families who had lived therein any considerable length of time that had not lost some of their number by the merciless Indians."

"Beyond the story of old Catfish, alias Tingooqua, an Indian chief who lived betimes on what is the site of Washington, Pa., and the doubtful traditions of the existence of a few Indian settlements within the present limit of Washington county, there is, says the Hon. Boyd Crumrine in his History of Washington County, "with reference to that territory, no Indian History to be given for the years prior to the opening of Dunmore's War, in 1774. From that time on through the border warfare that raged until after the close of the Revolu-

tion the annals of this region are full of stirring events—Indian incursions, massacres, and alarms—covering the period from 1774 to 1783.”

RICE'S FORT.

“This fort is situated on Buffalo creek, about twelve miles from its junction with the Ohio river.” It appears, says Mr. Alfred Creigh in his *History of Washington county*, that Rice's Fort furnishes the most satisfactory history of those times, which I have been able to procure.

The Indians, being defeated at Wheeling, resolved to strike a severe blow in the country, and hence about one hundred warriors marched to Rice's Fort, but the inhabitants being made aware of their approach, each ran to his cabin for his gun, and all took refuge in the blockhouse or fort. Although they intended to take it by assault, yet they failed, as the sequel will show, and they continued their depredations, destroying barns, fences, cattle, &c., but finally retreated. Rev. Dr. Doddridge, in his account of this fort, says:

“This place was defended by a Spartan band of men, against one hundred chosen warriors, exasperated to madness by their failure at Wheeling Fort. Their names shall be inscribed in the lists of the heroes of our early times. They were Jacob Miller, George Leffer, Peter Fullenweider, Daniel Rice, George Felebaum, and Jacob Leffer, Jr. George Felebaum was shot in the forehead through a port-hole at the second fire of the Indians, and instantly expired, so that in reality the defense of the place was made by only five men. Four of the Indians were killed. The next morning sixty men collected and pursued the Indians, but discovered they had separated into small parties, and the pursuit was given up.”

More particulars of this attack are given below which are taken from Crumrine's *History of Washington county*, and the letters in part from the *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*:

On the 11th of Sept., 1782, in the evening, an Indian force of 260 warriors under the renegade George Girty (brother of

the infamous Simon), accompanied by a force of about forty British rangers from Detroit under Capt. Pratt, of the royal service, attacked the fort (Fort Henry) at Wheeling, but were repulsed. Other attempts were made by them to carry the place by assault during the day and night of the 12th, but with no better success, and in the morning of the 13th they withdrew from Wheeling with the intention of carrying their depredations to the inland settlements. Their attack on Wheeling is described by Ebenezer Zane in the following letter to Gen. Irvine. [Washington-Irvine Cor., p. 397.]

“Wheeling, 17th September, 1782.

“Sir: On the evening of the eleventh instant a body of the enemy appeared in sight of our garrison. They immediately formed into lines around the garrison, paraded British colors, and demanded the Fort to be surrendered, which was refused. About 12 o'clock of night they rushed hard on the pickets in order to storm but was repulsed. They made two other attempts to storm before day but to no purpose. About 8 o'clock next morning there came a negro from them to us, and informed us that their force consisted of a British captain and 40 regular soldiers and 260 Indians. The enemy kept up a continual fire the whole day. About 10 o'clock at night they made a fourth attempt to storm to no better purpose than the former. The enemy continued around the garrison till the morning of the 13th instant, when they disappeared. Our loss is none. Daniel Sullivan, who arrived here in the beginning of the action, is wounded in the foot.

“I believe they have driven the greatest part of our stock away, and might, I think, be soon overtaken.”

When the Indian besiegers found themselves compelled to withdraw from Fort Henry without having effected its capture as they had expected to do, the larger part of their force, together with Capt. Pratt's British Rangers, crossed the Ohio with what plunder they had been able to secure, and took their way through the wilderness towards the Sandusky. The remainder of the Indian force, some sixty or seventy in number, took the opposite direction, striking eastward towards the interior settlements, bent on massacre and devastation in re-

venge for their disappointment at Fort Henry. Their objective point was Rice's fort, on the Dutch Fork of Buffalo creek, in the present township of Donegal, Washington county.

Intelligence of the attack on Fort Henry was brought to Col. James Marshal at Catfish by Capt. Boggs immediately after the siege began, and while all the Indian and British forces were collected round the fort. On the receipt of the information Marshal notified Gen. Irvine by letter as follows [Washington Cor., p. 312]:

"Thursday, September 12, 1782.

"Dear Sir: By an express this moment arrived from Wheeling, I have received the following intelligence, namely: That a large trail, by supposition about two hundred Indians, was discovered yesterday about three o'clock near to that place. Capt. Boggs, who brought the account, says that when he had left the fort about nine miles and half he heard the swivel at Wheeling fired, and one rifle. He further says that Ebenezer McCulloch, from Van Meter's fort, on his way to Wheeling, got within one-half a mile of the place shortly after Boggs left it, where he was alarmed by hearing a heavy and constant fire about the forts, and makes no doubt the fort was then attacked. * * * *"

Three days later Col. Marshal communicated to Gen. Irvine further information of the movements of the Indians in the following letter:

"Sunday Morning, 15th September, 1782.

"Dear Sir: You may depend upon it, as a matter of fact, that a large body of Indians are now in our country. Last night I saw two prisoners who made their escape from Wheeling in time of the action, and say the enemy consists of 238 Indians and 40 Rangers, the latter commanded by a British officer; that they attacked Wheeling Fort on Wednesday night, and continued the attack, at which time the above deserters left them. This Fort they say was the principal object of the enemy; but it appears, both from their account and the enemy's advancing into the country, that they have despaired of taking it. The deserters say that shortly before they left the enemy that they had determined to give up the matter at

Wheeling, and either scatter into small parties in order to distress and plunder the inhabitants, or attack the first small fort they could come at. The latter I'm this moment informed is actually the case; that they have attacked one Rice's Blockhouse, on what is called the Dutch fork of Buffalo, and its to be feared it will fall into their hands, as only those have been called upon who are not going upon the expedition. I'm afraid they will not turn out as well as they ought to do. If the enemy continues to advance in one body the matter will become serious, and perhaps require our whole strength to repel them. But if it can possibly be avoided I could wish not to call upon a man that's going upon the expedition against Sandusky. Besides, the battalion rendezvous is appointed as soon as the men could possibly be collected. Unless the officers have made their appointments, as you will see by Col. McCleery's letter they have done in the first battalion, no doubt ammunition will be wanted on this occasion. A small quantity, such as the bearer can carry, will do. Excuse haste."

The following account of the attack on Rice's Fort is from "Chronicles of Border Warfare, or a history of the settlement of northwestern Virginia." By A. S. Withers, 1831.

"The place against which the savages directed their operations was situated on Buffaloe creek, twelve or fifteen miles from its entrance into the Ohio, and was known as Rice's fort. Until Miller's return, there was in it only five men, the others having gone to Hagerstown to exchange their peltries for salt, iron and ammunition. They immediately set about making preparations to withstand an assault, and in a little while, seeing the savages approaching from every direction, forsook the cabins and repaired to the blockhouse. The Indians perceived that they were discovered, and thinking to take the station by storm, shouted forth the war-whoop and rushed to the assault. They were answered by the fire of the six brave and skillful riflemen in the house, and forced to take refuge behind trees and fallen timber. Still they continued the firing, occasionally calling on the whites to "Give up, give up—Indian too many—Indian too big—Give up, Indian no kill." The men had more faith in the efficacy of their guns to purchase

their safety than in the proffered mercy of the savages; and instead of complying with their demand, called on them, "as cowards, skulking behind logs, to leave their coverts, and show but their yellow hides, and they would make holes in them."

"The firing was kept up by the savages from their protected situation until night, and whenever even a remote prospect of galling them was presented to the whites, they did not fail to avail themselves of it. The Indian shots in the evening were directed principally against the stock as it came up as usual to the station, and the field was strewn with dead carcasses. About ten o'clock of the night they fired a large barn (thirty or forty yards from the blockhouse) filled with grain and hay, and the flames from which seemed for a while to endanger the fort; but being situated on higher ground, and the current of air flowing in a contrary direction, it escaped conflagration. Collecting on the side of the fort opposite to the fire, the Indians took advantage of the light it afforded them to renew the attack, and kept it up until about two o'clock, when they departed. Their ascertained loss was four warriors—three of whom were killed by the first firing of the whites—the other about sundown. George Felebaum was the only white who suffered. Early in the attack he was shot in the forehead, through a port-hole, and expired instantly, leaving Jacob Miller, George Leffler, Jr., Peter Fullenweider, Daniel Rice and Jacob Leffler, sole defenders of the fort, and bravely and effectually did they preserve it from the furious assaults of one hundred chosen savage warriors.

"Soon after the Indians left Rice's fort, they moved across the hills in different directions and in detached parties. One of these observing four men proceeding towards the fort which they had lately left, waylaid the path and killed two of them on the first fire. The remaining two fled hastily, and one of them, swift of foot, soon made his escape. The other, closely pursued by one of the savages and in danger of being overtaken, wheeled to fire. His gun snapped, and he again took to flight. Yet more closely pressed by his pursuer, he once attempted to shoot. Again his gun snapped, and the savage being now near enough, hurled a tomahawk at his head. It

missed its object and both strained every nerve for the chase. The Indian gained rapidly upon him, and reaching forth his arm, caught hold of his belt. It had been tied in a bow-knot, and came loose. Sensible that the race must soon terminate to his disadvantage unless he could kill his pursuer, the white man once more tried his gun. It fired, and the savage fell dead at his feet."

The fact that the Indians were advancing eastward from Wheeling was known at Rice's fort about half an hour before the savages made their appearance, the intelligence having been brought by Jacob Miller, who learned the news at the house of Dr. Moore, near Catfish, and rode with all possible speed to notify the people at the threatened point, and to take part in the defense. Some of the men from the fort had gone to Hagerstown for supplies, and only five were left to defend it, viz: George Leffler, Peter Fullenweider, Daniel Rice, George Felebaum, and Jacob Leffler, Jr. This force was increased to six by the arrival of Miller. The Indians soon made their appearance and surrounded the fort. The six defenders fired, and three savages fell. The Indians returned the fire without effect, but in their second volley they killed George Felebaum, who was standing at a port-hole. The ball struck him in the forehead, and he expired instantly. The firing was kept up during the day, but without any casualty to the white men.

Abraham Rice, of the fort, was absent, having set out at once on receipt of the news brought by Miller to go to Lamb's fort, some four miles away, for assistance. He had not been gone long when he heard the firing at his own fort, and at once determined to return and assist in the defense; but he failed in his attempt, for he was discovered by the Indians, who fired a great number of shots and wounded him badly, but he made his escape, and was able to reach Lamb's, whence, after his wounds had been dressed, he set out on his return, having with him a party of twelve men. This was late in the evening. On approaching the besieged fort, ten of the party became alarmed and retreated, but Rice and the other two went on. They were soon discovered by an Indian, who thereupon gave the usual alarm, which passed around the entire line encir-

cling the fort. The savages supposed that a large party of whites was approaching, and after one more fierce and ineffectual attempt to carry the fort they retreated from the place, having lost four warriors by the rifles of the defenders. On the following morning a force of about 60 frontiersmen collected and started in pursuit of the Indians, but after proceeding two or three miles it was found that the savages had scattered in small parties, and the pursuit was abandoned. The Indians, however, in their retreat met another party of four white men, two of whom they killed, losing one of their warriors.

The Indian attacks at Wheeling and at Rice's fort (showing that the savages could make incursions in force and almost at will in spite of the vigilance of the "ranging parties" of militia) materially dampened the ardor of the people with regard to the new Sandusky campaign, notwithstanding that the government had ordered a considerable body of Continental troops to accompany the expedition, in accordance with the wishes of Cols. Marshal and Cook and several of the more prominent among the militia officers of Washington and Westmoreland counties. [Crumrine's Hist. Washington county, page 134.]

This fort was on the farm now owned by Charles Burrick, in Donegal township, Washington county.

LINDLEY'S FORT.

Demas Lindley with his family came in 1773 to settle west of the Monongahela, in the section of country which afterward became Washington county, and with him came about twenty other families, all from New Jersey, and nearly all from the county of Morris which had been Mr. Lindley's home before his emigration. Four of the families settled on the south fork of Ten-Mile creek, near Jefferson, Greene county. The others settled at different points on the north and middle forks of the same creeks. Demas Lindley located on 400 acres of land situ-

ated on the middle fork of Ten-Mile creek adjacent to the lands of Caleb and John Lindley, James Draper and J. Mc-Vaugh. This property was warranted to him Feb. 5, 1785, and surveyed Dec. 6th, of the same year, receiving the title of "Mill Place," its location being very near the present village of Prosperity. Mr. Lindley became the owner of another tract called Headquarters, which was warranted to him April 18th, 1796, as containing 368 acres.

Demas Lindley and Jack Cook were two of the most prominent and influential men among the early settlers along Ten-Mile creek. They were very active in the frontier movements against the Indians, and a fort was early established upon the property of Mr. Lindley, called Lindley's Fort, and was the rendezvous for the residents in this part of the county.

"Lindley's Fort, near the present village of Prosperity, was one of the strongest forts in the western country, because it was the most exposed to the hostile incursions of the savage inhabitants." [Creigh's Hist. of Wash. Co., p. 55.]

Judge Veech thus alludes to this fort: "Sometimes, as at Lindley's, and many of the other forts in the adjacent country west of the Monongahela, additional cabins were erected outside the fort, for temporary abode in times of danger, from which the sojourners could, in case of attack, retreat within the fort. [Mon. of Old, 21.]

WOLF'S FORT.

Among the many forts or blockhouses which dotted the wilderness in those uncertain times, Wolf's Fort was one of the first built. It stood about five miles west of the present borough of Washington, and enclosed the cabin of Jacob Wolf. To this fort Priscilla Peak or Peck crawled upon her hands and knees after being scalped. She was confined to her bed with a fever when the Indians broke in upon the family, and seeing the hopelessness of escaping, some one threw a quilt around her and told her to fly. She only had strength sufficient to reach a pig-sty, where she stopped for breath. While

leaning over the fence an Indian discovered her and scalped her. Being hotly pursued by the whites he did not tomahawk her, and in this condition she reached Wolf's Fort. She recovered, her head healed, but she always wore a black cap to conceal her loss. A Miss Christianna Clemmens and Lydia Boggs were chased into this fort, and only escaped capture by outrunning their pursuers. Miss Boggs was afterwards captured and carried over the Ohio river, but effected her escape and returned to her friends, having forced her horse to swim the river. Another incident relating to the history of this fort was recounted, in later years, by William Darby, who, when a child, came with his parents to this vicinity in December, 1781,—the elder Darby evidently intending permanent settlement here, but being driven away by Indian alarms. Mr. Darby in his narrative says, "We remained in Mr. Wolf's house until February, 1782, while my father was preparing his cabin, into which we finally entered, but not to rest. In fifteen or twenty days after entering into our log cabin, Martin Jolly came running breathless to tell us that a savage murder had been committed but ten miles distant. In two hours we were in Wolf's Fort. From the Fort my parents removed to Catfish, Washington, and spent the remainder of 1782, and to April, 1783, on the farm of Alexander Reynolds, recently owned by Dr. F. J. LeMoynes." [Hist. Wash. County, 678. See Darby's Acct. in "Historical Acct. Expdn. Agst. Sand. Butterfield.]

The fort was said to be a stockade inclosing the house of Jacob Wolf, in what is now Buffalo township, Washington county. [His. Wash. County, 130, n.]

MILLER'S BLOCKHOUSE.

Meanwhile the savages in the northwest had (as had been foreseen) grown still more fiercely hostile since the massacre of the Moravians, and more active than ever on the war-path. In the space of a few weeks, following the return of Williamson's expedition to the Muskingum, in Ohio, several Indian forays were made into Washington county. A Mrs. Walker,

whose home was on Buffalo creek, was taken prisoner on the 27th of March, but succeeded in escaping from her savage captors. On the first of April, an entire family named Boice, consisting of eight persons, were captured by the savages and taken away to the Indian towns west of the Ohio, and on the following day another party of marauders killed a man within the present limits of the borough of Washington.

A few days after the capture of the Boice family, Miller's blockhouse, situated on the Dutch Fork of Buffalo creek, in the present county of Donegal, Washington county, was attacked on a Sabbath morning by a party of about twenty Shawanese warriors, who had arrived during the previous night, but remained hidden nearby until early in the morning. Two men came out of the enclosure, and started along the path to search for a colt which had strayed. When they had passed the ambushment, the savages fell upon and killed them, and having torn off their scalps the entire party leaped from their place of concealment and surrounded the block-house. The inmates were now only one old man and several women and children, but there were rifles and ammunition, and these were used by the women to so good effect that the savage assaulters were kept at bay until there came a relieving party of three white men, who rushed past the Indians, effected an entrance into the blockhouse and defended it so effectively that the red-skinned besiegers finally withdrew and disappeared.

The men killed were John Hupp, Sr., Jacob Miller, Sr. The persons left in the blockhouse were old Mr. Mathias Ault, Ann Hupp, wife of the murdered John, their four children,—Margaret, Mary, John and Elizabeth Hupp,—the family of Edgar Gaither, Frederick Miller, an eleven-year-old son of Jacob, who was killed outside the fort, and two or three other members of the same family. The successful defense of the blockhouse until the arrival of help was principally due to the heroism and undaunted courage of the widowed Ann Hupp. The boy, Frederick Miller, was started from the house to go to Rice's Fort, about two miles away, for aid, but the Indians saw him, and he was driven back, wounded, narrowly escaping with his life. But the firing of the Indians when they killed Hupp and Miller had been heard at Rice's, and the rescuing

party referred to, consisting of Jacob Rowe, only about 16 years of age, Jacob Miller, Jr., Phillip Hupp (all of whom belonged at the Miller blockhouse, but chanced to be absent at Rice's at the time of the attack), came with all speed to the assistance of the besieged ones, and gained an entrance as stated. The Indians kept up the siege through the day, but disappeared during the following night.

A number of other attacks were made in this county and in Westmoreland, during the month of April and early part of May (1782). In a letter written on the 8th of the latter month by Dorsey Pentecost to President Moore (Pa. Arch., ix, 541), he said, "The Indians are murdering frequently. Last Friday night two men were killed on the frontiers of this county, and about a week before I got home 14 people were killed and captured in different parts, and last week some mischief was done near Hannas' Town, but have not learned the particulars."

The blockhouse mentioned stood on the farm now owned by Clinton Miller. [Hist. of Wash. County, 112.]

BEELOR'S FORT.

Captain Samuel Beelor and his son Samuel were settled in 1774 upon land where the village of Candor now stands,—in Robinson township, Washington county—as is recited in a Virginia certificate granted in February, 1780. An additional tract of land of 400 acres adjoining this was granted to Samuel Beelor, July 17th, 1782. On the survey accompanying this statement is shown a house two stories high and situated on a road from Dillow's Fort to Turner's Fort.

What was known as Beelor's Fort was his own house, two stories high, made large and strong. The survey of 1782 shows no other. Captain Samuel Beelor and his family, and Samuel Beelor, Jr., and his family lived on the place till 1789, when they sold and removed. The lands are now owned by J. M. Clark, trustee John G. Smith, Mrs. Cully, Samuel Neill, of the Raccoon church, and embrace the site of the village of Candor, (1882).

The fort is said to have been erected about a hundred yards southwest of the Raccoon church. It must have been some years after Mr. Beelor's settlement, before the Baileys, the McCandless, Sherers, and others came to this section. Beelor's house was the rendezvous for all the people of the vicinity in the time of danger.

DILLOW'S FORT.

Dillow's Fort was in Hanover township, Washington county, on the farm of Matthew Dillow on Fort Dillow's run. The road from there ran southeasterly to Beelor's, and from thence east to Turner's Fort. A large yellow poplar stands near the site of the old fort.

Michael Dillow located a tract of land on Dillow's creek, a branch of Raccoon creek. He settled before 1780, and in that year received a Virginia certificate for the land on which he had located. It was adjoining the land of Thomas Armour and James Crawford, and a short distance from Thomas Bigger. A survey of Samuel Beelor, made in 1782, shows a road from Fort Dillow to Fort Beelor, and east from there to Turner's mill. The tract of land was surveyed June 8th, 1788, and named "Dillow's Fort," containing 399 acres. A warrant of the Board of Property, dated March 24, 1798, was returned to Abraham Kirkpatrick. The land warranted by Matthew Dillow is now owned by Robert R. Coventry. Soon after, in 1782, Matthew Dillow and his son, John, were at work in the clearing when Indians in ambush shot the father and took the son a prisoner. He saw them secrete the body of his father near a large log before starting on their march. The boy was kept a prisoner for several years, and upon his return was questioned as to what became of the body of his father. He recalled and narrated the incidents of his capture. A number of friends gathered together, and after a search found the skeleton of the elder Dillow. It was brought to near the old fort and buried. [Hist. of Wash. Co., 804.]

Grace Fuller, a female slave, who was the property of Thomas Armour remembered being in Dillow's Fort when

about 17 years of age, at the time of an attack of the Indians, about the year 1778. She was later owned by a man by the name of Pierce. [Ib., 804.]

Col. Brodhead to Ensign John Beck from Pittsburgh, Aug. 1st, 1779, (Brodhead's Letter Book, No. 39), says: "I have received yours of the 30th of last month, by express. Altho it is not plainly expressed I conceive two of the boys you mention must have fallen into the hands of the Indians, and I have just now received information that one Anderson, who lived about two miles from Dillar's (Dillow's) Fort, was slightly wounded, and two of his little boys carried off by the savages on the same day the mischief was done on Wheeling."

Col. David Redick to Gov. Mifflin on the 13th of Feb., 1792, (2d Arch. iv, 700) writes as follows:

"I have read your letter of information and instructions to the County Lieutenants, on the subject of protection. I find that a considerable gap is left open to the enemy on the north-westerly part of the county, and that a place where, in former wars the enemy perpetually made their approach on that quarter—the settlements on Raccoon, especially about Dilloe's constantly experienced in former times the repeated attacks of the enemy." See the sketch accompanying this communication, and the plan suggested by Col. Redick for the protection of that exposed frontier, where his letter may be found, as referred to above.

VANCE'S FORT.

Joseph Vance came to Smith township, Washington county, from Winchester, Va., in 1774, and took up the land now occupied in part by James L. Vance, a great-grandson of the original proprietor. He was prominent in all the various expeditions, against the Indians, and built the stockade fort known for many years as Vance's Fort by the early settlers. The site of the fort is about one mile north of Cross Creek village, on the headwaters of a branch emptying into Raccoon creek. The exact spot is still shown.

The region of country called Cross Creek, began to be settled

about the year 1770 or '71. The first settlers were mostly Scotch-Irish. Some came directly from the north of Ireland and west of Scotland, some from York county, Pa., and from Winchester, Va., and a few from Mecklenburg, N. C. Meetings for worship were held as early as 1776 and '77. Two such societies were organized without the bounds of the Cross Creek settlements. For several years the settlers were greatly harrassed by incursions of hostile Indians. Not a few of those who fell under their murderous tomahawks lie in the burying ground of this congregation. From these incursions the people fled into Vance's and Wells' Forts; the former one mile north, and the latter five miles west of this church. In these forts social and afterward public worship was kept up for about seven years, especially in summer and autumn, the seasons when the Indians were wont to make their raids. * * * The Rev. James Powers, from the Forks of Youghiogheny, visited this region, and preached the first gospel sermon ever heard in it, on the 14th of Sept., 1778. This was under an oak tree just outside the gate of Vance's Fort.

Tradition has it that here was planned the expedition of 1782, under Col. Williamson, against the Moravian Indians at Gnaddenhutten, which resulted in the massacre of those Indians. Although the removal of the Indians from that place was the intention of the force when it started it was entirely changed from a circumstance which intervened. For on the arrival of the force at the villages of the Indians, finding the Indians possessed of some of the clothes of a Mrs. Wallace, who had been murdered in the vicinity of Vance's Fort, by Indians a few months previously, the men became enraged, and instead of moving them to Fort Pitt, or farther west, they massacred them in cold blood. [Hist. Wash., 914-736-103-722. Messrs. J. M. K. Reed and Jas. Simpson MS.].

Crawford's campaign against Sandusky. [Hist. Wash. Co., p. 103, 722.]

It was at Vance's Fort that Wm. Parks, a brother-in-law of Rev. Thomas Marquis, was killed by the Indians in 1782.

HOAGLAND'S FORT.

Hoagland's Fort was near Leech's old mill on the north branch of Raccoon creek, in Smith township, Washington county. On land now owned by Joseph Keys, are some stones which are said to be on the site of Henry Hoagland's Fort. It is said the land belonged to Lund Washington and that Henry Hoagland never had legal title to the land. In 1786 the land was patented by James Leech as "Litchfield." Among others James Leech, Matthew Rankin, William Rankin and Thomas Rankin fortified here. * * * There is a tradition that at one time the women of this fort repulsed the Indians who were attacking it with scalding water. [MS-Messrs. Reed and Simpson.]

Title to this tract of land is mentioned in the History of Washington county, by Mr. Boyd Crumrine, page 915. It would thus appear that this tract was part of the land granted by Virginia patent to Lund Washington, Nov. 24, 1779, who sold to Geo. McCormick, Jan. 20, 1792, and who Feb. 27th, of the same year, sold to Gabriel Blakeney, who sold, on the 19th of May, 1795, to John Wishart, from whom it descended to his daughter who was married to James Leech.

"On this tract had been an old fort, known as Hoagland's Fort which the Rankins, Buxtons and others used as place of protection."

ALLEN'S FORT.

A fort known as Allen's Fort was located near the line between Smith and Robinson townships, Washington county, in Smith township (?), which the Baileys, Shearers, and others used as a place of security before the Beelor Fort was erected. It is possible that John Allen settled there prior to that time, but his name does not appear on a Virginia certificate as having lands under that title. He took a Pennsylvania warrant November 5, 1784, which was surveyed to him by the name of "Derry," Feb. 25, 1785. He lived to an old age and died there; married, but childless. The farm was left to a nephew, Moses Allen, who was not a thrifty man, and the farm passed to other hands. [Hist. Wash. Co., 916.]

DINSMORE'S FORT.

A fort or blockhouse was on the place which later became known as the Dinsmore's Fort. This fort was on the farm where James Dinsmore lived and died at an advanced age. James Dinsmore emigrated to this country from Ireland, and settled first in Fayette township, Allegheny county, Pa., and on the 21st of July, 1795, purchased 276 acres of land in Canton township, Washington county, of Joshua Anderson, adjoining lands of Francis Cunningham, Samuel Agnew, James Taggart, and William Shearer, it being part of a tract called "Huntington" which was patented to Joshua Anderson, Sept. 26th, 1787. The farm was divided between his two sons, John and James. The former remained on the homestead until his death. William, his son, is the present owner of the homestead, where he was born. [Hist. Wash. Co., 689.]

RONEY'S FORT.

Hercules Roney and James Roney were of Scotch-Irish birth, and emigrated to America about 1775. They were early settlers in this county, and were both chain-men with Col. Wm. Crawford, as surveyor of Yohogania county, Va., and assisted in many of the surveys of land granted on Virginia certificates. They settled in Findley township upon the land which they afterward obtained on Virginia certificates. Hercules Roney's certificate bears date Sept. 21, 1779.

Hercules Roney built upon his land a large and strong blockhouse, which was known as "Roney's Blockhouse," or "Roney's Fort." To this place the neighbors repaired in times of danger.

The McIntosh family, who were of Scotch birth or descent, located in this township at an early but not precisely known date. During the harvest season of 1789 or 1790, the entire family, with the exception of one daughter, were massacred by Indians. They were out at some distance from their house engaged in stacking hay or grain, when the Indians fired on

them, killing the father on the stack. The mother and six children fled toward the house, but were overtaken, tomahawked and scalped. The daughter above mentioned had been sent to a distant pasture with a horse, and hearing the firing, and realizing the danger, fled to Roney's Blockhouse and gave the alarm. Hercules Roney and a party of men started at once for the scene of the butchery. The Indians had gone, but the eight dead and mutilated bodies told the bloody tale. Roney and his party buried them on the farm that is now owned by Mr. Blaney. [Hist. Wash. Co., 982.]

REYNOLD'S BLOCKHOUSE.

William Reynolds came into what is now Cross Creek township, Washington county, as early as 1755, and upon a Virginia certificate took up 399 acres of land next to lands of James Jackson, Samuel Patterson, and Thomas Marquis. This tract was surveyed Dec. 4, 1785, and given the name of "Reynoldsville." The farm is now owned and occupied by Mr. Wm. M. Dunbar, and is located about one and a half miles southwest from Cross Creek village. On this place Mr. Reynolds built a blockhouse, the site of which is indicated by the present barn. This fort was the refuge of the families of James Jackson, James Colwell, widow Mary Patterson, Ephraim Hart, and all other neighbors near enough to avail themselves of its protection against the Indians. In the summer of 1779, the Indians attacked Reynolds' house during his absence carried off his wife and child, and while on their way to their towns west of the Ohio, being hotly pursued and attacked by Reynolds and a small party of whites, they murdered Mrs. Reynolds and the child. * * * * The whites who were in this encounter were the Rev. Thomas Marquis, John Marquis, his brother, and Robert McCreedy. [Hist. Wash. Co., 724. Reed and Simpson MS.]

WELL'S FORT.

Well's Fort was built on the land of Alexander Wells, called "Mayfield" (1780), on the waters of Cross Creek, near the junction of North and South Forks, in Cross Creek township, Washington county. The fort stood a little east of the stone-house now owned by Wm. Knox (Brenemen P. O., Wash. Co., Pa.). * * * * Besides being a refuge for the families of the settlement it was also a defense for the mill which stood a few rods west of it and was one of the earliest mills built in that part of the county, Mr. Wells having settled there in 1773.

In April and May, 1782, the inhabitants in the vicinity of Wells' Mill petitioned Gen. Wm. Irvine, commander of the Western Department, at Fort Pitt, to send a few men to help garrison this fort and defend the mill, as there were eight or ten forts or blockhouses and posts dependent on the mill for their supplies of flour:

"Sir: The dangerous situation that our frontiers at present seem to be in obliges us, your humble petitioners, to beg for your assistance at such a difficult time as it now is. Our case is such as follows, namely: We, the inhabitants near Mr. Alexander Wells' mill, are very unhandy to any other mill and daily open to the rage of a savage and merciless enemy, notwithstanding the great care that hath already been taken for our safety by placing guards on the river. The inhabitants that live near enough the mill to fort there look upon themselves not of sufficient force to guard the mill and carry on any labor to support their families. They will, therefore, undoubtedly break off, unless your excellency will please to grant them a few men to guard the mill. Unless this is done we must also break ground, as the mill is not only our main support in regard to bread for our families, but likewise in furnishing us with flour for every expedition that we are called to go upon. Their going off will expose us to another front side open. Therefore, we, your humble petitioners, pray that, if it is in your power to help us at such a difficult time, you will not be negligent in doing as much as possible. [Signed] Samuel Teter, Henry Nelson, James Scott, Phillip Doddridge, Charles Stuart, John Comley, Walter Hill, Benjamin Pursle,

Morris West, Thomas Shannon, John Marical, Michael Hough, Sen., John Carpenter, James Newell, William McClimans, Aaron Sackett."

[On the same day a like petition was sent in from the following persons living near Wells' Fort—George Brown, John Baxter, Matthew Fouke, Samuel Naylor, John Sappington. George Naylor, and, on the next day, a similar one from the following persons of Hoagland's near Alexander Wells' Mill: George McColloch, William Logan, John Biggs, Benj. Biggs, Charles Hedges, James Andrews, Wm. Harrison, Sen., Nicholas Rodgers, Solomon Hedges, Joseph Hedges, Silas Hedges, Joseph Hedges, Jr., Isaac Meek, Wm. Bonar, D. Hoghland.]

The following exhibit also relates to this time. It belongs to the same correspondence.

"To his excellency, General Irvine, commander-in-chief of the western department:

"Dear Sir: We, the inhabitants, who live near Mr. Alex. Wells' mill, being very unhandy to any other mill, and daily open and exposed to the rage of a savage and merciless enemy, notwithstanding the great attention paid by the general to our frontiers, and ordering men to be placed on the river—yet those inhabitants who live near enough the mill to fort there, find ourselves unable to guard the mill and carry on labor for the support of our families; and so, of consequence, cannot continue to make a stand without some assistance. And it is clear that if this mill is evacuated many of the adjacent forts, at least seven or eight, that now hope to make a stand, must give up; as their whole dependence is on said mill for bread as well as every expedition from these parts. And scouting parties that turn out on alarms are supplied from here. Therefore, we, your humble petitioners, pray you would order us a few men to guard the mill—so valuable to many in these parts in particular and the country in general. May 2, 1782. [Signed] James Edgar, Henry Graham, David Vance, Arthur Campbell, Joseph Vance."

Nine days after another and similar petition was sent in from the inhabitants of Charles Wells' and other stations lying near Mr. Alex. Wells' mill:

"Washington county, Cross Creek Settlement, May 18, 1782.

"We, your petitioners, have been several weeks in actual service on these waters and on the waters of Buffalo creek and finding the distressed situation of the frontier inhabitants by the daily incursions of the savages which we are fully of the opinion the river guards cannot prevent, and as there are nine or ten forts that are constantly depending on Alexander Wells' mill for grinding where they are served and their work with speed despatched, we are entirely sensible that it is necessary and requisite that your excellency send a guard of seven, eight or nine men, to be stationed at said mill for their safety and to the satisfaction and encouragement of the forts adjacent. We, your petitioners, do reside in the interior parts of the country, though at present in the service of your excellency with all possible punctuality. [Signed] Benjamin White, captain; Albert Ramsey, captain; Nathan Powell, lieutenant. To his excellency, Brig. General Irvine."

There was another Wells' (Richard) Fort, about six miles northwest from this, in West Virginia, a short distance from the Penn'a line. Col. Marshall in a letter to Gen. Irvine of the 2d of July, 1782, informs him of the movements of Col. Williamson, then making ready for the expedition in movement against the Indians at that time. He says: "To-morrow I intend marching whatever men may rendezvous in this quarter, to Richard Wells' Fort, which is within five miles of Mingo Bottom; at which place I intend to stay, if circumstances will admit until I hear from you." [Butterfield's Crawford's Expedition, page 265.]

DODDRIDGE'S FORT.

This fort was built by John Doddridge on a tract of land called "Extravagance" situated on the waters of Buffalo creek in Independence township, Washington county, about three miles west of West Middletown, and two miles east of Independence town, and about three-fourths of a mile southwest from Teeter's Fort. The farm has long been a tenant farm

and is now owned by Rev. W. F. Brown, D. D., Cononsburg, Pa.

When this fort was built it probably took the place of Teeter's Fort which had become indefensible. It stood where the present dwelling stands, and the stockade enclosed probably about one-half an acre of land. There is an excellent spring still in existence which was either enclosed or so close as to be within the protection of the fort.

Soon after the attack and repulse of the Indians at Wheeling an attack was made upon Rice's Fort on Buffalo creek, about 12 miles from its junction with the Ohio river, and about four miles from Doddridge's Fort, which was also repulsed. It was supposed that an attack would then be made on Doddridge's Fort. Capt. Samuel Teeters, a relative of Doddridge, took command and prepared the fort for defense; but it was not attacked although the Indians passed near it. (Reed and Simpson MS.)

TEETER'S FORT.

This fort took its name from its builder, Capt. Samuel Teters, who had participated in Braddock's and Grant's defeats, and who located on a tract of land called "Plenty" on the waters of Cross creek, in Independence township, Washington county. The premises are now owned and occupied by Col. Asa Manchester, (aged about 82 years); and had been in the Manchester family since 1797, Isaac Manchester having purchased the farm in that year from Capt. Samuel Teeters and from him it has descended to the present owner. Samuel Teeters settled on it in 1773.

The dimensions of this fort cannot be given, but it was supposed to contain within its area about the one-eighth of an acre. Part of the site is probably covered by the owner's present residence, which was erected in 1815. There are some stones in the house-yard which were probably foundation stones of the blockhouse or of some of the cabins. Some of the logs of the fort, or stockade, are still in use in Col. Manchester's woodhouse. The Colonel showed where he remem-

bered a long depression caused by the decaying of the stock-ades, which were split logs standing about 16 feet high, set in the ground with other logs set in the interstices, and which had been erected around his house and buildings. * * * * This was probably one of the first forts erected in this vicinity. It was abandoned as indefensible on the erection of the Doddridge's Fort about three-fourths of a mile southwest therefrom. [Reed and Simpson MS., Hist. Wash. Co., 825.]

BEEMAN'S BLOCKHOUSE.

Beeman's Blockhouse was situated on Beeman's run, which empties into the north fork of Wheeling creek. In front of this blockhouse was a long, narrow field, on which horses were pastured. At the extremity of the field the fence was down, and two boys passed through into the woods in search of the horses that had strayed off. The Indians had thrown down the fence as a ruse, and taken the horses into the woods, and thither the boys ignorantly went. That night the boys were tomahawked, scalped, and left for dead. In the morning, on awakening, one of the boys found the Indians had left, and his brother dead, went to the river and pursued its course until evening, when he arrived at Wheeling. [Creigh's Hist. of Wash. Co., p. 55.]

MARSHALL'S BLOCKHOUSE.

Marshall's Blockhouse built by Col. James Marshall stood on a tract of land called "Marshall's Delight," Cross Creek township, Washington county. This was an important place of refuge, but was never attacked so far as known. It was built near a spring still in use. The land is now owned and occupied by Mrs. Margaret W. McCorkle.

Col. James Marshel and his son John always spelled their surname in this peculiar way—Marshel. The cousins of Col. Marshel, though of the same family, spelled their name in the usual way—Marshall.

ENLOW'S BLOCKHOUSE.

Abraham Enlow was among the first of the settlers in what is now East Finley township, Washington county. There is little doubt that he was here as early as 1775. He settled on Wheeling creek, where he built a blockhouse for the protection of himself and family from the Indians. * * * * Of this branch of the Enlow family, Elliott, Jr., is the only one now living. He still owns a part of the old homestead, and another portion is the property of William McCleary." [Crumrine's Hist. Wash. Co., p. 775.]

BURGETT'S FORT.

The land on which Burgettstown is situated was located by Sebastian Burgett, a native of Germany, who emigrated to this country with his wife and three children, and settled in Berks county, Pa. While living there his wife died, and left to his care two sons and a daughter. He removed to near Robbstown (West Newton) Westmoreland county, before 1773 where he soon after married Roxana Markle. He came to this part of the country and located upon a large tract of land, which later was secured to his heirs. His name is mentioned as early as 1780 in connection with the Virginia certificate of George McCormick, Henry Rankin, and others whose lands he joined.

The Burgett house stood near the Robert Scott house, and the old fort, as it was called, was near it. This last stood many years, and later was partially covered with clapboards. Several years ago, when Mr. Boston Burgett built a new house, the old log structure was removed across the street and was used as a cow-house. The tomahawk and bullet-marks were visible. It was finally struck by lightning and destroyed. [Hist. Wash. Co., 916. Crumrine.]

CAMPBELL'S BLOCKHOUSE.

The first settlement in Finley township in the western part of Washington county was about 1785. In this a man by the name of McIntosh, with his wife and eight children, settled on what is now the Blockhouse Run (from the fact that Campbell's Blockhouse was erected there). See Roney's Blockhouse.

* * * * *

"The lands in West Finley township were chiefly owned by Messrs. Shields and Hollingsworth, of Phila., part of which was taken in 1790 by Scotch Presbyterian emigrants direct from Scotland—hence it was often known by the name of the "Scotch settlement." On this land they built Campbell's Blockhouse in the summer of that year. It was situate about one mile and a half west of the village of Good Intent. These settlers had exceedingly hard times. During part of the summer months they were shut up in the blockhouse, and it was with the greatest difficulty and peril they could raise corn sufficient for their families and their stock." [Creigh's Hist. Wash. Co., p. 57.]

FROMAN'S FORT.

Froman's Fort.—Col. Aeneas Mackay and others to Jos. Shippen, Secretary of the Governor, from Pittsburgh, July 8th, 1774, (Arch., iv, 540), says: "Since our memorial to his honor the governor, of the 25th of June, accompanied by some notes, there has several occurrences of so extraordinary a nature happened, that we hope no apology is necessary for giving you this trouble. The traders who were coming by land are all come in safe. Capt. Whiteyes is returned with the strongest assurances of friendship from the Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots and Cherokees, with whom he had been treating on our behalf. Upon his return he found his house broken open by the Virginians, and about thirty pounds worth of his property taken, which was divided and sold by the robbers at one Froman's Fort, on Chartiers creek." * * * * Col. Mackay here reflects on the partisans of Lord Dunmore.

Froman's Fort, on Chartiers creek, is classed with Vance's Fort, Lindley's Fort and others that were erected in Washington county, by Mr. Crumrine in his History of that county, page 73. On the Historical Map of the State it is set down opposite Canonsburg.

WILLIAMSON'S STATION.

"Col. David Williamson was colonel of the third battalion of Washington county militia, and second in command upon the Sandusky Expedition. He was a son of John Williamson, and was born in 1752, near Carlisle, Penna. He came to the western country when a boy; he afterwards returned home and persuaded his parents to emigrate beyond the Allegheny. They settled upon Buffalo creek, in what was Washington county, about twelve miles from the Ohio. At that point David had a 'station' during the Revolution, which, though often alarmed, was never attacked." [C. W. Butterfield, in note, p. 366, Wash.-Irvine Cor.]

BAYON'S BLOCKHOUSE.

An old cabin, sometimes used as a place of refuge, was built by Thomas Bayon. It stood on a farm now owned by J. D. Braden, Esq., and others in Cross Creek township.

TAYLOR'S FORT.

Another fort was Taylor's Fort, near the site of Taylors-town. It stood on a knoll on the bank of Buffalo creek, (Buffalo township), the property being now owned by James Hodgens.

NORRIS' FORT.

"Col. James Allison, of Cecil county, Maryland, came in the spring of 1774 to what is now Washington county, and settled on Chartiers. He and his family were of the twenty families who came to this section in that year, among whom were the Scotts, McDowells, Parks, Morrisons, Stuthers, Norris and others. For the first year after these families arrived in the valley they were accustomed to rendezvous in time of danger from the Indians at a fort that was built on the land of William Norris, in the rear of the old quail place, Chartiers township." [Hist. Wash. Co., 707. Crumrine.]

CHERRY'S FORT.

"The Cherry Fort was situated on the farm commonly known as the Cherry farm from having remained in the family name until a recent period, in Mount Pleasant township, Washington county, and stood a few yards northeast of William P. Cherry's present (1882) residence. It consisted of three log buildings, one twenty-five feet square, the others smaller. They were arranged in a triangular form and enclosed with a stockade. The fort was built in the summer and fall of 1774, and was the residence of the Cherrys, and where in times of danger the McCartys, Rankins, and others fled. The large building was two stories in height, with a halfstory above, and was built to withstand a formidable attack." [Hist. Wash. Co., Crumrine, p. 855.] It is on land now owned by Mr. Martin Raab.

LAMB'S FORT.

Lamb's Fort is said to have been four miles from Rice's Fort and is mentioned in the account of the attack on Fort Rice as given in Withers' Chronicles. "When Rice's Fort was attacked Abraham Rice was absent, having set out at once on receipt of

the news brought by Jacob Miller to go to Lamb's Fort for assistance." A place locally known as "the Fort" on the farm of Mr. Luther Davis, in Hopewell township, Washington county, is probably the site. On authority of Messrs. J. M. K. Reed and James Simpson.

BECKET'S FORT.

Dr. Creigh in his History of Washington County says there was a fort called Becket's Fort near the Monongahela river (page 56).

"When the Court for Monongalia County, Va. [under the jurisdiction of Virginia], met at Fort Dunmore, (originally and afterward, Fort Pitt), on the 21st of Feb., 1775, viewers were appointed to report roads from and to various points. One of these was from Fort Dunmore (Pittsburgh) to Becket's Fort and the points were from Becket's Fort to James Wilson's, thence to the Monongahela river; thence to the head of Saw-mill run; thence to Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh)." Ib. 20.

Dr. Alfred Creigh makes mention of the following forts and blockhouses in his History of Washington County of which nothing further can be learned. The location where given is the only further information to be added.

"There was a blockhouse on the farm owned by William M. Lee, Esq., called Reynolds' Fort from the owner of the land William Reynolds, Esq." Page 233. * * * * This farm is now owned by Mr. William M. Dunbar, and is near Cross creek village, Cross Creek township, Washington county.

"There was a blockhouse in Mount Pleasant township, Washington county, on Wilson's farm which is now (1870) owned by Andrew Russel, Esq." This is on the farm now owned by Mr. ——— Miller.

"There was also a fort in West Bethlehem township, Washington county, at the village of Zollarsville, and directly in the rear of the dwelling house and store of Edward R. Smith, Esq.,

on the high bluff which overlooks the fort." Zollarsville is on the North Branch of Ten Mile creek, sixteen miles from Washington.

FORTS MILLIKEN AND MCFARLAND.

Dr. Alfred Creigh in his history of Washington county, in speaking of Amwell township, which borders on Greene county, observes that "the early settlers of this part of the county as well as the adjoining county of Greene, were squatters who purchased the land from the native Indians for a gun, trinket, or gewgaw, of whom were John Rutman and Dennis Smith, the former dying at the age of ninety-nine and the latter at one hundred and four; these two, with William Gordon, Russel Reese, John Lorrison, and John James constituted the principal original settlers. From the year 1770 to 1790, they were followed by a different kind of men, who patented their lands and obtained them legally; these early pioneers were Nathaniel McGriffen, David Evans, James Milliken, Abel McFarland, George Cooper and John Bates, some of whom served in the Revolutionary War with marked distinction.

"For their protection these settlers erected two forts, one called Fort Milliken, situated on a beautiful mound on the farm of Mrs. Samuel Bradon, the other was named Fort McFarland, and located on the farm of Peter Garrett. * * * The history of the North Tenmile Baptist Church runs back as far as the year 1772. In their first labors they were much troubled with the Indians, and were often compelled to hold their meeting in Fort McFarland."

WOODRUFF'S BLOCKHOUSE.

"There was a third fort or blockhouse on the farm now (1870) owned by Nehemiah Woodruff, Esq., where many bones, arrows, wares, and trinkets are unearthed by the farmer's plow. The mound that encircled the area of this third fort until re-

cently was covered with large trees, and in the immediate vicinity are numerous burying-grounds of the Indians." [Creigh's Hist. Wash. Co., 93-94.]

COX'S FORT OR STATION.

Mention is made of Cox's, (or Coxe's) Fort or Station frequently in the latter days of the Revolution, but it was in existence much earlier. Gabriel Cox, from whom the fort was named and on whose land the fort was built and the station established, was a Major under authority of Virginia from 1776 to 1782; and was a participant in various expeditions that went out from the Washington county region against the Indians from 1778 to 1782. [History of Washington County, Crumrine, 961.]

In Dunlevy's declaration for a pension, as recited in a note to Mr. Butterfield's Crawford's Expedition, it is said: "Dunlevy volunteered about the first of March, 1778, for one month's service. The rendezvous was at Cox's Station, on Peter's creek. Colonels Isaac Cox and John Canon attended to organizing the men; but in eight days the militia relinquished their arms to some recruits for the regular army, who relieved them, and they returned home to attend to putting in their crops."

In mentioning the early settlers of Peters township (then embracing Union township), in the History of Washington County edited by Mr. Crumrine, it is said that "David Steele was in service in 1776 under Captain Isaac Cox, and himself rose to the grade of Captain. On the 1st of March, 1778, he was with the troops who rendezvoused at Cox's Station, under Colonel Isaac Cox and John Canon."

During the time that Virginia exercised jurisdiction over this portion of the State this was a notable point and is frequently mentioned in their records and in the minutes of their county courts. "Commissioners appointed by Virginia for the adjustment and settling titles of claimants to unpatented lands 'came to the western watters' in the Monongahela Valley in December, 1779, and in that and the following months sat at Red-

- stone and at Cox's Fort, on the Monongahela, and granted scores of certificates to claimants under Virginia settlement rights."

Mr. Crumrine in a note to his text says: "There has been some doubt as to the locality of Cox's Fort. Mr. Veech calls it "Coxe's Fort, on the west side of the Monongahela." Some of the certificates are dated at Coxe's Fort, others at Cox's Fort, evidently meaning the same place. There was a Cox's Fort just above Wellsburg, on land about 1785 bought of Van Swearingen, but the locality called by this name in the text is believed to be the station or fort at Capt. Gabriel Cox's, in now Union township."

Commissioners sat there till some time in 1780. "No event (says Judge Veech in Centenary Memorial, 336,) in the whole controversy so roused the ire of Pennsylvania."

The present owner of the land on which Cox's Fort stood, is Mr. Samuel Myers. The farm is a part of a tract taken out by Gabriel Cox, under the name of Coxburg, Number 486, enrolled in patent book No. 4, P. 9 to 11. The location of the fort is in Union township, Washington county, one mile from Gastonville, on the Washington and Wheeling division of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, one mile from Shire Oaks on the Virginia and Charleston division of the Pennsylvania railroad; on the Monongahela river, fourteen miles from Pittsburgh.

Mr. Myers' son plowed up a twelve pound cannon ball in the spring of 1892 on the site of the fort. (Thos. Denniston, Esq.)

All verbal accounts agree that the fort was stockaded, but it is reasonable to suppose that latterly the chief features of the post were those structures which were necessary for the accommodation of the organized soldiery who on occasion were stationed here.

MCDONALD'S STATION.

Mention is made in the correspondence of 1781-2 of McDonald's Station, sometimes fort. The following petition was sent

to Gen. Irvine April 5th, 1782. The original is found in the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, page 298.

"To the Honorable General Irvine, commandant on the western waters:

"Your humble petitioners showing forth our situation since the year 1777, that we have lived in a state of anarchy. We were in great hopes that your honor would have supported us that we could have lived at our own homes; but lately, learning that the station is evacuated, we expect nothing else but that the Indians will be immediately amongst us. Therefore, we, the subscribers, have met this day at the house of John McDonald. At the risk of our lives and fortunes, with the assistance of Almighty God, we are determined to make a stop here the ensuing summer. We look upon it prudent to use the means as well as prayers. Therefore, sir, we look for aid and assistance, as we are but a few in number, not able to repel the enemy. Therefore, we look to you for men, ammunition and arms.

"We know that provision is scarce, therefore we will find the men that are sent to us, only allowing us rations-pay. The number of men we request is ten. McDonald, last Tuesday, waited on Colonel James Marshal, our county lieutenant, requesting him for some assistance of men, powder and lead. His answer was he could not furnish him with either.

"Sir:—We understand that George Vallandigham is to sit in council with you to-morrow, who was a sufferer as well as we are, and has lately left his place of abode and took his refuge near Colonel [John] Canon's. Pray, sir, ask of him our present situation. [Signed] Wm. Littell, Joshua Meeks, John Robb, James Littell, James Baggs, John Hull, Thomas Moon, John McDonald, John Reed, Wm. Anderson.

"N. B.—The situation of McDonald's place is pleasant, lying and being on a knoll or advantageous piece of ground for any garrison. We the subscribers observing that the states must have receiving and issuing stores, it is our opinion that according to McDonald's promise, we think it the best place for said stores. McDonald's promises are that the states shall have, without cost, his still-house, hogsheds, his cellar under

his new house, together with the lowest story of his spring house, without price or fee to the states. We have appointed Joshua Meeks and John McDonald to lay our petitions before your honor. April 5, 1782."

Among the minutes of the proceedings of the Supreme Executive Council is the following, taken from Pa. Records, xvi, 283. Feb. 18th, 1790. "The Comptroller and Register General's Reports, upon the following accounts [among which is the one quoted], were read and approved, vizt: Of Joseph Brown for one month's pay as a volunteer militia man, while stationed at one McDonald's, for the defense of the county of Washington, in Aug., 1782, amounting to five pounds, five shillings."

"This fort was located back of ——— Merryman's house some distance, on or near the site of the old school house. The fort was built of logs, with a stockade around it for the protection of their cattle in case of a general alarm." [Edward McDonald, Esq., McDonald, Pa., MS.]

Remarks.—Chartiers creek flows a northeast course of thirty-five or forty miles and empties into the Ohio river five miles above Pittsburgh. This creek derives its name from Peter Chartiers, who went among the Indians on the Ohio and tributary streams to deal for peltries. He was an influential Indian interpreter, and joined the French Indians on the Ohio, to the injury of Pennsylvania. Chartiers had a trading station on or near the mouth of the creek. Gov. Thomas, in 1745, said that the perfidious blood of the Shawanese partly runs in his veins.

Cross creek rises in Mount Pleasant township and runs northwest to the Ohio river, a few miles above Wellsburg, West Virginia.

"Mingo Bottom is a rich plateau on the immediate bank of the Ohio, in the south half of section 27 of township two, range one, of the government survey, extending south to a small affluent of the Ohio known as Cross creek. Opposite the upper portion of Mingo Bottom is Mingo Island, containing about ten acres, although much larger in 1782. It supports a scanty

growth of willow bushes only, but within the recollection of many now living it was studded with trees of large size, particularly the soft maple. Cross creek, on the Virginia side, flows into the Ohio about three-fourths of a mile below. Before the great flood of 1832 the island contained not less than twenty acres. The usual place of crossing was from shore to shore, across the head of the island. At the landing on the west bank the vagrant Mingoes had once a village, deserted, however, as early as 1772. Their town gave name to the locality. The Ohio had been forded at this crossing in very low water. The bluffs of the river are below the island on the Virginia side, above on the Ohio side. Mingo Bottom contains about two hundred and fifty acres."

GREENE COUNTY.

"On the 9th of Feb., 1796, another portion of the territory of Washington county was erected into Greene county. By this act the following townships, namely, Greene, Cumberland, Morgan, Franklin and Rich Hill were struck off to form Greene county."

It is thus seen that none of the forts or blockhouses which are properly the subject matter of our inquiries, had existence during the civil history of Greene county; but in conformity with the plan which we have adopted the following places are specified as within that county. The history of these places, indeed, is always associated with the name of Washington county, for the apparent reason that the necessity which called for them existed only prior to the erection of Greene.

We apprehend that it is well nigh impossible to give an exact, and therefore a satisfactory account of these border posts along the line where the territory of Pennsylvania touches the territory of West Virginia. Many blockhouses and some stockade forts were within proximity of the people who were domiciled on what, for the most part of the time,

was on our side of the imaginary line dividing Virginia and Pennsylvania. These became the refuge in times of danger of our people, while at the same time, as the occasion offered, the blockhouses and forts on our side of the line sheltered the Virginians.

JACKSON'S FORT.

The first depredations of Logan after he had taken up the hatchet against the whites occurred in the neighborhood of this fort. Admonished by these bloody occurrences, "precautions were taken to prepare a place of safety to which the scattered settlers could betake themselves in the intimations of danger. Jackson's Fort was commenced in the same year, 1774, on the Jesse Hook property, then owned by a man by the name of Jackson. His cabin, which was the nucleus of the fort, stood near the bluff of the creek, directly south of Hook's town. Remains of the structure are still [1888] visible. At first it was but a single cabin, but subsequently consisted of a regular system of cabins, arranged in the form of a hollow square, and enclosing an acre or more of ground. Between the cabins were palisades ten or twelve feet high, supplied with port-holes. Each of the neighboring settlers owned one of these cabins, to which he could flee for refuge in times of danger, in addition to the home on his own tract of land. The doors of these cabins opened within the enclosure, the outside having neither windows nor doors, except some look-out in the upper part of each. There was but one entrance, and when once within, each family controlled its own cabin, the enclosed square being common to all. 'Such is a very brief description', says Evans, 'of an institution once regarded the hope and salvation of its people. Around this devoted spot cluster a myriad of reminiscences, which, if they could be intelligently unraveled, and woven into narrative, would make volumes of interesting matter. The traditions of Jackson's Fort are exceeding numerous, but are very vague, contradictory and unsatisfactory.'

(1.) History of Greene county, Pa., by Samuel P. Bates, 1888.

* * * * The gentleman referred to above, L. K. Evans, Esq., during the centennial year of independence, published in the *Waynesburg Republican*, which he then edited, a series of articles running through an entire year of weekly issue, embracing investigations covering much of the early history of the county.

Jackson's Fort was a short distance—within about half a mile of the borough of Waynesburg, the county-town of Greene county, on lands now owned by Thomas Dougal, just south of Ten-Mile creek, opposite Hooktown. The printed accounts of its history are extremely meagre, and very unsatisfactory. During its existence as a defensive post it was of course within Washington county. The inhabitants about this fort suffered in common with their neighbors and with those of this entire region, very grievously, especially during the latter part of the Revolution. Col. Marshel writes to Gen. Wm. Irvine, at Pittsburgh, from Catfish, [Wash., Pa.] July 4th, 1782, [Wash.-Irvine Cor., 298,], saying, "Repeated application by the inhabitants on the south line of this county namely: from Jackson's Fort to Buffalo creek, [Buffalo creek rises in what is now East Findley Township, Wash. Co., Pa., flowing westerly into the Ohio], and I am at a loss to know what to do. The people declare they must immediately abandon their habitations until a few men are sent to them during harvest. They also declare their willingness to submit to and supply the men on the faith of government. If you approve of sending a few men to this frontier, you will please to order the bearer such quantity of ammunition as you think proper."

The date of the erection of Jackson's Fort is given in a note to Withers' *Chronicles* as of the same time or contemporaneously with the erection of Shepard's on Wheeling creek and those forts which were erected in Tygart's Valley, which date was 1774, after the collision of the whites with the Indians near the mouth of Captina creek, which led to Dunmore's War. It would therefore appear to have been in existence during the entire Revolution.

Lieut.-Col. Stephen Bayard writes to Col. William McCleery one of the sub-lieutenants of Washington county, under date of August 4th, 1782, as follows:

"I have sent you by the bearer, William Hathaway, eight pounds powder and sixteen pounds lead for the particular use of Jackson's Fort, which is all I could undertake to send in the General's [Irvine's] absence, who marches this morning with a party of Regulars toward the Mingo Bottom. When he returns, you will no doubt be supplied with ammunition for the rangers."

Col. McCleery had written the following letter to Irvine which called out, in the General's absence, the letter of Col. Bayard, above:

"Traveler's Rest, Washington County, Aug. 3d, 1782.

"Dear Sir:—The bearer will call upon you for powder, lead and flints for the use of the ranging company allotted for the defence of our frontiers [two months] the time proposed for their continuance.

"Permit me to observe that a small magazine kept at this place for the purpose of furnishing those men that may be called upon to repel the enemy from time to time, should they penetrate into our settlements would render essential service both to ourselves and country. * * * * Should you think such a proceeding consistent, you will be good enough to augment the quantity allotted for the rangers, so as I may be enabled to furnish for the above purposes. At the same time, please to observe that men living in the woods, exposed to the weather (as these rangers must be), will need more ammunition than those stationed at a garrison." [Correspondence, Wash-Irvine, 390-391.]

GARARD'S FORT.

Garard's Fort is located in Greene township, Greene county, and the town of Garard, Garard's Fort, of the present day occupies almost the same site as the old Indian Fort. The site is on the left bank of Whiteley creek about seven miles west of Greensborough.

The fertility of the soil was such as to attract the eye of the early explorers, and here were their first lodgings. The township is well watered by Whiteley creek. Few sections of the

county present a more inviting appearance than the valley of this stream. In the central portion of this township on the left bank of the creek was located Garard's Fort, a place of great importance at that period when Indian massacres were frequent, as a place of refuge and safety for the settlers, and around it has grown the principal village in the township."

This fort is made memorable by the horrible butchery of the Corbly family:

It was in the neighborhood of this fort that the first religious worship in this section was held, and here was organized in 1776, on the 7th day of October, the first church in the county. It was built by the Baptist denomination. Rev. Corbly and his family, and others had settled at a very early date on Muddy creek. Of this church he "was at an early day installed pastor, and ministered to the congregation at the time when the savages were reeking their vengeance upon the helpless and defenceless settlers. In May, 1782, his family was attacked on Sunday morning while on the way to church. In a letter written by Mr. Corbly dated 1785, to Rev. Wm. Rogers, of Philadelphia, he gives the following account of the heart-rending circumstance:

"On the second Sabbath in May, in the year 1782, being my appointment at one of my meeting-houses, about a mile from my dwelling-house, I set out with my dear wife and five children for public worship. Not suspecting any danger, I walked behind 200 yards, with my Bible in my hand, meditating; as I was thus employed, all on a sudden, I was greatly alarmed with the frightful shrieks of my dear family before me. I immediately ran, with all the speed I could, vainly hunting a club as I ran, till I got within forty yards of them; my poor wife on seeing me, cried to me to make my escape; an Indian ran up to shoot me; I then fled, and by doing outran him. My wife had a sucking child in her arms; this little infant they killed and scalped. They then struck my wife several times, but not getting her down, the Indian who aimed to shoot me, ran to her, shot her through the body and scalped her; my little boy, an only son, about six years old, they sunk the hatchet into his brain, and thus despatched him. A daughter, besides the infant, they also killed and scalped. My eldest daughter,

who is yet alive was hid in a tree, about 200 yards away from the place where the rest were killed, and saw the whole proceedings. She, seeing the Indians all go off, as she thought, got up, and deliberately crept from the hollow trunk; but one of them espying her, ran hastily up, and scalped her; also her only surviving sister, one on whose head they did not leave more than a inch round, either of flesh or skin, besides taking a piece of her skull. She, and the before mentioned one, are still miraculously preserved, though, as you may think I have had and still have, a great deal of trouble and expense with them, besides anxiety about them, insomuch that I am, as to worldly circumstances, almost ruined. I am yet in hopes of seeing them cured; they still, blessed be the God, retain their senses, notwithstanding the painful operations they have already, and must yet pass through.

“Muddy Creek, Washington co., July 8, 1785.”

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FORT SWAN AND VAN METER.

“Cumberland township was probably one of the first settled townships in Greene county. John Swan, as early as 1767, looked upon the stately forests that encumbered all the valley of Pumpkin run with an eye of satisfaction, and to notice that he had chosen this location for himself proceeded to put his mark upon it by blazing the trees around a goodly circuit. In 1768-69 he returned and made a fixed habitation. He was accompanied by Thomas Hughes and Jesse Vanmeter, who united their strength for mutual protection. These early pioneers determined to provide for the safety of their families, and accordingly built a strong stockade, which has ever since been known as old Fort Swan and Vanmeter. It was situated near the border of Cumberland township [near the present town of Carmichaels], on the spot where the house of Andrew J. Young stands and was a noted rallying point in its day for the venturesome pioneers and their families.” The fort was erected early, not later than 1774, and probably earlier.

"Until the massacre by Logan and his band, in 1774, there was no trouble with the Indians; though for safety it had become necessary to have a place of refuge and a fort was built on John Swan's farm, known as Swan and Vanmeter's Fort." [Hist. Greene Co., Pa.]

RYERSON'S FORT.

"Ryerson's Fort, an important rallying point in times of danger, was located on the great Indian war path leading across from the Ohio river to the Monongahela, at the confluence of the north and south forks of Dunkard branch of Wheeling creek.

"It was recognized from the very first as an important strategic point of defence for the settlers against the incursion of hostile Indians from their villages across the Ohio. Here the authorities of Virginia had a fort built, to the defence of which Capt. James Seals was sent, having in his company the grandfather, father and uncles of Isaac Teagarden, and Thomas Lazear, father of Hon. Isaac Lazear." [Hist. Greene Co., 530-536.]

The following is given on the authority of L. K. Evans, Esq., and taken from his Centennial Articles, elsewhere referred to.

"About the year 1790, a family by the name of Davis resided on the north branch of Dunkard Wheeling creek, about three miles above Ryerson's Station, and a short distance below Stall's or Kinkaid's Mill. The family, with the exception of one fortunate lad who had been sent to drive up the horses, were seated around the breakfast-table, partaking of a humble but substantial repast. Suddenly a party of warrior savages appeared at the cabin door. The old man and his two sons sprang up as by instinct to reach for their guns which hung on convenient pegs by the cabin wall; but the design was detected by the Indians, who instantly shot the three dead on the spot. After scalping the victims, despatching the breakfast and pillaging the premises, they made captive the mother and only daughter, and departed on their way up the creek. The boy

managed to elude them, and escaped unharmed. It appears that they captured a horse. One of the Indians mounted it, and taking the girl before him, and the woman behind him, was traveling gaily along. However, they had not proceeded far when a shot from the rifle of John Henderson, who lay concealed in an adjoining thicket, knocked the savage off. But whether the wound was fatal or not, Henderson did not remain to find out. He had to provide himself safety from the infuriated savages."

Some time after the decaying body of the daughter was found, but no trace of the mother was ever discovered. The mutilated bodies of the slain were buried near the cabin and their graves are still marked. The skeleton remains of an Indian were afterward found, supposed to have been the savage shot by Henderson. [Hist. Greene Co., 537.]

In a biographical sketch of James Paull by the Hon. James Veech in the *Monongahela of Old*, it is said that in 1784 or 1785 he commanded a company of scouts or rangers, on a tour to Ryerson's Station, on the western frontier of now Greene county.

The site of the fort is on the farm now owned by Francis Baldwin.

Some of the most noted of the settlers' forts near the line of Greene county on the Virginia side were the following:

STATLER'S FORT.

A fort frequently mentioned with the history of this section is Statler's Fort. It has sometimes been located in Greene county. Dunkard creek, upon which it was located, flows sinuously along the division line of the two states. The following is from the *History of Monongahela county, West Virginia*, by Samuel T. Wiley, p. 742: "Statler's Fort—This fort has been located at different points along Dunkard creek. It was on lands now owned by Isaac Shriever. The writer, on visiting the place, found the fort to have stood on the bottom below the graveyard, on a slight elevation above the Dunkard

creek bottom. Mrs. Shriever was positive that this was the location, she having heard Mrs. Brown (who was a Statler) tell of being in the fort when twelve years old and who said that this was the spot where it stood. It was but a short distance below Brown's mills." It would thus appear that it is properly located in Monongalia county, West Virginia.

MARTIN'S FORT.

In the northern part of Monongahela county, West Virginia, on Crooked run—very near the Greene county line. This fort was attacked in June, 1779, when ten whites were killed and captured. [See Border Warfare, by Withers, and Hist. Monongalia Co., by Samuel T. Wiley.]

HARRISON'S FORT.

Harrison's Fort, built by Richard Harrison, was on the headwaters of Crooked run, and not a mile from Martin's Fort.

There was a Vanmeter's Fort a short distance above Wheeling, near the Ohio river in the Panhandle, somewhat more conspicuous than the fort called Fort Swan and Vanmeter in Greene county. [See Crawford's Expedition by Butterfield.]

INDIANA COUNTY.

Although there were some settlers in what is now Indiana county (then Westmoreland) very early—shortly after the opening of the land office, (1769),—yet the number was small, and after the Revolutionary War began, most of these abandoned their settlements and sought protection further south.

ward nearer the rivers Kiskiminetas and Conemaugh; some stopped in Ligonier Valley, and some returned to the east of the Mountains. This condition continued until near the close of the war, at which time some of those who had been driven off, returned, and others came with them. Such places, therefore, as are here mentioned belong to the latter period. After the close of the War, this section became in its turn a frontier, and there were various places intended for temporary refuge constructed out of the houses of the settlers of that time; but while the apprehensions were great at times during the Indian wars of 1790 and '93, yet no serious depredations were committed by the few detached parties of savages who marauded through the region nearest the Allegheny.

MOORHEAD'S BLOCKHOUSE.

"In the month of May, 1772, Fergus Moorhead, his wife and three children, his two brothers, Samuel and Joseph, James Kelly, James Thompson, and a few others, bid farewell to their friends in Franklin county, and set out on their journey to the 'Indian Country' west of the Alleghenies. Where the town of Indiana is now built, was the spot that had been selected by Fergus Moorhead, who had made an excursion into this country in 1770. For reasons which to them were obvious, the party changed their determination, and located a few miles further west. The land now (or lately) owned by Isaac Moorhead was that which was selected for their future residence.

"Fergus Moorhead was taken by the Indians in 1776, and the settlement was partly broken up. His wife returned to Franklin county, where Moorhead after making his escape from captivity rejoined her. In 1781, with his wife and children he returned to his border home. Among those who were his neighbors besides those first mentioned were Moses Chambers, Col. Sharp, S. and W. Hall, the Walkers, Dicksons, Dotys and others.

"The first thing that was accomplished was the erection of a

fort or blockhouse near Moorhead's cabin (near the present site of the stone house), large enough to contain all the families and their effects. Here they remained at night and also during the ensuing winter, considering it unsafe to sleep in their cabins." [Jonathan Row, *Indiana Register*, 1859.]

In 1794 Andrew Allison and his wife and child with a neighbor Gawin Adams fled to "Moorhead's Fort" from the apprehension of danger caused by the Indians prowling around. When Allison returned he found his cabin in ashes, it having been burnt by them the night after he had left it. [Hist. Indiana County, p. 157, on authority of Jonathan K. Row.]

INYARD'S BLOCKHOUSE.

The following account of a place of defense used by the settlers in what is now West Wheatfield township, Indiana county, at a distance of rather more than five miles from Fort Palmer is taken from the history of Indiana county published by J. A. Caldwell, Newark, Ohio, 1880. The authority upon which the details rest is traditional and verbal. It is said to have been erected by those on the Conemaugh and Tubmill creek, who were, in part, James Clark, William Woods, David Inyard, William Bennett, Archibald McGuire, Benjamin Sutton, Neil Dougherty, David Lakens, James Galbraith, near the Conemaugh. Near the Tubmill creek, there were among others the ancestors of the numerous families of Bradys now living in the northern part of Indiana county.

"Not long after these pioneers had come to the river, Peter Dike, a Pennsylvania German, with a few associates, settled near the foot of Chestnut ridge. For a time they were unmolested by their red neighbors, but during the Revolutionary War, they became their inveterate enemies. The settlers, therefore, joined their neighbors on the river, and, together with those on Tubmill creek, they built a most formidable blockhouse on what was then called the "Indian farm," which derived its name from David Inyard, who first improved it, and his many

Indian neighbors. Fort Ligonier was too far distant to be reached in an emergency by families of women and children, with sufficient provisions to last a long siege, when they should be attacked by large bodies of their foes. The blockhouse was about fifty feet long, and sixteen feet wide at the foundation, and was constructed of the straightest unhewn logs that could be found of the same length. The logs averaged in thickness about a foot at the top or smaller end. The walls were built perpendicularly to about the height of a man's breast, and were notched down tightly. The upper log of this perpendicular wall was notched its whole length, the notches being twenty inches apart. The log immediately below it was notched too, at distances to correspond to the upper log turned down, so that notch came to notch, forming port-holes of sufficient size to admit the muzzle of a rifle with the sight clear. The logs on the next round were notched down tightly at the corners, and all pushed out half their thickness; and each succeeding round up to the square was treated in the same manner, so that it would have been an impossibility for an Indian, or even a panther, to have scaled the walls and come in through the roof. The back of either man or beast would have been turned down, and the whole weight of the body was forced to be supported by the hands or claws, with nothing to which to cling but the scaly bark of the logs.

"All of these with Peter Dike, his colony, and the Tubmill settlement, on occasions of alarm, fled to the fort at Inyard's for safety. At certain seasons of the year when their corn required to be filled, for instance, the women and children remained in the fort or strong-house, while a portion of the men turned out as scouts and the remainder with the boys continued day after day to start in the morning with their horses and rifles, as soon as it was light enough to see an Indian, and went to the river where they plowed and hoed their corn till evening. They always left their work in time to arrive at the fort before it became dark."

ROBINSON'S STRONG-HOUSE.

In a somewhat lengthy history of the Robinson family, as related in the History of Indiana county, referred to, there appears the following:

"Robert Robinson with his family of three sons and two daughters, soon after 1780, moved from the Sewickley settlement in Westmoreland county to the north side of the Kiskiminetas river near the mouth of Lick run, on lands called "York," in Conemaugh township. In a short time they made their way north one mile (no roads) put up a building twenty-four by twenty-eight feet, two stories high, and used is as a stokade. No windows or doors were there for a time. The second log from the puncheon floor had four feet of it cut out for an entrance. The building is still (1880) standing, having been built nearly one hundred years. It is situated on part of the "York" lands."

Although the location of this house was in a very dangerous part of the country, and the time of its erection one of great peril, there is no further account of it.

STATION AT BLACK-LEGS CREEK.

Mention of this point as a station is made in a letter from Col. Brodhead at Pittsburgh, April 2d, 1780, to Col. Archibald Lochry where in the latter is directed to order out sixty able-bodied men from the militia and a proper number of officers to command them. This number was to be divided into three detachments, one of which was to be stationed at the "Forks of Black-Legs where the officer is to make choice of a house on a commanding piece of ground convenient to water, and act agreeable to such orders as they may receive from me. They are to be drafted for two months if not sooner discharged." (Brodhead's Letter Book, No. 129.)

Squads or detachments of rangers would appear to have been stationed at this post at frequent intervals from now to the end of the war.

FORT ARMSTRONG—(Kittanning.)

The old Indian town of Kittanning was settled by the Delawares, prior to 1730. (1.) Shingas, King of the Delawares, on whom Washington called, in 1753, at his residence near McKee's Rocks, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, occasionally resided with Capt. Jacobs, at the Kittanning, on the left bank of the Allegheny, or, as it was then called, Ohio, which the Indians pronounced Oh-he-hu, or Ho-he-hu, meaning beautiful or handsome, of which name the Senecas are said to be very tenacious.

In consequence of the failure of the expedition against Forts Niagara and Duquesne, and more especially of Braddock's defeat in 1755, hundreds of miles of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia were exposed to the ravages of the Indians, instigated by the French. At a council held at Carlisle about the middle of January, 1756, at which Gov. Morris and others as Commissioners of the Province met Seneca George and other chiefs of the Delawares, Mr. George Croghan informed the Council "that he had sent a Delaware Indian, called Jo Hickman, to the Ohio for intelligence, who had returned to his house the day before he came away; that he went to Kittanning, an Indian Delaware town on the Ohio (otherwise Allegheny), forty miles above Fort Duquesne, the residence of Shingas and Capt. Jacobs, where he found 140 men, chiefly Delawares and Shawanese, who had there with them above 100 English prisoners, big and little, taken from Virginia and Pennsylvania. From the Kittanning, Jo Hickman went to Loggstown, where he found about 100 Indians and 30 English prisoners; that he returned to Kittanning, and there learned that 10 Delawares had gone to the Susquehanna to persuade, as he supposed, those Indians to strike the English who might have been concerned in the mischief lately done in Northampton." Mr. Croghan said he was well assured by accounts given by other Indians that the Delawares and Shawanese acted in this hostile manner by "the advice and concurrence of the Six Nations, and that such of them as lived in the Delaware towns went along with them and took part in their incursions."

King Shingas, who, Heckewelder says, was "a bloody war-

rior, cruel his treatment, relentless his fury, small in person, but in activity, courage and savage prowess unexcelled," heading a party of warriors, fell upon the settlements west of the Susquehanna and committed the most cruel murders. To guard against such and other depredations, a cordon of forts and blockhouses was erected along the Kittatinny Hills, from the Delaware river to the Maryland line, east of the Susquehanna river. West of that river were Fort Louthier, at Carlisle; Fort Morris and Fort Franklin, at Shippensburg; Fort Granville, now Lewistown; Fort Shirley, Shirleysburg, on the Aughwick branch, a creek which enters into the Juniata; Fort Littleton, near Bedford; Fort Loudoun, on the Conococheague creek, Franklin county.

One of the first prisoners of whom we have any definite account carried here, was Col. James Smith, the author of the Narrative, who was taken on the 5th of July, 1755, from the force that was then employed in opening the road from Fort Loudoun to the three forks of the Youghiogheny. Smith was then but a lad. He was taken to Fort Duquesne, where he was compelled to run the gauntlet. (See Fort Duquesne). Here at Kittanning, he remained several weeks.

At a council, held at Philadelphia, Tuesday, September 6th, 1756, the statement of John Coxe, a son of the widow Coxe, was made, the substance of which is: He, his brother Richard and John Craig were taken in the beginning of February of that year by nine Delaware Indians from a plantation two miles from McDowell's mill, which was between the east and west branches of the Conococheague creek, about 20 miles west of the present site of Shippensburg, in what is now Franklin county, and brought to Kittanning "on the Ohio." On his way hither he met Shingas with a party of 30 men, and afterward Capt. Jacobs and 15 men, whose design was to destroy the settlements on Conococheague. When he arrived at Kittanning he saw here about 100 fighting men of the Delaware tribe, with their families, and about 50 English prisoners, consisting of men, women and children. During his stay here Shingas' and Jacobs' parties returned, the one with nine scalps and ten prisoners, the other with several scalps and five prisoners. Another company of 18 came from Diahogo with 17

scalps on a pole, which they took to Fort Duquesne to obtain their reward. The warriors held a council, which, with their war dances, continued a week, when Capt. Jacobs left with 48 men, intending, as Coxe was told, to fall upon the inhabitants at Paxtang. He heard the Indians frequently say that they intended to kill all the white folks, except a few, with whom they would afterwards make peace. They made an example of Paul Broadley, who, with their usual cruelty, they beat for half an hour with clubs and tomahawks, and then, having fastened him to a post, cropped his ears close to his head and chopped off his fingers, calling all the prisoners to witness the horrible scene.

Among the English prisoners brought to Kittanning, says Mr. Smith, in his History of Armstrong County, were George Woods, father-in-law of the eminent lawyer, James Ross (deceased), and the wife and daughter of John Grey, who were captured at Bigham's Fort, in the Tuscarora Valley, in 1756. Mr. Grey came out here with Armstrong's expedition, hoping to hear from his family. These three prisoners were sent from Kittanning to Fort Duquesne, and subsequently to Canada.

Fort Granville, situated on the Juniata, one mile above Lewistown, was besieged by the Indians July 30, 1756. The force then in it consisted of 24 men, under the command of Lieut. Armstrong, who was killed during the siege. Having assaulted the fort in vain during the afternoon and night, the enemy took to the Juniata creek, and, protected by its bank, attained a deep ravine, by which they were enabled to approach, without fear of injury, to within 30 or 40 feet of the stockade, which they succeeded in setting on fire. Through a hole made by the flames, they killed the lieutenant and one private, and wounded three others, who were endeavoring to put out the fire. The enemy then offering quarter to the besieged, if they would surrender, one Turner opened the gate to them. * * * He and the others, including three women and several children, were taken prisoners. By order of the French commander, the fort was burned by Capt. Jacobs. When the Indians and prisoners reached Kittanning, Turner was tied to a black post, the Indians danced around

him, made a great fire, and his body was run through with red-hot gun barrels. Having tormented him for three hours, the Indians scalped him alive, and finally held up a boy, who gave him the finishing stroke with a hatchet. (2.) * * * Turner had married the widow of the elder Girty, deceased, the mother of the Girty boys, Simon, James and George. The savages spared her and her son John Turner, Jr., and carried them to Fort Duquesne, where John Turner, aged two and a half years, on the 18th of August, A. D. 1756, was baptized by Fr. Denys Baron, Chaplain of the R. C. mission at that post. The record of the baptism is preserved in the Register, herein frequently referred to. Turner, Jr., died a resident of the township of Peebles, Allegheny county, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Smith, in his History of Armstrong County, says: "The writer has not learned the exact locality of that 'black post,' or whether it was in the upper, central or lower one of the three villages, as the separate clusters of the 40 houses were called, and which were located on the bench now between McKean street and Grant avenue—two of the villages having been above and one below Market street.* Between these villages and the river was an extensive cornfield. * * * Tradition says that 'black post' was at the mouth of Truby's run, which was formerly several rods lower down than it is now."

In order to break up this harboring place, an expedition was authorized by the representatives of the Governor and Council to be conducted by Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, of the Second battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment. The eight companies which composed this battalion were stationed at the forts on the west side of the Susquehanna. Armstrong, with three hundred and seven men of his force, were at Fort Shirley, Monday, September 3d, 1756, whence he set out for the objective point of his campaign. The events which followed are so clearly detailed in his official report, which is conceded to be a model of its kind, that it is only necessary to refer to it for a complete history of the expedition.

Mr. Morris had informed the Governor and Council, Augt. 2. 1756, that he had concerted an expedition against Kittanning.

*The streets mentioned are in the borough of Kittanning.

to be conducted by Col. John Armstrong, who was to have under his command Capt. Hamilton, Capt. Mercer, Capt. Ward, Capt. Potter, and besides to engage what volunteers he could. The affair was to be kept as secret as possible, and the officers and men were ordered to march to Fort Shirley and thence to set out on the expedition. Mr. Morris had given Col. Armstrong particular instructions, which were entered in the orderly book. In pursuance thereof, and agreeable to the plan concerted, Col. Armstrong had made the necessary preparations and had written to Mr. Morris a letter from Fort Shirley in which he gave an account of the capture of Fort Granville by the French and Indians, and stated that they intended to attack Fort Shirley with four hundred men, and that Capt. Jacobs said, "I can take any Fort that will catch fire, and I will make peace with the English when they learn me to make gunpowder."

Col. Armstrong's Account of the Expedition.

"May it please your honor: Agreeably to mine of the 29th ult., we marched from Fort Shirley the day following, and on Beaver Dam, a few miles from Frankstown, on the North. Wednesday, the third instant, joined our advance party at the Branch of Juniata, we were there informed that some of our men having been out upon a scout had discovered the tracks of two Indians, about three miles on this side of the Allegheny Mountains, and but a few miles from the camp. From the freshness of the tracks, their killing of a cub bear, and the marks of their fires, it seemed evident that they were not twenty-four hours before us, which might be looked upon as a particular providence in our favor, that we were not discovered. Next morning we decamped, and in two days we came within 50 miles of Kittanning. It was then adjudged necessary to send some persons to reconnoitre the Town, to get the best intelligence they could concerning the situation and position of the enemy; whereupon an officer with one of the pilots and two soldiers, were sent off for that purpose. The day following we met them on their return, and they informed us that the roads were entirely clear of the enemy, and that

they had the greatest reason to believe they were not discovered, but from the rest of the intelligence they gave it appeared they had not been high enough to the Town, either to perceive the true situation of it, the number of the enemy, and what way it might most advantageously be attacked. We continued our march, in order to get as near the Town as possible that night, so as to be able to attack it next morning about daylight, but to our great dissatisfaction, about 9 or 10 o'clock that night, one of our guides told us that he perceived a fire by the roadside, at which he saw 2 or 3 Indians a few perches distant from our front; where upon, with all possible silence, I ordered the rear to retreat about 100 perches in order to make way for the front, that we might consult what way we had best proceed without being discovered by the enemy. Soon after the pilot returned a second time, and assured us, from the best observations he could make, there were not more than 3 or 4 Indians at the fire, on which it was proposed that we should immediately surround and cut them off, but this was thought too hazardous, for if but one of the enemy had escaped, it would have been the means of discovering the whole design; and the light of the moon on which depended our advantageously posting our men, and attacking the Town, would not admit of our staying until the Indians fell asleep. On which it was agreed to leave Lieutenant Hogg with 12 men, and the person who first discovered the fire, with orders to watch the enemy, but not to attack them until break of day, and then, if possible, to cut them off. It was agreed (we believing ourselves to be about 6 miles from the Town), to leave the horses, many of them being tired, with what blankets and baggage we then had, and to take a circuit off the road, which was very rough and incommodious on account of the stones and fallen timber, in order to prevent our being heard by the enemy at the fire place. This interruption much retarded our march, but a still greater arose from the ignorance of our pilot, he neither knew the true situation of the Town nor the best paths that led thereto; by which means, after crossing a number of hills and valleys, our front reached the River Ohio, [Allegheny], about 100 perches below the main body of the Town, a little

before the setting of the moon, to which place, rather than by the pilots, we were guided by the beating of the drum and the whooping of the warriors at their dance. It then became us to make the best use of the remaining moonlight, but ere we were aware, an Indian whistled in a very singular manner, about thirty yards in our front, at the foot of a cornfield; upon which we immediately sat down, and after passing silence to the rear, I asked one Baker, a soldier who was our best assistant, whether that was not a signal to the warriors, of our approach. He answered no, and said it was the manner of a young fellow's calling a squaw after he had done his dance, who accordingly, kindled a fire, cleaned his gun, and shot it off, before he went to sleep. All this time we were obliged to lay quiet and hush, till the moon was fairly set; immediately after, a number of fires appeared in different places in the cornfield, by which Baker said the Indians lay, the night being warm, and that these fires would immediately be out as they were only designed to disperse the gnats. By this time it was break of day, and the men having marched thirty miles, were almost asleep. The line being long, the three companies in the rear were not yet brought over the last precipice. For these some proper persons were immediately dispatched, and the weary soldiers, being roused to their feet, a proper number, under sundry officers, were ordered to take the end of the hill, at which we then lay, and march along the top of said hill at least one hundred perches, and as much further, it then being daylight, as would carry them opposite the upper part, or at least the body of the town. For the lower part thereof, and the cornfield, (presuming the warriors were there), I kept rather the larger number of the men, promising to postpone the attack on that part for eighteen or twenty minutes, until the detachment along the hill should have time to advance to the place assigned, in doing of which they were a little unfortunate. The time being elapsed, the attack was begun in the cornfield, and the men, with all expedition possible, dispatched to the several parts thereof, a party being also dispatched to the houses, which were then discovered by the light of the day. Capt. Jacobs immediately gave the war-whoop, and with sundry other Indians, as the

English prisoners afterwards told us, cried that 'the white men were come at last, and that they would have scalps enough;' but at the same time ordered their squaws and children to flee to the woods. Our men with great eagerness passed through and fired into the cornfield, where they had several returns from the enemy, as they also had from the opposite side of the river. Presently after, a brisk fire began among the houses, which from the house of Capt. Jacobs were returned with a great deal of resolution. To that place I immediately repaired, and found that, from the advantage of the house and the port-holes, sundry of our people were wounded and some killed, and finding that returning the fire upon the house was ineffectual, ordered the contiguous houses to be set on fire, which was done by sundry of the officers and soldiers with a great deal of activity, the Indians always firing when an object presented itself, and seldom missed of wounding or killing some of our people. From this house, in moving about to give the necessary orders and directions, I was wounded by a large musket ball, in my shoulder. Sundry persons, during the action, were ordered to tell the Indians to surrender themselves prisoners, but one of the Indians in particular answered and said he was a man and would not be taken a prisoner, upon which he was told he would be burnt; to this he answered he did not care, for he would kill four or five before he died; and had we desisted from exposing ourselves, they would have killed a great many more, they having a number of loaded guns by them. As the fire began to approach, and the smoke grew thick, one of the Indians began to sing. A squaw, in the same house, at the same time, was heard to cry and make a noise, but for so doing was severely rebuked by the men; but by and by the fire being too hot for them, two Indians and a squaw sprang out and made for the cornfield, and were immediately shot down by our people. Then surrounding the houses, it was thought Captain Jacobs tumbled himself out of a garret or cock-loft, at which time he was shot, our prisoners offering to be qualified to the powder-horn and pouch there taken off him, which they say he had lately got from a French officer in exchange for Lieutenant Armstrong's boots, which he carried from Fort Gran-

ville, where the Lieutenant was killed. The same prisoners say they are perfectly assured of the scalp, as no other Indians there wore their hair in the same manner. They also say they knew his squaw's scalp, and the scalp of a young Indian named the King's Son. Before this time, Captain Hugh Mercer, who, early in the action, was wounded in the arm, had been taken to the top of a hill above the town (to whom a number of men and some officers had gathered), from whence they had discovered some Indians cross the river and take to the hill, with an intent, as they thought, to surround us, and cut off our retreat, from whom I had sundry pressing messages to leave the houses and retreat to the hill, or we should all be cut off; but to this I could by no means consent, until all the houses were set on fire; though our spreading on the hill appeared very necessary, yet it did not prevent our researches of the cornfield and river side, by which means sundry scalps were left behind, and doubtless some squaws, children and English prisoners, that otherwise might have been got. During the burning of the houses, which were near thirty in number, we were agreeably entertained with a succession of reports of charged guns gradually firing off, as the fire reached them, and much more so with the vast explosion of sundry bags, and large kegs of gunpowder, wherewith almost every house abounded. The prisoners afterwards told us, that the Indians had often boasted that they had powder enough for a two years' war with the English. With the roof of Captain Jacobs' house, when the powder blew up, was thrown the leg and thigh of an Indian, with a child three or four years old, to such a height, that they appeared as nothing, and fell in the adjacent cornfield. There was also a great quantity of goods burnt, which the Indians had received as a present but ten days before from the French. By this time I had proceeded to the hill to have my wound tied up and the blood stopped, where the prisoners, who had come to us in the morning, informed me that that very day two *batteaux* of Frenchmen, with a large party of Delaware and French Indians, were to join Captain Jacobs at Kittanning, and to set out early the next morning to take Fort Shirley, or, as they called it, George Croghan's Fort, and that twenty-four war-

riors, who had lately come to the town, were sent out the evening before, for what purpose they did not know, whether to prepare meat, to spy the fort, or to make an attack on some of our back inhabitants. Soon after, upon a little reflection, we were convinced these warriors were all at the fire we had discovered the night before, and began to doubt the fate of Lieutenant Hogg and his party. From this intelligence of the prisoners (our provisions being scaffolded some thirty miles back, except what were in the men's haversacks, which were left with the horses and blankets, with Lieutenant Hogg and his party, and a number of wounded people then on hand), and by the advice of the officers, it was thought imprudent then to wait for the cutting down of the cornfield (which was before designed), but immediately to collect our wounded, and force our march back in the best manner we could, which we did by collecting a few Indian horses to carry off our wounded. From the apprehensions of being waylaid and surrounded (especially by some of the woodsmen), it was difficult to keep the men together, our march for sundry miles not exceeding two miles an hour, which apprehensions were heightened by the attempts of a few Indians, who, for some time after the march, fired upon each wing and ran off immediately, from whom we received no other damage than one of our men being wounded through both legs. Captain Mercer being wounded, he was induced, we have reason to believe, to leave the main body with his ensign, John Scott, and ten or twelve men (they being overheard to tell him we were in great danger and that they could take him into the road by a nigh way), and is probably lost, there being yet no account of him. A detachment of most of our men was sent back to bring him in, but could not find him, and upon the return of the detachment it was generally reported that he was seen with the above number of men to take a different road. Upon our return to the place where the Indian fire had been seen the night before, we met a sergeant of Captain Mercer's company and two or three others of his men, who had deserted us that morning, immediately after the action at Kittanning. These men, on running away, had met with Lieutenant Hogg, who lay wounded in two different parts of the body, near the road side.

He then told them of the fatal mistake of the pilot, who had assured us there were but three Indians, at the most, at the fire-place, but when he came to attack them that morning, according to orders, he found a number considerably superior to his, and believes they killed and mortally wounded three of them the first fire, after which a warm engagement began, and continued for above an hour, when three of his best men were killed, and himself wounded. The residue fleeing off, he was obliged to squat in a thicket, where he might have laid securely until the main body came up, if this cowardly sergeant, and others that fled with him, had not taken him away. They had marched but a short distance, when four Indians appeared, upon which these deserters began to flee; the Lieutenant, notwithstanding his wounds, as a brave soldier, urging and commanding them to stand and fight, which they all refused. The Indians pursued, killing one man and wounding the Lieutenant a third time, in the belly, of which he died in a few hours; but having been placed on horseback some time before, he rode some miles from the place of action. But this attack of the Indians upon Lieutenant Hogg was represented by the cowardly sergeant in an entirely different light; he tells us there was a far larger number of Indians there than appeared to them, and that he and the men with him had fought five rounds; that he had there seen the lieutenant and sundry others killed and scalped, and had also discovered a number of Indians throwing themselves before us, and insinuated a great deal of such stuff as threw us into much confusion, so that the officers had a great deal to do to keep the men together, but could not prevail with them to collect the horses and what other baggage the Indians had left after their conquest of Lieutenant Hogg and the party under his command, in the morning, except a few horses, which a few of the bravest men were prevailed upon to collect; so that from the mistake of the pilot who spied the Indians at the fire, and the cowardice of the said sergeant and other deserters, we have sustained a considerable loss of horses and baggage. It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of the enemy killed in the action, as some were destroyed by fire, and others in different parts of the cornfield; but, upon a moderate com-

putation, it is generally believed that there can be no less than thirty or forty killed and mortally wounded, as much blood was found in the cornfield, and Indians seen to crawl into the weeds on their hands and feet, whom the soldiers in pursuit of others then overlooked, expecting to find and scalp them afterward, and also several killed and wounded in crossing the river. On beginning our march back we had about a dozen scalps of eleven English prisoners, but now find that four or five of the scalps are missing, part of which were lost on the road, and part in possession of those men who, with Captain Mercer, separated from the main body, with whom, also, went four or five prisoners, the other seven being now at this place, where we arrived on Sunday night, not being even separated or attacked by the enemy during our whole march. Upon the whole, had our pilots understood the true situation of the town, and the paths leading to it, so as to have posted us at a convenient place, where the disposition of the men and the duty assigned to them, could have been performed with greater advantage, we had, by Divine assistance, destroyed a much greater number of the enemy, recovered a greater number of prisoners, and sustained less damage than we at present have; but though the advantage gained over our common enemy is far from being satisfactory to us, yet must we not despise the smallest degrees of success that God was pleased to give, especially at a time of such general calamity, when the attempts of our enemies have been so prevalent and successful. I am sure there was the greatest inclination to do more, had it been in our power, as the officers, and most of the men, throughout the whole action, exerted themselves with as much activity and resolution as could possibly be expected.

"Our prisoners inform us that the Indians have for some time talked of fortifying Kittanning and other towns; that the number of French at Fort Duquesne was about four hundred; that the principal part of their provisions came up the river from the Mississippi; and that in three other forts which the French have on the Ohio, there are not more men altogether than there is at Fort Duquesne." (3.)

Nothing of moment transpired at this point for some years.

The harboring place of the savages was, for the time being, broken up, but no attempt was made to occupy the place by the whites until several years after the opening of the land office. Early after that date (April 3d, 1769) there were some settlers in the southern part of the present Armstrong county, but not many; and it was not until the era of 1774 that a permanent occupancy of the place was commenced. It came into prominence at that date. It was contemplated on the part of the representatives of the Penns in this region to have some troops who were raised in that emergency stationed here, as a post more favorable for the protection of the frontiers from the Indians. It is probable, indeed, that some troops were stationed here, for a short time. These troops were the militia of the county raised for short service. We see that it was a cause of complaint on the part of the inhabitants about Hannastown in 1774, in their petition to Gov. Penn, that "we are now rendered very uneasy by the removal of these troops, their arms and ammunition, on which our greatest dependence lay, and which we understand are ordered to Kittanning, a place at least twenty-five or thirty miles distant from any of the settlements." (4.)

Arthur St. Clair, the trusted representative of the Penns, had urgently represented the necessity of erecting a stockade fort and of laying out a town at the Kittanning, as the basis for the Indian trade on the part of the Province. (5.) Gov. John Penn in response to these representations, in a letter dated from Philadelphia, the 6th of August, 1774, says:

"Since my last letter to you, I have considered of what you mentioned in a former letter, and now repeat, respecting the establishment of some place of security for carrying on the Indian trade, as you say that Pittsburgh will be certainly abandoned by all our people; and I am now to acquaint you that I approve of the measure of laying out a town in the Proprietary Manor at Kittanning, to accommodate the traders and the other inhabitants who may chuse to reside there; and, therefore, inclose you an Order for that purpose. But I cannot, without the concurrence of the Assembly, give any directions for erecting a stockade or any other work for the se-

curity of the place, which may incur an expense to the Province."

Nothing of the kind advised was done; and little is heard of the place until the Revolution had begun.

A memorial was presented June 5th, 1776, to the Assembly of Pennsylvania from the inhabitants of Westmoreland county, setting forth that they feared an attack from Detroit and the Indian country, and that Van Swearingen, Esq., had raised a company of effective men at a considerable expense, which the memorialists had continued and stationed at the Kittanning, and which they prayed might be continued.

Congress resolved, July 15th, 1776, that the battalion which was to garrison the posts of Presq' Isle, Le Boeuf and Kittanning be raised in the counties of Westmoreland and Bedford, in the proportion of seven in the former to one in the latter. July the 18th, 1776, John Hancock, then President of Congress, informed the President of the Pennsylvania Convention that Congress had resolved to raise a battalion in these two counties for the defense of the western part of Pennsylvania, and requested the convention to name proper persons for field officers; which was accordingly done, July 20th (1776).

The battalion raised in pursuance of these orders rendezvoused at Kittanning in November. (6.) Congress directed the Board of War of Pennsylvania, November 23d, 1776, to order Col. Mackay and Col. Cook's battalion to march with all possible expedition to Brunswick (now New Brunswick), New Jersey, where, at Amboy, Elizabethtown and Fort Lee, Washington, being perplexed by Howe's movements, distributed troops, about the middle of November, "so as to be ready at those various points to check any incursions into the Jerseys." (7.)

Col. Mackay's letter to Richard Peters, Secretary of the Board of War, from Kittanning the 5th of December, 1776, reports: "I last night received your order from the Honourable the Board of War, in consequence of which I have this day issued the necessary orders, and shall march with all possible dispatch to the place directed.

"I beg leave to inform you at the same time, that scarcity of provision and other disagreeable circumstances obliged me

to permit a number of the men to go to particular stations to be supplied, but have directed a general rendezvous on the 15th instant at a proper place, from thence shall proceed as ordered.

"As I would not choose that the battalion should labour under every disadvantage when at Brunswick, being now in need of everything, I shall be obliged to make Philadelphia my route, in order to be supplied. I therefore hope the proper provision will be made of regimental camp kettles and arms, as mentioned to Col. Wilson, per Capt. Boyd." (8.)

On the 26th of December, 1776, Wm. Lochry and John Moore, on the part of the inhabitants of Westmoreland, sent the following letter to the President of the Council of Safety:

"By the removal of Coll. Mackay from Kittanning, the frontiers of this County is laid open and exposed to the Mercy of a faithless, incertain Savage Enemy, and we are Inform'd by Andrew McFarland, Esq'r, who lives at Kittanning, that he is much afraid that the Mingoes will plunder the Country, and that he will not think himself Safe if there is not a Company of Men Stationed there, and if he Removes, a number more of the Inhabitants will follow; the Kittanning is a post of Importance, and we think a few men Stationed there would awe the Indians, and perhaps prevent much mischief, and as we are not certain there is any legal Representatives of the People of this State now sitting but the Council of Safety, we beg the favour of you to lay this letter before them, not doubting but they will take the matter into Consideration, and take such steps as the importance of it Requires." (9.)

The Committee of Westmoreland county addressed a communication to Col. George Morgan, Agent for Indian Affairs, Pittsburgh, from Hanna's Town, April 18th, 1777, in which they say: We received yours, dated the 12th instant, informing us of the incursions made by the Indians on the neighboring frontier, which we return your our most hearty thanks. Any person appointed for victualling at the Kittanning is an appointment that is not clear to us—but we apprehend Devereux Smith, Esq., is appointed for that post, which appointment we approve of, and would be glad some method could be intro-

duced to furnish Mr. Smith with money for the purpose of victualling the troops at that post, &c." (10.)

The following papers relate to this period. These letters are taken from the Historical Register for September, 1884. Their publication connects a link in the history of the place which has been wanting.

Devereux Smith writes to the Indian Commissioners:

"Hannastown, March 24th, 1777.

"Gentlemen: You have Long since been acquainted of Andrew Macfarlane, Esquire, is being taken Prisoner the 14th of February at Hatharings. From that date to the 17th or 18th of this Instant, Captin Moorhead was under necessity of staying at that Post with a small Party of Milica to Gard the Stors, &c., When he Was relieved by an officer and about 25 Men of the Milica, to whom he Delivered up the Stors, &c.; and was on his return to this Settlement to Recrut, when he found one Simpson killed and Scalpt, a hors shot by him, & Captin Moorhead's Brother Who was in Company with sayed Simpson a missing. Suposed to be taken prisnar. Whas found by the Dead Corps, a War Bullet, a Tammoake & a beevan Pouch containing a Written Speech, a Cappy of it you have inclosed. You have also inclosed a Letter from Colonel Morgan Which was sent to this Place Late Last Night by Express. The above Simpson & Captin Moorhead's Brother Left Kattanning the 16th, whas found the 18th about 10 miles from Thar, neer Blankit Hill. Captin Moorhead being obliged to Stay so Long at Kattanning & Luttent Macfarlane being Prisoner put allmost a totall stop to the Recruiting sarvis of his Company. And the Calling of the Westmoreland Battalon & Milica as left this county very bare of Men and arms, and you both well no the Milica of this County are not to be Depended on When at home; therefore from the present apparance of things, if som speedy steps are not taken for ower Relief, Eithar by the Honorable Congree or Gentelmen in authority in ower Government below, This infant Contery Sartinly will fall a victim to British tirants & Mercyless Savages."

Mr. Smith, three days later, addresses the following—

"To Colonels Montgomery and Jaspar Yeates Commissioners for Indian affairs, Mideel Department.

"27th [March, 1777].—Last night the Party of Milica, 30 men who were sent to keep Garason at Kattaning & take care of the Stors till Captin Moorhead raised his Company, Returned to this Place, having Avacyated that Post; and asine no other Resan than becaus the was affreed. I hope we will Gett them to Return, by Reinforcing them, &c. Colonel Crafford [Crawford] has assured Captin [Samuel] Moorhead by Letter that he will send him Immedat asistance from his Battalon."

On the first day of June, 1777, Brig.-Gen. Hand assumed the chief command, on the part of Congress at Pittsburgh. This place, Kittanning, we have seen, was occupied by troops for the first time in the spring of that year. There were then only a few cabins at that point.

Capt. Samuel Moorehad was stationed there, when on the 14th of Sept., 1777, he received the following order from Gen-Hand: "Being convinced that, in your present situation, you are not able to defend yourself, much less render the continent any service, you will withdraw from Kittanning, bringing everything away portable, leaving the houses and barracks standing."

The whole region west of the mountains, because of the disasters which had befallen the various posts on the Ohio and the enforced evacuation of the small post at Kittanning, was now thoroughly alarmed. Many feared the Alleghenies would again become the western frontier line of the settlements. "We have no prospects," wrote a citizen of the Western Department, "but desolation and destruction." "There are very few days," he continued, "that there is not a murder committed on some part of our frontiers." (11.)

Col. Lochry addresses President Wharton on the 6th of Dec., 1777, saying:

"Not a man on our frontiers from Ligonier to the Allegheny except a few at Fort Hand, on Continental pay. * * * * I have sent four Indian scalps taken by one of our scouting party, commanded by Col. Barr, Col. Perry, Col. Smith and Capt. Kingston [Hinkston?] being volunteers in the action. The action happened near Kittanning; they retook six horses

the savages had taken from the suffering frontiers." (12.) During this period the frontier was protected by ranging parties, kept up, for the most part, by the inhabitants.

Early in the spring of 1779, Washington contemplated the establishment of a military post at this point. In his letter to Col. Daniel Brodhead, in command of the Western Department, dated at his headquarters, Middlebrook, New Jersey, Mar. 22d, he wrote:

"I have directed Col. Rawlings with his corps, consisting of three companies, to march from Fort Frederick in Maryland, where he is guarding the British prisoners, to Fort Pitt, as soon as he is relieved by a guard of militia. Upon his arrival you are to detach him with his own corps and as many as will make up one hundred, should his companies be short of that number, to take post at Kittanning, and immediately throw up a stockade fort for the security of convoys. When this is accomplished a small garrison is to be left there, and the remainder are to proceed to Venango (now Franklin) and establish another post of the same kind for the same purpose. The party is to go provided with proper tools from Fort Pitt, and Col. Rawlings is to be directed to make choice of good pieces of ground, and by all means to use every precaution against a surprise at either post. * * * * Neither the Indians nor any other persons are to know your destination until your movements point out the probable quarter. * * * * You are to inform me with precision, and by a careful express, when you will be ready to begin your movement from Fort Pitt, when you can be at Kittanning, when at Venango, when at the head of navigation, how far it is from thence to the nearest Indian towns, and when you can reach them." (13.)

The project of Washington which was disclosed in the foregoing letter was relinquished on account of difficulties which were insuperable, and which are given in his letter to Col. Brodhead of Apr. 21st, 1779. On the 3d of May, 1779, Col. Brodhead replying to Washington, says:

"I am very happy in having permission to establish the posts at Kittanning and Venango, and am convinced they will answer the grand purposes mentioned in your letter. The greatest difficulty will be to procure salt provisions to subsist

the garrison at the different advanced posts, but I have taken every possible step to obtain them."

June the 3rd, 1779, he wrote to Col. Lochry: "I propose building a small fort at Kittanning as soon as possible, and that will be a more effectual security to the inhabitants than all the little posts now occupied by the garrison; these will be considerable, and I intend to send a field piece there to command the water, etc."

Col. Brodhead on June 24th, 1779, reports to President Reed: "About a fortnight ago, three Men which I had sent to reconnoitre the Seneca Country, returned from Venango, being chased by a number of Warriors who were coming down the River in Canoes; they continued the pursuit until they came to this side of the Kittanning, and the White Men narrowly escaped. A few Days after they returned, Captain Brady, with twenty white Men and a young Delaware Chief, all well painted, set out towards the Seneca Country, and the Indian warriors proceeded towards the Settlements. They killed a Soldier between Forts Crawford & Hand, & proceeded to Saw-
weekly Settlement, where they killed a Woman & her four Children, & took two Children prisoners. Capt'n. Brady fell in with seven Indians of this party about 15 Miles above Kittanning, where the Indians had chosen an advantageous situation for their Camp. He however, surrounded them, and attacked at the break of Day. The Indian Captain, a notorious Warrior of the Muncy Nation, was killed on the spot, and several more mortally wounded, but the woods were remarkably thick, and the party could not pursue the villains' tracks, after they had stopped their wounds, which they always do as soon as possible after receiving them. Captain Brady, however, retook six horses, the two prisoners, the Scalps and all their plunder, and took all the Indians guns, Tomahawks, Match Coats, Mocksins, in fine everything they had except their Breech Clouts. Captain Brady has great Merit, but none has more distinguished Merit in this enterprise than the young Delaware Chief, whose name is Nanowland (or George Willson). Before Cap'n Brady returned, Lieut't Hardin set out with a party of eleven choice Men, and I am certain he will not return without scalps or prisoners from the Seneca Country.

"Lieut't Col'l Bayard, with 121 Rank & file, is now employed in Erecting a Stockade Fort at Kittanning, which will effectually secure the Frontiers of Westmoreland & Bedford Counties, provided Scouts are employed according to my Directions.

"The Mohickins & Shawanese have sent me a string of White Wampum and a Speech, requesting me to take pity on them and suffer them to enjoy the Blessings of peace. I believe I have frightened them by bringing over to our Interest their chief allies the Hurons, Iowas, Chepwas, & Pootiotomies. By the inclosed Letter & Speeches your Excellency will discover the change, and if I had but a small quantity of Indian Goods, I would make them Humble the Mingoes & capture many of the English, but unfortunately I am not in possession of a single Article to pay them with.

"I have now a considerable quantity of Provisions & could make a successful Campaign up the Alleghany, but I am not at Liberty to do it.

"It would give me pleasure to know what reward might safely be offered for Indian Scalps.

"The wicked Waggoners & pack horse drivers have destroyed at least one sixth of our Spirits, &c. In future it had better be cased."

To Col. Bayard, July 1st, 1779, he says:

"I think it is a compliment due to Gen. Armstrong to call that fort after him, therefore it is my pleasure that from this time forward it be called Fort Armstrong, and I doubt not but we shall be in the neighborhood of a place where greater regard is paid to saints than at Kittanning, where your sainthood may not be forgotten. I cannot conclude without once more recommending the strictest economy of public stores, and particularly ammunition."

To the same on July 9th.—"I have said that I thought it a compliment due to Gen. Armstrong to name the fort now erecting at Kittanning after him, and I should be sorry to have the first fort erected by my directions in the department named after me. Besides I consider it will be more proper to have our names at a greater distance from our metropolis. I never denied the sainthood of Stephen or John, but some regard to priority must be necessary even among the saints. [Col. Bay-

ard had expressed a desire to name the fort after Col. Brodhead.] * * * * I am glad the fort is in forwardness and hope you are able to keep out the scouts I ordered for the protection of the inhabitants. * * * * Capt. Harrison is ordered on a tour to Fort Armstrong, and he will deliver you this and my compliments to the officers."

Col. Brodhead to Col. Bayard, July 20th, 1779:—

"His excellency the Commander-in-Chief, has at length given me leave to make an excursion into the Indian country, and as my route will naturally cover the garrison at Fort Armstrong, a few men can maintain it till my return, therefore, you will order two officers, two sergeants, and twenty-four rank and file, of the worst kind, to remain at the post, and with all the rest, march to this place by the first of next month, and bring with you likewise all the best men from Fort Crawford, except a sergeant, and twelve privates."

In reporting his expedition against the Seneca and Muncy nations to Gen. Washington, Sept. 16, 1779, from Pittsburgh, the Col. says: "I left this place the 11th of last month." * *

* * * Oct. 2d, 1779, he orders Capt. Campbell to march his company with all the stores, to Fort Crawford, and states that Capt. Irwin will be ordered to Kittanning. The same date he says: "I have ordered a quantity of provisions to Fort Armstrong, and Capt. Irwin is to garrison that post with his company. As soon as he takes the command (if the water will permit) you will proceed to this place (Pittsburgh) with your men, leaving the provisions with Capt. Irwin, bring down the canoes and other stores to these magazines—But should the water continue too low, you will march down your men by land, and take a receipt for all the provisions, craft and stores left with Capt. Irwin."

Capt. Irwin, as well as Capt. Campbell under the instructions and orders from Col. Archibald Lochry, the County Lieutenant, disobeyed these orders. This was owing to a misunderstanding as to relative authority of these two officers, Brodhead and Lochry, on the question of the right to direct the movements of the county militia by a continental officer, when the militia had been called out for frontier service.

To Francis McIlwaine, Oct. 13, 1779, he says: "I expect Cap-

tain Irwin's company will be at Fort Armstrong within a few days, if he had done his duty it would have been there many days ago. * * * I cannot send regular troops to be stationed at Fort Armstrong, the new levies raised in Pennsylvania are properest for that duty. * * * I conceive the firing about Fort Armstrong is done by hunters and not by Indians."

To Captain Thomas Campbell, Oct. 16, 1779, "Col. Lochry informed me that you was stationed at Fort Hand and I understood your whole company was there, wherefore about the third day after the date of my instructions to you I sent a quantity of salt pork to Fort Crawford and ordered another quantity to Fort Armstrong, but as you was not yet arrived at your post, the whole of the pork was taken to Fort Armstrong. I herewith send you a small supply of provisions, and desire you will appoint a very careful person to issue it, and lest you should want a supply and make application to the commissary here—you are directed to have your flour and salt brought from the issuing commissary at Fort Armstrong."

To Lieut. Glass, or the commanding officer of Capt. Irwin's company, Oct. 18, 1779, he says: "You are to march the company under your command to Fort Armstrong and there relieve the present garrison under Mr. McIlwaine. Mr. Douglass, Assistant Commissary of issues, will furnish you with provisions for your garrison at that post. Mr. McIlwaine will consult with you and leave a proper quantity of military stores for which you are to be accountable. Capt. Campbell is instructed to send scouts to the mouth of the Kiskiminetas where you are to order scouts from your post to meet them, and upon discovery of the enemy or tracks you are to give me immediate notice. It may be likewise proper for you to keep out a spy or two up the Allegheny river to give you notice of an approaching enemy, of which I must likewise be acquainted. You are to be particularly careful to prevent any waste of public stores, and not suffer any firing except at an enemy or by a hunter particularly employed (if you have any in your company). You are to transmit to me a particular return of the company and the provisions and stores left at Fort Armstrong. You will write to me by every opportunity and inform me of the state of your garrison."

To Lieut. John Jameson (Jamison), Oct. 27, 1779, he writes, "I have received your favor of the 24th inst. I am glad to hear you have at length got to Fort Armstrong, and I should be happy if it was in my power to contribute to the relief of your men, but the means are not yet come up the country. I have wrote to the President of the state for blankets, and daily expect his answer, I have ordered for your garrison two kegs of whiskey and fifteen pairs of shoes. Whiskey being an expensive article, you will not issue it except in rainy weather, and to guards and fatigues. I approve of building the sentry boxes, as they will in some measure shelter the poor soldiers from the weather which will soon be unfavorable. Your captain returned to me forty-five men, I shall be glad to know from you where the men are, which it appears you have not returned."

The following orders were addressed to Lieut. John Jameson from headquarters Nov. 27, 1779, per Jos. L. Finley, M. B.: "I am directed by Col. Brodhead to require you to evacuate Fort Armstrong, and repair to this post with all convenient dispatch, taking care to bring off all the stores in your possession, and pertaining to the garrison of whatsoever kinds; for this purpose I have sent you two canoes, which with the craft you already have I expect you will be able to transport all the stores by water; if you must have recourse to pack-horses, which you can receive from Capt. Carnaghan, who is now with a party at Bull's Town or the mouth of Kiskiminetas, and I will herewith receive an order to supply you if necessary; immediately on the receipt of this you will proceed to put the above orders into execution. P. S.—Those of your company who are not employed in working the craft will march by land."

In the spring of 1780 arrangements were early made to re-establish Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford. On the 2d of April, 1780, he (Brodhead), wrote to Col. Archibald Lochry, County Lieutenant to fix upon a proper rendezvous, and a place where a small quantity of provisions would be laid in by the commissary for sixty able bodied rank and file and a proportioned number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers which he was to order out from the militia of the county, and have equipped with all possible expedition. One-third of

the above number was to be detached to take post at Fort Crawford, one-third at Fort Armstrong, and the remaining third was directed to the Forks of Black Legs, where the officer was to make choice of a house on a commanding ground convenient to water. These were all to act agreeable to such orders as they might receive from Brodhead. They were drafted for two months if not sooner discharged. This body of men, with a number of regulars to support those detached to Fort Armstrong, the Colonel hoped would give sufficient countenance to the inhabitants of the county. He writes to the same, April 13th, 1780, that he expected to send a detachment to Fort Armstrong by the time the militia would be able to march out.

The savages early began their depredations on the southwestern frontiers of Pennsylvania; and it was necessary that the northern posts should be garrisoned without delay. To Col. Lochry he writes from headquarters April 25th, 1780, "I have been disappointed beyond all description in getting clothing for my troops, and therefore could not until now send a detachment to Fort Armstrong agreeable to my intention. I hope that no great disappointment has happened to the militia, and I send an express with this letter to inform you that Capt. Thomas Beal sets out with the party and provisions to Fort Crawford to-morrow morning, where he is to leave a part, provided any troops be there, otherwise he is to take the whole to Fort Armstrong, and your detachment must be furnished from thence."

Col. Brodhead, Mar. 27th, 1781, informed President Reed that it was impossible for him to garrison Forts Armstrong and Crawford, until the Commander-in-Chief was pleased to direct him to evacuate Fort McIntosh. He had been requested by President Reed to do so at the repeated and urgent demands of the people of the frontier. There does not appear to be any documentary evidence to indicate that the barracks here were such as were adequate to the wants of a permanent garrison.

Col. Brodhead feared they were unequal to the requirements of garrison life during winter time. In a letter to Capt. Thomas Campbell who was stationed at Fort Crawford, he

states that he had better not build barracks at that station as yet, it being uncertain whether his continuance there would render it necessary; and in his letter to President Reed of Dec. 13th, 1779, referring to Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford, he says, "I ordered the troops to this place because I apprehended no danger from the enemy during the winter season, and if provisions had been laid in at those posts they must have been exposed to loss; besides it would have been quite impracticable to have supplied them with fresh provisions, and the quarters at those posts were too uncomfortable for naked men."

Such extracts as are relevant, and which follow are taken from "Fort Armstrong and the Manor of Kittanning," by Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M., Prest. of the Historical Society of Western Penna., a paper read before the Society, May 8th, 1884, and printed in the Historical Register for June, 1884.

"From what we are able to learn, especially from the letters of the commander of Fort Pitt, to which Fort Armstrong was subject, the following were the commanders of the place before, during, and after the construction of the fortification. Before the building of the fort, the first officer stationed at Kittanning, by which, I suppose, the site of the future fort is meant, was Van Swearingen, who, with some militia raised in Westmoreland county, arrived, most probably, some time before June 5, 1776. Soon after, July 20 of the same year, he was succeeded by Col. Aeneas Mackay, who, with his battalion, was posted there, and remained till December 15, when he was ordered elsewhere. Mr. Phillip Mechling, now past ninety years of age and residing at Kittanning, heard his father, Michael Mechling, relate, that when young he and others hauled provisions from about Hannastown and Greensburg to the soldiers then stationed in the manor, but whether to those under Col. Mackay's command, or to others stationed here afterwards, he cannot say. Col. Rawlings was, as we have seen, ordered to build the fort and leave in it a small garrison while he proceeded elsewhere; but it has been shown that he did not build the fort at all, or at least, only begun it. Whether he left a part of his command there without a fortification or not it would be difficult to determine at this dis-

tant day; but if so, the name of the commanding officer has not been transmitted to us. Col. Bayard, who completed the fort in July, 1779, was relieved of the command about the 1st of August. It would appear that the fort was not occupied for some time, after this date, for on October 2, Brodhead wrote to Capt. Campbell: "Capt. Irwin will be ordered to Kit-tanning." But it would appear that Capt. Irwin would not or did not obey the order, for a sharp correspondence took place between him and Brodhead. In one of his letters, dated October 13, the latter writes: "You had my positive orders to wait upon me for instructions to govern you at Fort Armstrong, which orders you have been hardy enough to disobey and are to answer for." During this dispute Francis McIlvaine was sent to occupy the fort. Capt. Irwin appears to have left the service about this time, or to have been deprived of his command, for Brodhead in a letter to Lieut. Glass, or the commanding officer of Capt. Irwin's company, of October 18, says: "You are to march the company under your command to Fort Armstrong, and there relieve the present garrison under Mr. McIlvaine." Later, there was talk of court-martialing Irwin, but it would seem not to have been done. But the officers of the fort were soon to experience another change, for under date of October 27, Brodhead wrote to Lieut. John Jameson: "I have received your favor of the 24th inst. I am glad to hear you are at length got to Fort Armstrong." He was to be the last commander of the post, for on the 27th of November, Joseph L. Finley wrote to him: "I am directed by Col. Brodhead to require you to evacuate Fort Armstrong, and to repair to this post (Fort Pitt) with all convenient dispatch, taking care to bring off all the stores in your possession and pertaining to the garrison of whatever kinds."

We are able to form no definite idea of the number of soldiers that garrisoned Fort Armstrong during the vicissitudes of its brief existence, as but one statement is found of the force quartered there. Here and there in the correspondence relating to the post an intimation is made that the garrison, as we would naturally suppose, was small, ill-provided, and not remarkable for strict discipline. I am inclined to believe that it never exceeded one hundred in number, and seldom, if ever

reached it. Col. Brodhead writing to Capt. Finley says: "You will order two sergeants and twenty-four rank and file of ye worst kind to remain at ye post, and with all the rest march to this place" (Pittsburgh). And to Lieut. Jameson he writes: "Your captain returned me forty-five men." You may, if you like, take a further remark of his to the same officer as an evidence that the number was not large at that time. He says: "I have ordered for your garrison two kegs of whiskey and fifteen pairs of shoes." The soldiers who garrisoned the fort, it is needless to state, were not regulars but militia, as appears from the whole correspondence relating to the post.

But what ultimately became of the fort? After the withdrawal of the garrison November 27, 1779, it was never after regularly occupied. Col. Lochry complained of Col. Brodhead's removal of the troops from Fort Armstrong and other frontier posts, and in consequence there was for a time a spirited correspondence between them, which resulted in nothing, however, so far as related to Fort Armstrong other than in keeping it without a garrison. The frontier was, however, protected by scouting parties. On the 3d of April, 1780, Brodhead wrote to Col. Lochry requiring him to order out from the militia of Westmoreland county sixty able-bodied men of the rank and file and a proportionate number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, one-third of whom were to be detached to Fort Armstrong. But although on this and on other occasions Brodhead wrote to the militia commanders and to General Washington regarding the occupation of the fort, it was never again, as we have said, taken possession of permanently. Detachments of rangers and scouts may have been stationed there temporarily at various times after the close of the war of the Revolution, while the Indians were troublesome; but the fort would appear to have been permitted to fall into decay almost as soon as it was built. Such, in brief, appears to have been the history of Fort Armstrong.

As to the character of the fort, it was everywhere called "a stockade fort." I have not been able to learn anything definite regarding its size; but it must have been small, as a large fortification was not required either to accommodate the garrison

usually quartered there, or to defend the place against the Indians. The short time, too, during which it was occupied, and the fact that it was never threatened with or called upon to sustain a siege would lead to the conclusion that it was not of great strength when built, and was not afterwards strengthened.

But where precisely was Fort Armstrong situated? It is always spoken of as "at Kittanning," and even as occupying the site of the Indian village of that name. But the name was used, as we shall see, not because the fort stood precisely upon that spot, but because it being an historic name, and the best known near the place, the fort was naturally enough said to be there, the better to point out its location to persons living at a distance and unacquainted with the geography of the country. The fort stood, indeed, within the manor of Kittanning, but not on the site of the town, for the town was two miles, as I have said, above the northern limit of the manor of the same name. The fort was situated exactly two miles below the southern extremity of the present town of Kittanning, on property now owned by Peter F. McClarren, and within half a mile of the place where I was born. I distinctly remember seeing the well of the fort filled with stumps some thirty or more years ago; and my father, who came to that part of the country in 1830, when nearly the whole bottom was covered with a thick growth of laurel, remembers seeing where the ground was burnt from fires being kindled upon it, and other indications of the location of the fort. I have also heard some of the older inhabitants, whose memories went as far back as 1795, speak of the ruins of the fort as they appeared in their early days. In short, there is, and can be, no question as to its being situated at the place I have designated."

Notes to Kittanning and Armstrong.

(1.) The word Kittanning is of Indian origin. Heckewelder says that "Kittanning is corrupted from Kit-han-ne, in Munsie Delaware Gicht-han-ne, signifying the main stream, i. e., in its region of country. Kit-han-ne is perpetuated in Kittan-

ning, corrupted from Kit-han-nink*, signifying at or on the main stream, i. e., the town at or on the main stream. He also says: We have indeed the word "Kittanning" on our maps for a particular spot on the Allegheny river, whereas the true meaning of the word, which should be written Kit-han-nink, denotes the river itself. He gives its etymology thus: Kitschi, superior, greatest, and Han-ne, which denotes flowing water, or a stream of flowing water. [Hist. of Armstrong Co., Pa., by Robert Walter Smith, Esq., p. 106.]

We have not failed to consult Mr. Smith's history and to draw upon it wherever necessary in preparing this article. He was a careful, painstaking, and trustworthy historian of this county.

Kittanning was a notable point in the boundary line, established between the Northern Colonies and the Indians, at the treaty held by Sir William Johnson at Fort Stanwix (Rome, N. Y.), Nov. 5th, 1768, known as the purchase line of that treaty and year. The line between those two purchases divides the borough of Kittanning into nearly equal portions. Its bearing from, at or near the mouth of Trubys run to the nearest fork of the West Branch of the Susquehanna river is south seventy-nine degrees east.

"The Kittanning" is an expression almost invariably used in the old records and documents, and it must have included a much longer stretch of territory along the left bank of the Allegheny river than was included in the extent of the site of the old Indian town destroyed by Gen. Armstrong. This is manifest from the etymology and meaning of the word Kittanning, elsewhere given. The idea that the borough of Kittanning is located on this Manor (Appleby) is erroneous for the borough is a mile or more north of the Manor's northern limit. [Smith's History of Armstrong Co., 312.]

From this point led out eastward the Kittanning Trail, the path upon which Indians travelled and on which they went on their marauding expeditions, and upon which Indian traders and settlers afterward came out. An objective point of one of the branches of this trail is preserved in the name and proximate locality of Kittanning Point, on the Penna. railroad near the summit of the Alleghenies.

*See note on page 258.

As to the Indian word corresponding with the English word beautiful or the French word *La Belle*, there is not a harmony of opinion.

Description of Indian Town at Kittanning.

The description given by Col. Smith of the method of making their huts and their appearance may be applicable here, as it may give an idea of what an Indian town looked like.

"They cut logs about fifteen feet long, and laid these logs upon each other, and drove posts in the ground at each end to keep them together; the posts they tied together at the top with bark, and by this means raised a wall fifteen feet long, and about four feet high, and in the same manner they raised another wall opposite to this, at about twelve feet distance; then they drove forks into the ground in the centre of each end, and laid a strong pole from end to end on these forks, and from these walls to the poles, they set up poles, instead of rafters, and on these they tied small poles in place of lathes; and a cover was made of lynn bark, which will run even in the winter season.

"As every tree will not run, they examine the tree first by trying it near the ground, and when they find it will do, they fell the tree and raise the bark with the tomahawk, near the top of the tree, about five or six inches broad, then put the tomahawk handle under this bark, and pull it along down to the butt of the tree; so that sometimes one piece of bark will be thirty feet long; this bark they cut in suitable lengths in order to cover the hut.

"At the end of these walls they set up split timber, so that they had timber all around, excepting a door at each end. At the top, in place of a chimney, they left an open place, and for bedding they laid down the aforesaid kind of bark, on which they spread bear skins. From end to end of this hut along the middle there were fires, which the squaws made of dry split wood, and the holes or open places that appeared the squaws stopped with moss, which they collected from old logs; and at the door they hung a bear skin; and, notwith-

standing the winters are hard here, our lodging was much better than what I expected."

In the Narrative of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger (Archives, vii, 429, Sec. Ser.), there is mention made of this place at the time of its destruction by Col. Armstrong. These captives were taken from the neighborhood of Fort Augusta, in October, 1755.

"After having rested for five days at Puncksotonay (they say), we took our way to Kittanny. As this was to be the place of our permanent abode, we here received our welcome, according to Indian custom. It consisted of three blows each, on the back. They were however, administered with great mercy. Indeed, we concluded that we were beaten merely in order to keep up an ancient usage, and not with the intention of injuring us. The month of December was the time of our arrival, and we remained at Kittanny until the month of September, 1756.

"The Indians gave us enough to do. We had to tan leather, to make shoes (moccasins), to clear land, to plant corn, to cut down trees, to build huts, to wash and cook. The want of provisions, however, caused us the greatest sufferings. During all the time that we were at Kittanny we had neither lard nor salt; and, sometimes, we were forced to live on acorns, roots, grass and bark. There was nothing in the world to make this new sort of food palatable, excepting hunger itself.

"In the month of September, Col. Armstrong arrived with his men, and attacked Kittanny Town. Both of us happened to be in that part of it which lies on the other (right) side of the river (Allegheny). We were immediately conveyed ten miles further into the interior, in order that we might have no chance of trying, on this occasion, to escape. The savages threatened to kill us. If the English had advanced, this might have happened, for, at that time, the Indians were greatly in dread of Col. Armstrong's Corps. After the English had withdrawn, we were again brought back to Kittanny, which town had been burned to the ground."

It would thus appear that a village was also on the west side of the Allegheny at that time.

(2.) Smith's Hist. of Armstrong co., p. 107, et seq., quoting from Gordon's History of Penna. See also History of the Girty's by C. W. Butterfield, Esq.

(3.) The Report of Col. Armstrong is in Arch.,ii, 767.

For the signal success of Col. Armstrong and his force, achieved in the destruction of Kittanning, and thus breaking up a formidable base of French and Indian incursions, the corporation of the city of Philadelphia, October 5th, 1756, voted him and his command the thanks of the city and other favors. He was also presented with a medal struck in honor of the occasion.

"The report of this affair [the destruction of Kittanning by Armstrong, says Mr. Parkman] made by Dumas, Commandant at Fort Duquesne is worth noting. He says that Attique, the French name of Kittanning, was attacked by 'le General Washington;' with three or four hundred men on horseback; that the Indians gave way; but that five or six Frenchmen who were in the town held the English in check till the fugitives rallied; that Washington and his men then took to flight, and would have been pursued but for the loss of some barrels of gunpowder which chanced to explode during the action. Dumas adds that several large parties are now on the track of the enemy, and he hopes will cut them to pieces. He then asks for a supply of provisions and merchandise to replace those which the Indians at Attique had lost by a fire. Like other officers of the day, he would admit nothing but successes in the department under his command." [Montcalm & Wolfe, Chap. xiii.]

The French were somewhat obscure in their geography, and sometimes spoke of the Pennsylvania frontiers when they really meant those of Virginia, Maryland or Carolina. For instance, they report that their forces had made incursions, and that "Chevalier Villiers, on the 2d of Aug., has been very successful in burning another fort called Fort Grandville, [Granville], sixty miles from Philadelphia." [2d Arch., vi, 380.]

(4.) History Western Penna., Appx.

(5.) Arch., iv, 545. Gov. Penn's response is found in Records x, 202.

The following is from Mr. Smith's History:

"Events of historical interest in this township (Manor township in which Kittanning is situated) occurred chiefly within the limits of this Manor (Appleby, or the Kittanning Manor). Various aged inhabitants of this township and other parts of this county remembered having seen the vestiges of a military fortification, consisting of a fosse, parapet and fort, on the left bank of the Allegheny, between Tubmill run and Fort run.
* * * * A trench or fosse extended along the bottom about seventy rods easterly from the river, and thence at an obtuse angle southeasterly, twenty or thirty rods, which the informant estimates from the quantity of earth thrown up, must have been four or five feet deep, and as many or more wide. The parapet around the fort, which was a considerable distance below the trench, must have been several feet high when it was constructed. Its shape, as he remembers it, was somewhat like, though more circular than a horse shoe, and enclosed about two acres, which is in accordance with the recollection of John Christy, who, in 1833, owned and cleared a part of the land on which it had been constructed. The latter's impression is that a ditch originally four or five feet deep had once extended all around it. Samuel Monroe [the first informant, who was born in this Manor and resided near those vestiges until he was twenty-four years of age, or from 1809 until 1833], on the other hand, thinks that ditch-like appearance was caused by excavating the earth used in constructing the parapet. Robert Thompson, now of Templeton Station, who plowed there soon after the land was cleared, and John Patterson, of Manor township, whose remembrance extends back to 1834-5, think, it was not a regular trench. According to the recollections of the latter and John Meckling, the shape of the parapet was nearly semi-circular, or nearly that of a half-moon, the distance between the extremities of its lunes, or the horns of the half-moon, being about fifty rods, along the bank of the river—that would have been the length of the diameter of the entire circle, or rather oblate spheroid, if it had been completed. Many lead bullets were found in the river bank in front of that parapet, which must have been shot from

the opposite side of the river. Christy found, within the parapet, vestiges of small buildings, and at the depth of four feet, arrows-heads and pieces of pottery. A red-oak, says Monroe, which had grown up on the southern or lower lune of that parapet, indicated 105 annual growths when it was cut down in 1823 or 4, so that it must have germinated, there prior to 1718-19. How much longer before then had that parapet been constructed? Meckling remembers having seen in 1836-7, a black-oak on the upper or northern lune fully two feet, more likely two and a half feet, in diameter, which must have germinated there more than two centuries since. And Christy remembers that there was a tree in what he thinks was the trench, that was between four and five feet in diameter.

"These works evinced a higher degree of skill, intelligence and civilization than the Indians possessed. Their construction required a different kind of labor than that performed by them. There are vestiges of similar works in other parts of the Allegheny Valley, on the Southern shore of Lake Erie in this State, in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, and in western New York. In the trench and on the parapet of those near Lake Erie are trees three feet in diameter, indicating that they were constructed two or more centuries or more before either the French or the English began to erect military fortifications in that region. The parapets in western New York were earthen, from three to eight feet high, with trenches on their exterior sides. On some of the parapets, many years ago, were oak-trees whose concentric circles indicated that they were 150, 260 and 300 years old, and there were evident indications that they had sprung up since the erection of those works. Some of the trenches were deep and wide, and others shallow and narrow."

"Various relics, such as white beads, and some colored ones from half an inch to two inches in length, a silver band an inch wide and ten inches long, knife-blade of rather large size, have been found. From a description of these, however, it would appear that they might have been of modern workmanship.

"There were indications that there had been a burying ground on the second bench or bottom above or northerly from

the trench in which a large number of persons had been interred. Such of the bones as were exhumed, were sound. Samuel Monroe found a skull in which there was a hole about the size of a bullet, just above the ear, but none in any other part. Matthias Bowzer has related to the writer that, while he was plowing on the same tract, in 1836, then owned by John Meckling, he struck the bones of a human skeleton and part of a moccasin about 62 rods east of the Allegheny river, and 300 yards north of Tub-mill run, or about thirty feet a little west of north from the house now occupied by A. B. Starr. About two rods south-east from that grave he opened another, sixteen feet square and two feet deep, in which was a large number of human bones, so arranged as if the bodies had been piled one upon another, when they were buried.

"In the early part of this century those old fortifications and vicinity were frequented by various persons now living, to gather plums. James E. Brown remembers of that fort being then called "the old French fort." In 1835 James W. Campbell, now of North Buffalo township, and his brother were returning from the mill at Nicholson's Falls, and stopped near these old works over night. George Cook, an old resident in the Manor, accompanied them to the remains of the parapet, and showed them how the women and children of the surrounding country were protected there one night during the Indian troubles, 1790-5, when forced to flee thither from their homes. After the women and children had entered, the men guarded the entrance to the interior of the parapet. He said that James Claypole, John Guld and others with their families used to flee thither in those times for refuge. At least some of the bullets used in one of the occasions were made by the women while in the blockhouse, who melted their pewter plates and other dishes for that purpose. —

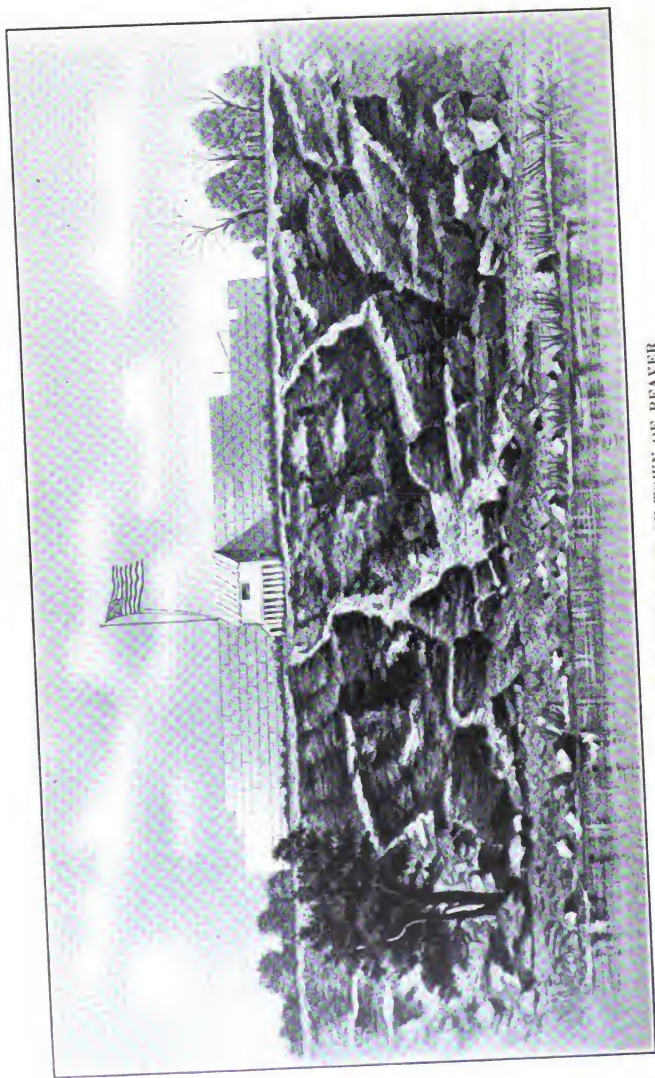
"Such being the vestiges and surroundings of and the facts connected with that ancient fosse, parapet and fort, and history being otherwise silent in relation to them, it can of course only be conjectured when and by whom they were originally constructed, and on this question there is ground for an honest difference of opinion among antiquaries. It is a question well calculated to stimulate research, and one, too, that affords

ample scope for profitable discussion by historical and debating societies." [History of Armstrong County, Pa., by Robert Walter Smith, Esq.]

"It is stated," says Mr. Smith in his History of Armstrong County, "in Albach's Western Annals, page 716, that 'a fort was built on the site of the old village of Kittanning, known also by the name of Appleby's Fort, by the government, in 1776.' His authority for that statement is not given. The writer has not been able to ascertain that there was ever a vestige of a fort on the site of that village. The Manor does not appear to have been called Appleby until 1805 and 1807. It seems clear, then, that Mr. Albach must have been misinformed respecting both the name and location of that fort."

Mr. Smith in his remarks here concerning Appleby is himself mistaken as to the time when the name Appleby was first applied to this place—we do not say Manor—he saying that it was not so applied prior to date 1805 or 7, as above stated. * * * * * Arthur St. Clair writing to Gov. Penn from Ligonier Aug. 25th, 1774 (Arch., iv, 575), states: "This moment I have heard from Pittsburgh, that Mr. Speare and Mr. Butler's goods, that were going to Appleby, are seized by Mr. Connolly's orders." * * There is reason to suspect that these were in the initiatory steps in the scheme to make the Kittanning a point for the Pennsylvania traders. See Correspondence for this period in Pa. Arch., iv, and St. Clair Papers. See also Historical Register, Sept., 1884, p. 202; "Armstrong Co.," etc., by Isaac Craig, Esq.

- (7.) Smith's History, p. 26.
- (8.) Arch., v, 93.
- (9.) Arch., v, 93.
- (10.) Arch., v, 314.
- (11.) Washington-Irvine Cor., 13.
- (12.) Arch., vi, 69; Arch., vii, 564.
- (13.) Wash.-I. Cor., 13.
- (14.) The references and authorities, so far as they pertain



FORT MCINTOSH—SITE OF TOWN OF BEAVER.

to Col. Brodhead's correspondence, are taken from Col. Brodhead's Letter Book, while in command of the Western Department. See Arch., xii.

BEAVER COUNTY.

FORT McINTOSH.

From the barbarous warfare carried on against the western frontier by the British under Henry Hamilton, their Governor of Detroit, with the assistance of the Indian tribes who had taken part with them, it was determined by the Commissioners of Congress, who met in Pittsburgh late in 1777, that the permanent safety of this section could be secured only by carrying on a successful war, in an aggressive manner, against the enemy in their own country. This for some time, had been the plan uppermost in the mind of Washington. When Gen. Hand was recalled at his own request from the command of the Western Department, the Commander-in-Chief designated Gen. Lachlin McIntosh to succeed him. (1.)

On the 26th of May, 1778, McIntosh was notified of his appointment, but, owing to delay necessarily occasioned, he did not arrive in Pittsburgh till early in August.

The Fort Pitt Commissioners had advised that the expedition which they concluded to recommend against Detroit should march from Pittsburgh by the first of September, (1778); but as it was found before that time to be impossible to do so, Congress resolved that the expedition, for the present, should be deferred.

McIntosh, however, was directed to assemble at Pittsburgh one thousand five hundred continental troops and militia, and proceed without delay to destroy such towns of the hostile tribes as he, in his discretion, should think would most effectually tend to chastise and check the savages on the western frontier. (2.) But notwithstanding these direct orders, McIn-

tosh had his eye on Detroit, and was led to believe that he could, as the occasion offered, penetrate successfully to that post and capture it with the forces available. The event showed, however, that his means were inadequate to such a daring campaign.

When McIntosh arrived in the Western Department—about the 6th of Aug.—there were but two fixed stations, besides Fort Pitt, west of the Alleghenies, occupied by Continental troops. These two were Fort Randolph, (Wheeling), and Fort Hand. The latter was a small stockaded structure on the southern bank of the Kiskiminetas, on the frontier north of Pittsburgh. There were, however, 30 or 40 other smaller stations, or forts, scattered throughout this region, some between Wheeling and Pittsburgh; others upon the waters of the Monongahela, and still others along the northern frontier from the Kiskiminetas to Fort Ligonier. These at different times were garrisoned by militia or defended by volunteer rangers. They were frequently altered, kept, or evacuated, according to the humors, fears, or interests of the people of most influence. Gen. Hand had been obliged to yield to this condition, as his chief dependence was on militia. These forts, in view of the fact that they were very expensive and would be of little service now that the war was to be carried into the enemy's country, McIntosh resolved to break up as soon as he could, without giving too much offence to the people, whose assistance he so much required.

That the frontiers might not be wholly deprived of means of defence while the army marched into the Indian country, the Lieutenants of Monongalia and Ohio counties, Virginia, (3), were authorized to raise a ranging company jointly, to scout continuously along the Ohio river from Beaver creek downward, where the savages usually crossed to annoy the settlements. Archibald Lochry, Lieut. of Westmoreland co., Penna., was empowered to organize two such companies, to scour the frontiers on the north, as a protection from scalping parties of the northern Indians. Independent companies had been raised for the sole purpose of maintaining Fort Pitt, Fort Hand and Fort Randolph, as these posts were expected soon to be evacuated by their garrisons.

McIntosh had not been long in the west when he discovered that a number of storehouses for provisions, which had been built at public expense, were at great distances apart, difficult of access, and scattered throughout the border counties. At each of these, a number of men were required. These buildings were given up, as the provisions in them intended for the expedition proved to be spoiled. In place of them, one general store house was built by a fatigue party, "in the fork of the Monongahela river," where all loads from over the mountains could be discharged, without crossing any considerable branch of any river.

The Commissioners at Fort Pitt proposed to Congress that a treaty be held on the 23d of July, at Pittsburgh, with the Delawares, Shawanese and other Indians. Congress approved this suggestion, and resolved that three persons should be appointed to negotiate with the savages. Virginia was requested to send two and Pennsylvania one commissioner for that purpose. Messengers carrying presents had already been dispatched to the Delawares and Shawanese, with invitations to attend the conference. Two Virginians, representing The United States, repaired to Fort Pitt, but Pennsylvania neglected to send a representative. This caused some disappointment. From the wilderness across the Ohio, no Indians came but Delawares, as a large majority of the Shawanese were now openly hostile to The United States. The former tribe was represented by their three principal chiefs. It was September before the parties met for consultation; and a treaty was not finally signed until the 17th of that month. By its terms, not only were the Delawares made close allies of The United States and "the hatchet put into their hands,"—thus changing and wisely too the neutral policy previously acted upon,—but consent was obtained for marching the army across their territory. They stipulated to join the troops of the general government with such a number of their best and most expert warriors as they could spare, consistent with their own safety. A requisition for two captains and 60 braves was afterward made upon the nation by the American commander.

The neutrality of the Delawares having thus, for the present, been assured by the treaty at Fort Pitt, on the 17th of

Sept., (1778), as above referred to, McIntosh was thereupon ordered to move westward. He descended the Ohio with a force of regulars and militia, in the month of Oct., to the mouth of the Beaver, a northern tributary of the Ohio, where, on the present site of the town of Beaver, about 30 miles below Pittsburgh, he erected a fort which was called, in honor of the projector, Fort McIntosh.

In a letter to Vice-President Bryan, written from Fort Pitt on the 29th of Dec., 1778, (4), Gen. McIntosh speaks of this fort as follows:

"Notwithstanding the season was so late that we could not get a sufficiency of supplies, and the men so tedious before they came and joined me, with many other difficulties I had to encounter, I erected a good, strong fort for the reception and security of prisoners and stores upon the Indian side of the Ohio, below Beaver creek, with barracks for a regiment; and another upon Muskingum river, where Colonel Bouquet had one formerly, near Tuscarawas, about 100 miles from this place, which I expect will keep the savages in awe, and secure the peace of the frontiers effectually in this quarter hereafter, if they are well supplied; and will also facilitate any further enterprises that may be attempted that way." (5.)

The fort was built under the immediate supervision of a military engineer named Le Chevalier de Cambray. The structure was not large, but was built of strong stockades, and furnished with bastions, mounting one six-pounder each. It was the first military post of The United States established beyond the frontier settlements, upon the Indian side of the Ohio. The timbers were of hewn logs; its figure was an irregular square, the face to the river being longer than the side to the land. It was about equal to a square of 50 yards; was well built, and strong against musketry.

As early as the 8th of October, the headquarters of the army were removed from Fort Pitt to the new fort, (7) where a considerable force—the largest collected west of the Alleghenies during the Revolution (8)—was assembled, consisting, besides the continental troops, of militia, mostly from the western counties and from Virginia. But the want of necessary supplies prevented any immediate forward movement. On the

third day of November, cattle from over the mountains arrived, but they were extremely poor, and could not be slaughtered for want of salt.

Alarming intelligence now reached McIntosh from the wilderness west. He was reproached for his tardiness by friendly Indians, who threatened that all their nations would unite in the Tuscarawas Valley to give him battle, and oppose his progress to Detroit. Orders were, therefore, immediately issued for 1200 men to get ready to march. On the 5th of Nov., the movement of the army westward commenced, including the whole force, except one company, which was left under command of Lieut.-Col. Richard Campbell, of the 13th Virginia regiment, to bring on the "long looked for supplies." For 14 days, the march was continued before the Tuscarawas was reached, a distance of only about 70 miles from Fort McIntosh. This slow progress was caused by the "horses and cattle tiring every four or five miles." It was upon this river, where the army had now encamped, that the commander anticipated meeting the enemy; but only a few Delawares from Coshocton and some Moravian Indians were found, and they were friendly. The gathering of the savages to impede his march, he was told, had been abandoned.

At this juncture, McIntosh was informed that the necessary supplies for the winter had not reached Fort McIntosh, and that very little could be expected. He was thus disappointed in all his "flattering prospects and schemes" against Detroit. There was now no other alternative but to return as he came, without effecting any valuable purpose, thereby confirming the savages in the opinion already formed of the weakness of the Americans, and combining them all more completely with the British,—or, to build a strong stockade fort upon the Tuscarawas, and leave as many men as provisions would justify, to secure it till the next season, to serve as a bridle upon the Indians in their own country. (9.) The commander, with the unanimous approbation of his principal officers, chose the latter alternative; and a post was commenced where there had been one formerly, on the west bank of the river, below the mouth of Sandy creek,—the whole army being employed upon it while provisions lasted; not, however, without some trouble,

as the militia whose homes were west of the mountains, were in a mutinous condition. (10.)

Leaving the garrison of 150 men, with scanty supplies, under command of Col. John Gibson, to finish and protect the work, McIntosh, with the rest of his army, returned, very short of provisions, to Fort McIntosh, where the militia under his command were discharged "precipitately."

The General then made such disposition of the continental troops and independent companies for the winter as, in his judgment, would protect the border, and facilitate future operations. The Eighth Penn'a regiment was assigned to Fort Pitt. The men left at Fort Laurens, were part of the Thirteenth Virginia. The residue with the independent companies, were divided between Fort McIntosh, Fort Henry, Fort Randolph and Fort Hand, with a few at interior stations. There was not one of the militia retained under pay at either of these posts. (11.)

When tidings reached Gen. McIntosh that Fort Laurens was besieged by the savages, and the garrison in most miserable straits, he, on the 19th of March, (1779), with about two hundred militia quickly raised from the counties west of the mountains, and over three hundred continental troops from Fort McIntosh and Fort Pitt, left the former post upon his second march to the Tuscarawas; arriving there in four days, to find the siege of Fort Laurens abandoned and the savages gone. (12.)

When Col. Brodhead was directed to take command of the Western Department as the successor of Gen. McIntosh in April, 1779, he was in command of Fort McIntosh. He immediately changed his headquarters to Fort Pitt. (13.) In a letter from Pittsburgh, April 15th, 1779, to President Reed, he says: "My regiment is at present much scattered; above 100, under Maj. Vernon, are posted at Fort Laurens; 25 at Wheeling, and the like number at Holliday's Cove, some employed as artificers, some as boatmen, wagoners, etc. The garrison at Fort McIntosh is of my regiment and some of them are here, there is such a delinquency in the staff department that their men are mostly supplied from the line."

In a postscript to a letter to Gen. Washington, dated Fort Pitt, July 31st, 1779, he writes: (14)

"I have just learned that two soldiers have lately been killed at Fort Laurens, two boys at Wheeling creek, two boys taken on Raccoon creek, and one man slightly wounded, and a soldier last evening killed at Fort McIntosh, and a soldier slightly wounded. The soldiers are so intent on going to Kentuck and the Falls of the Ohio, I fear I shall have few volunteers."

From Pittsburgh, Oct. 26, 1779, he writes to the Hon. John Jay (15) that some of the inhabitants from Youghania (Yohogania) and Ohio counties "have been hardy enough to cross the Ohio river and make small improvements on the Indian lands from the river Muskingum to Fort McIntosh and thirty miles up, some of the branches of the Ohio river."

In the early summer of 1780 Col. Brodhead in a letter to Gen. Washington, (16) says:

"I think it is probable the enemy are meditating an attack on some of our posts, which for want of sufficient garrisons and supplies cannot make much resistance. I am preparing to receive them here but the detachments to Fort McIntosh, Holiday's Cove, Fort Henry and Fort Armstrong leave but a small garrison to defend this post, wherefore I have armed the inhabitants of the town and assigned them an alarm post.

In a letter to Timothy Pickering, July 21st, 1780, (17) he gives an account of an attack upon a body of Indians who had crossed the Ohio, a short distance above the present town of Industry. He said:

"A few days ago I received intelligence of a party of thirty odd Wyandot Indians having crossed the Ohio five miles below Fort McIntosh, and that they had hid their canoes upon the shore. I immediately ordered out two parties of the nearest militia to go in search of them, and cover the harvesters. At the same time Capt. McIntyre was detailed with a party to form an ambuscade opposite the enemies' craft. Five men who were reaping in a field discovered the Indians, and presuming their number was small, went out to attack them, but four of them were immediately killed, and the other taken prisoner, before the militia were collected. But they were attacked by Capt. McIntyre's party on the river, and many of

them were killed and wounded, two canoes were sunk, and the prisoner retaken, but the water was so deep our men could not find the bodies of the savages, and therefore the number killed cannot be ascertained. The Indians left in their craft two guns, six blankets, eleven tomahawks, eleven paint-bags, eight earwheels, a large brass kettle, and many other articles. The Indians informed the prisoner that fifteen Wyandots were detached at Hannastown; upon receiving this information, another party was immediately detached up the Allegheny river with two Delaware Indians to take the tracks and make pursuit, but as the party has not yet returned, I cannot inform you of its success."

In a circular to the county lieutenants requesting them to provide volunteers for an expedition into the Indian country, it was stated that they were to rendezvous at Fort McIntosh by the 12th of August, (1780), (18.)

From headquarters at Pittsburgh, October 13th, 1780, he gives the following orders to Capt. John Clarke—(19.)

"As the intended expedition is put off for want of provisions to subsist the troops, and provisions can not be collected but by parties of men employed for that purpose, you will immediately evacuate (unless relieved by a party of militia) Fort Henry, bringing from thence to Fort McIntosh all the public stores, likewise those from Holliday's Cove and its garrison. When you reach Fort McIntosh you will leave under the command of Capt. Briggs, two sergeants, two corporals and thirty private soldiers, the most unfit for active service, and march the residue with out loss of time to this place."

To President Reed, March 27th, 1781, he says: (20.) "It remains to inform your excellency that in my present circumstances it is impossible for me to garrison Forts Armstrong and Crawford (Westmoreland frontier), until the Commander-in-Chief is pleased to direct me to evacuate Fort McIntosh, respecting which I sometime ago wrote to be informed of his pleasure."

Writing from Fort Pitt, August 23d, 1781, Col. Brodhead said that an expedition against Sandusky was in contemplation, and the troops would rendezvous at Fort McIntosh on the 4th and 5th of September. Next day he wrote to Capt.

John Clarke, commanding Fort McIntosh: "I have this moment received certain intelligence, that the enemy are coming against us in great force, and that particularly against your post. You will immediately put your garrison in the best posture of defense, and lay in as large quantities of water as you can, clear the bank from about you, and receive them coolly. They intend to decoy your garrison, but you will guard against their stratagem, and defend the fort to the last extremity."

It does not appear, however, that the attack was made. (21.)

In a letter from Gen. Wm. Irvine, (who now commanded this department), to Gen. Washington, dated at Fort Pitt, December, 1781, he suggested the abandonment of Fort Pitt, except a blockhouse on the north bastion, and the building of a fort at the mouth of Chartiers creek to supersede Fort Pitt and Fort McIntosh. He was fearful the enemy from Detroit might surprise the latter and make it the means of laying the country waste. (22.)

No fort was built at Chartiers, and the enemy never came from Detroit, yet the letter gives a gloomy and no doubt a truthful account of the affairs in the Western Department at that time.

In an expedition projected against the common enemy by Gen. Irvine in the fall of 1782, (23) he wrote to President Moore that he had fixed on the 20th of October as the day to march from Fort McIntosh, "A post thirty miles advanced of this place (Fort Pitt)."

As the Indians were gradually pressed westward, the occupation of Fort McIntosh became less important, and in 1783 it was allowed to go out of repair; at the same time it suffered from the lawless trespasses of the settlers passing down the Ohio on their way to Kentucky. Brigadier-General William Irvine was still in command at Fort Pitt. The troops having left, it was intended to let the fort go into the possession of the State of Pennsylvania, the State then having a reservation of 3,000 acres at the mouth of the Big Beaver. Accordingly the following instructions were given by Gen'l Irvine on the 23rd of September, 1783:

"Instructions for Wm. Lee, Sergeant, and John McClure:

"You are to take immediate charge of the fort, buildings and public property now remaining at Fort McIntosh, for and in behalf of the State of Pennsylvania, (except two pieces of iron cannon, and some water casks, the property of The United States), and three thousand acres of land reserved for the use of the State; when the tract is surveyed you will attend and make yourself acquainted with the lines; in the meantime you will consider it extending two miles up and down the river, and two miles back; you will take care that no waste is committed, or timber cut down or carried off the premises, and prohibit buildings to be made or any persons making settlements or to reside thereon, or from even hunting encampments; nor are any more families to be permitted than your own to live in the barracks, or on any part of the tract. In case of necessity for re-occupying the posts for The United States, you are to give up the fort to the orders of the commanding Continental officer at this place, retaining only such part of the building as may be necessary for you to live in. But if the troops should be so numerous as not to afford room for you, you will, in that case, occupy the buildings without the works, or build for yourselves in some convenient place, but you will on no account whatever quit the place without orders from the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, or their agents, so to do, whose instructions you will hereafter obey in all matter to said post, and tract of land. In case of lawless violence or persons attempting to settle by force, or presuming to destroy anything on the premises, you will apply to Michael Hoofnagle, Esq., or some other justice of the peace, for Westmoreland county.

"For your care and trouble in preforming in the several matters herein required, you may put in grain and labor any quantity of ground not exceeding one hundred acres, and keep and raise stock to the number of fifty head of horned cattle and eight horses. You will govern yourselves by these instructions, until the pleasure of the Honorable Council is signified to you, and you will give up peaceable possession to them or their order, whenever they think proper.

"Given under my hand at Fort Pitt, September 23rd, 1783." (24.)

Fort McIntosh was fated to remain not long unoccupied by United States troops. In 1784 the government concluding to treat with the western Indians, it became necessary to re-occupy the fort. The treaty was contemplated at first to be held at Cuyahoga (now Cleveland), but was changed to Fort McIntosh. This can be told in the words of Col. Josiah Harmar's letter to President Dickinson, (25) viz: "Camp near Fort Pitt, on the Indian shore, the western side of the Allegheny river, December 5th, 1784. Sir:—I have the honor to inform your Excellency and the Hon. Council, of the arrival of the first detachment of Pennsylvania troops, composed of Capt. Douglass's company of artillery and Capt. Finney's company of infantry at this place on the 18th of October last.

"The second detachment, composed of Capt. Zeigler and Capt. McCurdy's companies of infantry arrived here on the 29th, of the same month.

"We have remained in this position till this day, in hourly expectation of the Commissioners; they are just arrived, and upon a consultation, considering the advanced season of the year, the difficulty of supplies, etc., they have resolved to hold the treaty at Fort McIntosh, thirty miles distant from Fort Pitt, down the Ohio river. In consequence of their resolve, the troops marched this morning from this encampment for Fort McIntosh, the tents, baggage, &c., are to go by water. Mr. Alexander Lowrey, messenger to the Commissioners, was dispatched this day to Cuyahoga, with an invitation to the Indians to assemble at Fort McIntosh. The fort is in very bad order and will require considerable repairs before the troops can have comfortable quarters." (26.)

The commissioners to this treaty, on the part of the United States, were George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee. Those on the part of Pennsylvania were Col. Samuel J. Atlee and Col. Francis Johnston.

The treaty consummated by The United States is not important to the present subject, excepting its first article, which provided for the surrender by the Indians of all prisoners, "white and black," held by them. Many of the prisoners were delivered to Fort McIntosh in 1785. (27.)

The treaty by the States is thus referred to by Col. Harmar

in a letter to President Dickinson, dated at Fort McIntosh, February 8th, 1785. "The honorable the State Commissioners Col. Atlee and Col. Johnston, by this time I imagine must have arrived at Philadelphia, by whom your excellency and the honorable council will hear of the satisfactory conclusion of the treaty with the Indians at this post.

"This garrison is at length by hard fatigue of the troops, put into tolerable order. I beg to observe to your excellency and the honorable council that unless some person is directed to remain here, that upon immediately marching from hence, it will be demolished by the emigrants to Kentucky.

"Previous to our arrival here they had destroyed the gates, drawn all the nails from the roofs, taken off all the boards, and plundered it of every article. I would therefore recommend (for the benefit of the State) to your Excellency and Honorable Council to adopt some mode for its preservation, otherwise immediately upon leaving it, it will again go to ruin." (28.)

On April 27th, 1785, it was ordered in Council, "That Gen. Neville be authorized, upon his return to Washington county, to place some fit person in the possession of the buildings at Fort McIntosh, with directions to keep them, and the public timber upon the adjoining lands, in a state of as much preservation as possible."

The intention to remove from the fort soon led to a petition from David Duncan and John Finley, Indian traders, dated February 26, 1785, to the President and Council to take charge of the fort, with license to trade with the Indians.

Fort McIntosh is described by Arthur Lee, one of the commissioners of the United States, to treat with the western Indians, who reached the fort, in December, 1784,—as above alluded to—the treaty being concluded there in January, 1785. The description is contained in his Journal, from which the following extracts connected with the fort are taken. He says: "On the 17th of Dec., 1784, we embarked on the Monongahela and soon entered the Ohio on our way to Fort McIntosh. * * * * The 18th, From Loggstown to the mouth of Beaver creek is — miles, and from thence to Fort McIntosh one mile. This fort is built of well-hewed logs with four bastions, its figure is an irregular square, the face to the river being

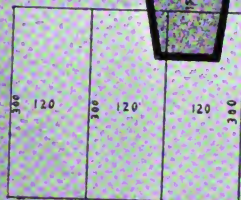
OHIO RIVER.

130 FT. ABOVE RIVER

FIRST

100

ST.



MARKET ST.

BANK ALLEY

SITE OF
FORT MCINTOSH
BEAVER.

FROM A SKETCH BY
HON. DANIEL AGNEW
L.L.D.

longer than the side to the land. It is about equal to a square of fifty yards, is well built and strong against musketry, but the opposite side of the river commands it entirely, and a single piece of artillery would reduce it.

"This fort was built by us during the war, and is therefore not noted on Hutchins' map. The place was formerly a large Indian settlement, and French trading place. There are peach trees still remaining. It is a beautiful plain extending about two miles along the river and one back to the hills, surrounded on the east by Beaver creek; and on the west by a small run, (two Mile) which meanders through a most excellent piece of meadow ground full of shell bark hickory, black walnut and oak. About one mile and a half up the Beaver creek, there enters a small but perennial stream (Brady run) very fit for a mill seat." On the 28th of December is the following entry which may throw some light on the interior management of the fort at that period:

"Some of the officers getting merry late at night, ordered the artillery company to draw out the cannon and fire them in the midst of the garrison. One of them was accordingly fired. The commanding officer immediately ordered the whole garrison under arms, and the artillery officer to countermand the firing; he refused, upon which the other ordered him under arrest. The next officer in command of the artillery walking aside told the men to do as they thought proper; they hesitated to obey the commanding officer, and he ran his sword through one of them. This soon produced a withdrawal of the artillery. In the meantime the troops were all under arms and drunken officers at the head of companies giving contrary orders, swearing at and confounding the men. Upon this Gen. Butler and myself sent for Major T——, the commanding officer, Col. Harmar being at Fort Pitt, and directed him to order the garrison immediately to their quarters; which being done the tumult subsided."

Others speak of the fort as a regular stockade work, defended by six pieces of cannon and having a covered way to the river for water. The southwest bastion stood within twenty-five feet of the termination of the present Market street, in Beaver.

The troops continued to occupy Fort McIntosh, and on the 1st of June, 1785, Col. Harmar reported at present fit for duty in the infantry 156 men, present sick, five; of the artillery present fit for duty, forty; present sick, two.

The garrison here under Col. Harmar withdrew probably in November, 1785,—as it would appear from a letter of Col. Harmar, dated October 22d,—the troops then being about to be sent down the Ohio to protect the Treaty Commissioners at the mouths of the Muskingum, Miami and other places. But it continued to be occupied later. In a letter from Col. Harmar, from Fort Harmar, June 7th, 1787, (29) he says:

"Immediately upon receipt of your letter, I began to make the necessary preparations to execute the orders of Congress, and have, accordingly, evacuated Fort Stenben, and have transmitted orders to Capt. Ferguson to withdraw the command from Fort Pitt, leaving only Lieutenant Ashton and his waiter there. To also leave an officer and sixteen men at McIntosh, and, with the remainder of his company, to follow me to the Rapids of the Ohio. * * * At Venango, Capt. Heart is stationed; at Fort McIntosh, Lieutenant Ford." (30.)

The following extract is from the report of the Department of War: "Thursday, October 2d, 1788. Fort McIntosh is ordered to be demolished, and a blockhouse to be erected in lieu thereof, a few miles up the Big Beaver creek, to protect the communication up the same, and also to cover the country." (31.)

Capt. Jonathan Heart was stationed at Fort Franklin in its last days, being ordered there shortly after his arrival at Fort Pitt, October 12, 1785, where he remained with his company until the 25th of October, when he left for the mouth of the Muskingum, and assisted in building Fort Harmar there.

"Among the incidents connected with Fort McIntosh," says the Hon. Daniel Agnew, (32) "I have learned that four soldiers were shot for desertion. I have found no record of the execution, yet there seems to be no doubt of the fact. Though true, I would prefer not to notice the incident. Desertion in time of war cannot be excused, yet, when we read the letters of Col. Brodhead and Gen. Irvine, detailing the want, suffer-

ing, starvation, and the ragged and abject condition of the men in the department, sympathy for these poor creatures, who suffered the extreme penalty of the law, will arise. The heart yields its better feeling in spite of necessity. I am glad I do not know their names to perpetuate their fatal error. It is painful to think that the prosperity we now enjoy has been secured at the expense of so much suffering and distress."

Although pressed westward, the Indians did not cease their depredations eastward. The Pittsburgh Gazette, of July, 1788, contains a notice of Richard Butler, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, warning the people that some twenty Chippewas and Ottawas had passed Detroit on their way to war.

The Gazette of the same month states the capture of Col. Joseph Michael and three others by the Indians, about twenty miles below the Big Miami. Their boat was seized and plundered. They were ransomed by Scotch and French traders from Detroit. Even so late as July, 1789, the Indians came within two miles of Pittsburgh. The following is from the Gazette of July 2d, 1789:

"Yesterday was brought to this place and buried, the bodies of two young men named Arthur Graham and Alexander Campbell, who had gone out the evening before to fish. They were killed by the savages about two miles from this place." (33.)

In speaking of the treaty of the State with the Indians made at Fort McIntosh in January, 1785, the Hon. Daniel Agnew says: (34.)

"By a treaty made at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.), on the 5th of November, 1768, between the Penns and the Six Nations, the Indian title was extinguished westward by lines which became the eastern boundary of the territory included in the next treaty with the Six Nations, made at Fort Stanwix, on the 23d of October, 1784, by commissioners of the State of Pennsylvania. There were certain tribes in Western Pennsylvania not parties to the treaty of 1784, chiefly Wyandots and Delawares, then actually occupying the western territory. It became necessary to obtain the relinquishment of their title, in order to quiet the Indian claim to the lands included

in the treaty of October 23d, 1784. The treaty of the Pennsylvania Commissioners with the Wyandots and Delawares at Fort McIntosh, terminated in a deed dated January 21st, 1785, conveying the Indian title by the same boundaries contained in the treaty of October 23d, 1784."

"Thus," in the language of Justice Agnew in his monograph on Fort McIntosh, "we have seen that, almost forgotten by the public, and its site scarcely recognizable now, Fort McIntosh was once a place of note, and the scene of important operations and events. Little over a century has passed, and few now can estimate the change. Then a wilderness where red men roamed and a tomahawk and scalping knife gleamed—now a population of 50,000 souls fill the small county of Beaver, crowded with mills and factories."

Notes to Fort McIntosh.

- (1.) Washington-Irvine Cor., p. 20.

Lachlan McIntosh was born near Inverness, Scotland, 17th March, 1725. His father's family, himself included, came with Gen. Oglethorpe to Georgia, in 1736. He became Colonel of the First Georgia regiment in the early part of the Revolution; was soon made a Brigadier-General; killed Button Gwinnett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, in a duel, in 1777; accepted a command in the central army, under Washington, and while in this position was sent, in 1778, to Fort Pitt, which he reached in August, 1778; was captured at Charleston, South Carolina, May 12th, 1780; became a Member of Congress in 1784; an Indian Commissioner in 1785; died in Savannah, Georgia, 20th February, 1806.

- (2.) Washington-Irvine Cor., p. 23.

We have followed, where applicable, the line laid out by Mr. Butterfield in the introduction to the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, which he has edited so excellently.

- (3.) W. I. Cor., p. 24, n.

- (4.) Arch., vii, 131.

(5.) The fort on the Tuscarawas was named "Laurens," after Henry Laurens, President of Congress. It was a regularly laid out work, including less than an acre of ground.

(6.) W. I. Cor., p. 26. * * * * See Arthur Lee's description, *supra*.

(7.) "In order to make Fort McIntosh more easy of communication and supply, Gen. McIntosh cut a road from Fort Pitt to Fort McIntosh. This was essential to his plan of supplying the latter for future operations, and must have been opened on the south side of the Ohio. The old route by which Col. Boquet marched in 1764 was utterly unsafe for supply trains. Such wagon trains would have been constantly exposed to the attacks of the savages, who were always found on the north side and alert on the lookout. While it is not stated where the road was opened, it is quite certain it was the same that comes down to the Ohio through the gap directly opposite to the fort. This road was used by Brodhead when he came into command, and has since been known as the 'Brodhead Road.'" [Fort McIntosh and its Times, p. 18. * * * By Hon. Daniel Agnew.]

(8.) McIntosh's entire force was about thirteen hundred. The militia numbered at least one thousand. They were mostly from Northwestern Virginia. [W. I. Cor., p. 26, n.]

(9.) Fort Laurens—referred to in his letter above.

(10.) The erection of these forts as a precautionary measure was approved by the Commander-in-Chief.

(11.) W.-I. Cor., p. 29.

(12.) "A salute, fired by the garrison upon the arrival of the relief in sight of the post, frightened the pack-horses, causing them to break loose, scattering the supplies in the woods and resulting in the loss of a number of horses and of some of the provisions. * * * The men in the fort were found in a most deplorable condition. For nearly a week, they had subsisted on raw hides and such roots as they could find in the vicinity after the Indians had gone." [W. I. Cor., p. 32.]

(13.) Orders from Pittsburg were issued by him as early as April 13th, 1779. [W.-I. Cor., p. 35, n.]

Brodhead for some reason did no favor Fort McIntosh, although it is said that later he realized its importance. To Gen. Armstrong, April 16th, 1779 (Arch., xii, 109), he says: "General McIntosh was more ambitious. * * * And it was owing to the General's determination to take Detroit that the very romantic building, called Fort McIntosh, was built by the hands of hundreds who would rather have fought than wrought." * * * To Gen. Washington, June 5, 1779, (Arch., xii, 125): "As your excellency has given Fort McIntosh the preference, I shall order that to be the principal rendezvous for the troops, but I beg leave to assure your excellency there is neither meadow, garden, pasture or spring water convenient to that post. I do not think it prudent to fence the Indian land, as it naturally excites a jealousy." * * * To Gen. Greene, May 26th, 1779 (Arch., xii, 118): "But Gen. McIntosh's views were much more extensive, and that he was determined to take Detroit, and with this view began to build a fort at much labor and expense at Beaver creek, and consequently kept at least 1000 militia in the field, who might have been better employed putting in their fall crops, and taking in their corn, which was chiefly lost for want of their attendance." To Gen. Greene (Arch., xii, 145): "The Hobby Horse he (McIntosh) built at Beaver creek."

(14.) Arch., xii, 146.

The letter above of April 15th, is Number 2 of Letters from Col. Brodhead. * * * Arch., xii, 106.

(15.) Brodhead's Letter Book. Arch., xii, 176.

(16.) Brodhead's Letter Book, May 13th, 1780, Arch., xii, 233.

(17.) Arch., xii, 248-252.

(18.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 247.

(19.) Brodhead's Letter Book, Arch., xii, 277.

(20.) Arch., ix, p. 39.

(21.) Fort McIntosh and its Times, p. 24, by Daniel Agnew, LL. D.

(22.) Fort McIntosh, etc., p. 26.

- (23.) Arch., ix, 648.
- (24.) Arch., x, 109.
- (25.) Arch., x, 391.
- (26.) Arch., x, 391. Arch., xi, 510. Fort McIntosh, etc., p. 29.
- (27.) Fort McIntosh, etc., p. 30.
- (28.) Arch., x, 406.
- (29.) Fort McIntosh, etc., p. 31, et seq. Arch., x, 470.—Some of the Penna. Line were there Sept. 12, 1785. Records, xiv, 529.
- (30.) Saint Clair Papers, Vol. ii, p. 22-23.
- (31.) Fort McIntosh, etc., p. 34.
- (32.) "Another interesting fact connected with Fort McIntosh was the visit, in 1785, of the Commissioners then running the western boundary of Pennsylvania. * * * On the 25th of August, the joint Commissioners of Virginia and Pennsylvania, consisting of Andrew Ellicott and Jos. Neville, for Virginia, and David Rittenhouse and Andrew Porter for Pennsylvania, reported that they had finished the meridian line from the southwest corner of Pennsylvania to the River Ohio, and marked it by cutting a vista over all the principal hills, felling and deadening trees through the lower grounds, and placing stones marked on the east side "P," and on the west side "V," accurately on the meridian line. That part of Virginia on the west side is now known as the "Pan Handle." [Id., p. 32.]

Christopher Hays was employed by the State of Pennsylvania to assist in running the temporary boundary line between that State and Virginia from the end of Mason and Dixon's line to the Ohio river. He was a prominent citizen of Westmoreland—a member of the Supreme Executive Council of the State, and a judge of his county, he having been commissioned July 24th, of that year. He writes to Gen. Irvine, from near Cross creek, November 19th, 1782, as follows:

"We have proceeded this length in running the north line of Pennsylvania and have enjoyed a peaceable progress

hitherto, and expect to strike the Ohio river about Thursday next between Fort McIntosh and Raredon's Bottom.

"Sir, I am reduced to the necessity of troubling your honor to send me by the bearer one keg of whiskey, two pounds powder, and four pounds lead, and your compliance will much oblige [me].

"P. S.—I will replace the whiskey with all convenient speed. Please to bring it in your own boat if you come to meet us." Washington-Irvine Cor., p. 402. * * * The editor of the Correspondence observes: "It will be noticed that whisky is the article first mentioned; more to be desired than powder and lead, notwithstanding the Indians were still hostile?"

(33.) Fort McIntosh, p. 36.

(34.) Fort McIntosh, p. 37.

"The history of the reservation of the three thousand acres of the State at the mouth of the Big Beaver, including Fort McIntosh, referred to in Gen. Irvine's instructions to Sergeant Lee and John McClure, is this:

"The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown and the provisional treaty with Great Britain of November 30, 1782, left no doubt of a final treaty of peace. With this expectation, and that of the final extinguishment of the Indian title, the Assembly of Pennsylvania passed the Act of 12th March, 1783. It appropriated the territory north of the Ohio and west of the Allegheny river and Connewango creek, to the use of soldiers of the Pennsylvania Revolutionary Line; the northern part for donations for their services, and the southern for the redemption of the certificates of depreciation from the continental currency, given for their pay. The dividing line ran due west from Mogulbughtiton, a creek above Kittanning, passing about six or seven miles south of New Castle, Lawrence county. Out of the southern part, the State reserved to herself two tracts of 3,000 acres each, one at the mouth of the Allegheny river, west side, and the other at the mouth of the Big Beaver, including Fort McIntosh. The Beaver reservation was surveyed in April or May, 1785, by Alexander McClain, Esq. This was the prospective survey referred to in General Irvine's instructions to Lee and McClure.

"It was on the latter reservation the town and outlots of Beaver were surveyed by Daniel Leet in November, 1792. Owing to the absence of the Commissioners appointed to superintend the survey, the survey of Leet was void, and an act of confirmation was passed the 6th of March, 1793." [Fort McIntosh, by Hon. Daniel Agnew, LL.D.]

The Chevalier De Cambray was doubtless a competent engineer, but he manifestly did not have the ability to express himself in the English language in an artistic manner. The following extract from a letter of his to Mr. Sommerville, Conductor of the Artillery, written at Fort McIntosh, Oct. 10th, 1778 (Arch., iii, 2d series, 244), will give an idea of the use he made of the English language.

"The consign of centinels of the parc of the Artillery is to hinder any body, except they were in your or in my company, to approach, and to keep for all kinds of fire; you will please to take care that consign are exactly followed, and if you judge requisite to add something to it for the safety of stores, to apply to the commanding officer, for his orders are given. You will please to do a return of the ammunitions following the last inspections, in such a manner that the totals may be seen easily, moreover, a return of the consummation since your being Conductor, at last a confrontation of all with the invoice of the commiss'y of Carlisle; you may have it of Mr. Van Lierla."

It is no disparagement to his ability to point out a resemblance between the Chevalier's manner of giving orders and that of Fluellen, (Henry the Fifth).

The blockhouse referred to in the report of the department of war, above quoted, was built on the little stream emptying into the Big Beaver, below New Brighton, still known as "Blockhouse run." This blockhouse was commanded by Lieut. Nathan McDowell, in 1789. * * * * "In 1793, a military blockhouse stood here (New Brighton), with a garrison commanded by Major Toomey." [Day's Historical Collections, p. 108.]

This blockhouse is mentioned March 16th and 17th, 1791. Second Archives, iv, 646-648.

Major Isaac Craig to General Knox, July 5th, 1793 (Letter

Book of Maj. Isaac Craig, Historical Register, Vol. ii, No. 3, p. 170), says:

"I shall write to Col. Sproat respecting the business mentioned in the Secretary of the Treasury's letter, and shall send a confidential person to transact that business at Beaver creek; but I am astonished that Colonel Hamilton had made choice of Fort McIntosh for a place of deposit, as there is not a building of any kind on that ground, nor within three miles of it on that side of the Ohio, and the only one at that distance is the blockhouse on Beaver creek, now garrisoned by a sergeant and small party, who occupy the whole building, it being only a large hut; therefore an improper place to deposit spirits."

As the region about the location of Fort McIntosh is of peculiar historic interest from the time of the earliest intrusion of the whites into that region, it may be appropriate at this place to quote from the Journal of Col. Bouquet, kept in his expedition of 1764. The Remarks are by Hon. Daniel Agnew, LL. D., in his Fort McIntosh and its Times.

1. "Things being thus settled, the army decamped from Fort Pitt on Wednesday, October 3 [1764], and marched about one mile and a half, over a rich level country with stately timber, to camp No. 2, a strong piece of ground pleasantly situated with plenty of water and food for cattle."

2. "Thursday, October 4, having proceeded about two miles, came to the Ohio at the beginning of the narrows, and from thence followed the course of the river, along a flat gravelly beach, about six miles and a quarter, with two islands on the left, the lowermost about six miles long, with a rising ground running across and gently sloping on both sides to its banks, which are high and upright. At the lower end of this island the army left the river, marching through good land, broken with small hollows to camp No. 3, this day's march being nine miles and a quarter."

3. "Friday, October 5, in this day's march the army passed through Logstown, situated 17 miles, one half and 57 perches from Fort Pitt. This place was noted before the last war for the trade carried on there by the English and French, but its

inhabitants, the Shawanese and Delawares, abandoned it in the year 1750. The lower town extended about sixty perches over a bottom to the foot of a low steep ridge, on the summit of which stood the upper town commanding a most agreeable prospect over the lower and quite across the Ohio, which is about 500 yards wide here, and by its majestic current adds much to the beauty of the place. Proceeding beyond Logstown through a fine country, interspersed with hills, rich valleys, watered by many rivulets and covered with stately timber, came to camp No. 4, on a level piece of ground, with a thicket in the rear, a small precipice round the front with a run of water at the foot, and good food for cattle. This day's march was nine miles one-half and fifty-three perches."

4. "Saturday, October 6, at about three miles distance came again to the Ohio, pursuing its course half a mile farther, and then turning off over a steep ridge crossed the Big Beaver creek, which is twenty perches wide, the ford stony and pretty deep. It runs through a rich vale, with a pretty strong current, its banks high, the upland adjoining it very good, timber tall and young."

5. "About a mile below its confluence with the Ohio stood formerly a large town on the steep bank, built by the French of square logs, with stone chimneys, for some of the Shawanese, Delawares and Mingoes, who abandoned it in the year 1758, when the French abandoned Fort Duquesne."

6. "Near the fording of Beaver creek also stood about seven houses which were deserted and destroyed by the Indians after their defeat on Bushy run, when they forsook all the remaining settlements in this part of the country, as has been mentioned above."

1. "(Remark.—Camp No. 2 must have been about a half or three-quarters of a mile below the old Penitentiary site.)"

2. "(Remark.—The route described as by the narrows and the islands on the left (Davis' and Neville's) and the departure at the foot of Neville's prove conclusively that the march was on the right bank of the Ohio.)"

3. "(Remark.—This account conclusively establishes Logstown as on the north side of the Ohio, a fact confirmed by Hutchins' map, and the journals of Conrad Weiser (1748) and

Frederick Post (1758). Post's second journal (1758) states that the Indians had a large cornfield on the south side. This explains how a late impression has prevailed that Logstown was on the south side.)"

4. "(Remark.—The crossing was evidently just below where the Beaver toll-bridge stands.)"

5. "(Remark.—This town stood about a half or two-thirds of a mile below Market street in Beaver on the property of the late David Minis.)"

6. "(Remark.—This hamlet was known as Sawkunk or Sawkung, and must have stood on the island at the mouth of the creek, or on the 'Stone' property, west side of the Big Beaver, as Frederick Post in his second journal (1758) says, that on leaving Sawkunk he crossed the Big Beaver, going up to Fort Du Quesne.)"

Hon. Daniel Agnew, LL.D., in Fort McIntosh, etc.

This place was noted for many years for the great trade carried on with the Indians, by the English and French. The Delawares and Shawanese abandoned it in 1750, and it was taken possession of by the Mingoes. It was deserted by the Mingoes after the battle of Brush creek. The lower town extended about sixty perches over a rich bottom to the foot of a low steep ridge, on the summit of which, near the declivity, stood the upper town, commanding a most agreeable prospect over the lower town, and quite across the Ohio, which, by its majestic, easy current, added much to the beauty of the place.

The following day, the army passing over a steep ridge, crossed Big Beaver creek, twenty perches in depth. It runs through a rich vale, with a strong current; its banks are high, and the upland adjoining it very good, covered with tall young timber.

About a mile from its confluence with the Ohio, stood formerly a large town, on a steep bank, built by the French for some Shawanese, Delawares and Mingoes. The houses were constructed of square logs, with stone chimnies. It was abandoned in 1758, when the French were driven from Fort Du Quesne. Near the fording over Beaver creek stood also several houses, which were deserted and destroyed by the

Indians after their defeat at Brush creek. [Hist. Western Penna., 168.]

The treaty of Logstown was concluded June 13th, 1752. The parties represented were three commissioners on the part of Virginia and the Indians of that section. It was held preparatory to the occupancy of that portion of the country by the Ohio Company and Virginia. * * * * Gist was appointed the company's surveyor, and instructed to lay off a town and a fort, at Shurtees (Chartiers) creek, a little below Pittsburgh on the east side of the Ohio. * * * [Sparks' Washington's Writings.]

BATTLE OF BUSHY RUN.

The battle of Bushy run which ended Pontiac's War, relieved the posts of Fort Pitt and Ligonier, saved the western frontier of the Province, and brought the savages to submission, was peculiarly, one of the most remarkable engagements ever fought between the two races. Its importance in explaining the history of these frontiers is such that an account of it could not well be omitted, where mention is made of the forts and posts of the western part of the Province.

The account here presented has been largely taken from Mr. Francis Parkman's version of that campaign. Mr. Parkman himself followed, often literally, but usually with amplification, the Historical Account of Col. Bouquet's Expedition by Thomas Hutchins, Geographer to The United States, with an introduction by Dr. Wm. Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, as well as the letters of Col. Bouquet to Gen. Amherst, which are attached hereto. To this source of authority Mr. Parkman had access to much new material, supplied especially from the correspondence of the officers who served in Pontiac's war and from the Bouquet and Haldimand Papers, belonging to the manuscript collections of the British Museum. In addition to these, the Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, The Olden Time and the Pennsylvania State Archives and Records were by him consulted and drawn upon.

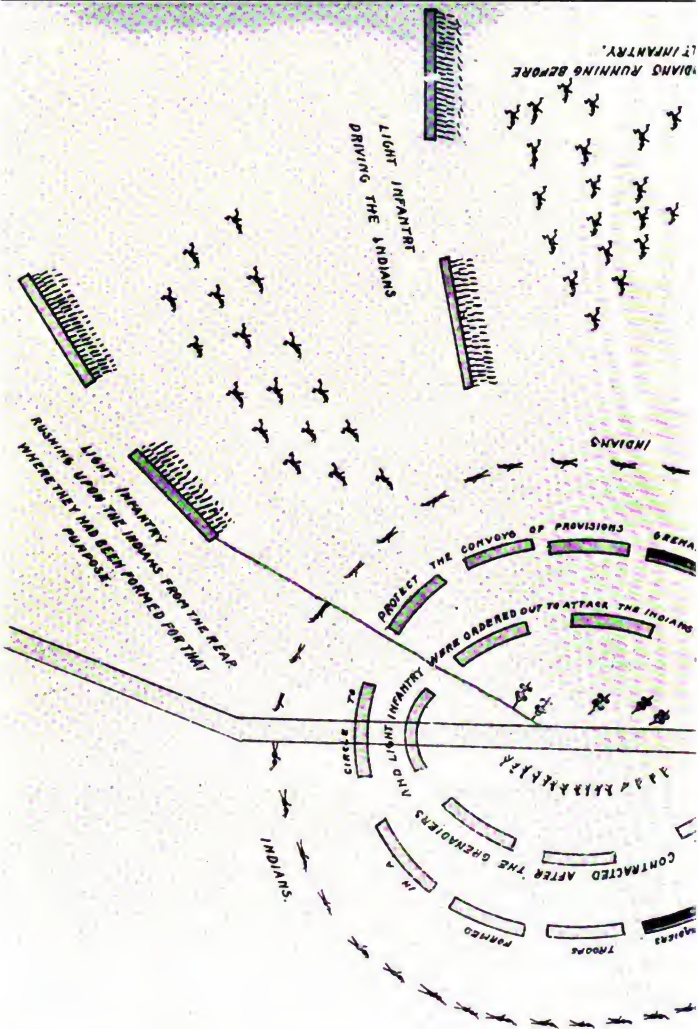
general peace so lately established, unable to obtain the least intelligence from the colonies, or from each other, and being separately persuaded by their treacherous and savage assailants that they had carried every other place before them, it could not be expected that these small posts could hold out long; and the fate of their garrisons is terrible to relate.

The news of the surrender, and the continued ravages of the enemy struck all America with consternation, and depopulated a great part of our frontiers. We now saw most of those posts suddenly wrested from us which had been the great object of the late war, and one of the principal advantages acquired by the peace. Only the forts of Niagara, Detroit, and Fort Pitt, remained in our hands, of all that had been purchased with so much blood and treasure. But these were places of consequence, and it is remarkable that they alone continued to awe the whole power of the Indians, and balance the fate of the war between them and us.

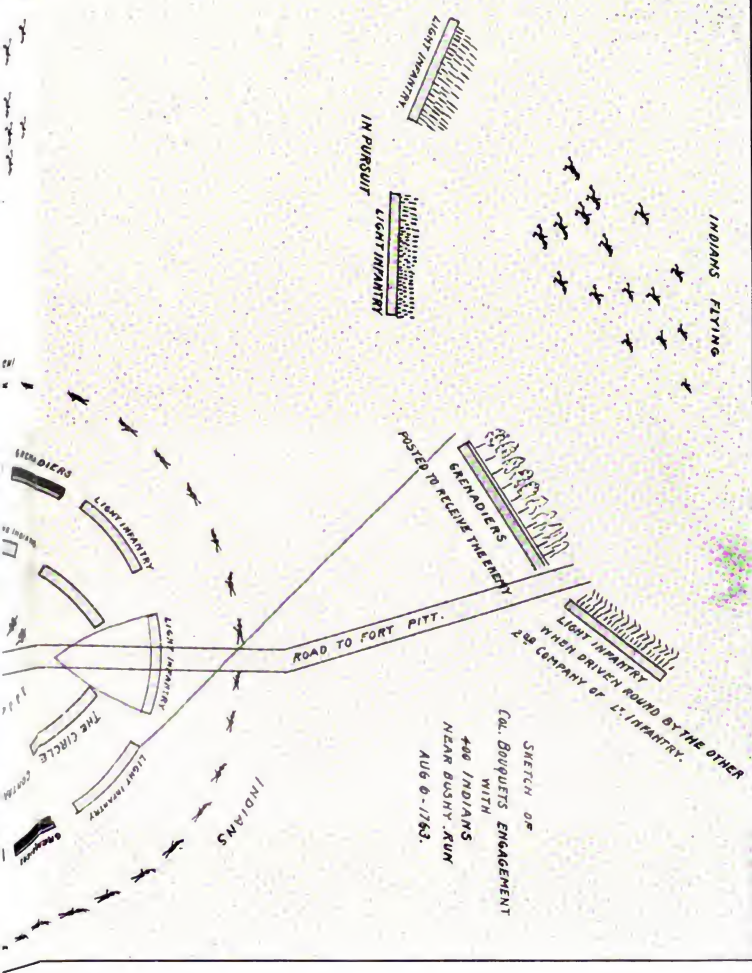
These forts, being larger, were better garrisoned and supplied to stand a siege of some length, than the places that fell. Niagara was not attacked, the enemy judging it too strong.

The officers who commanded the other two deserved the highest honor for the firmness with which they defended them, and the hardships they sustained rather than deliver up places of such importance. Major Gladwin in particular, who commanded at Detroit, had to withstand the united and vigorous attacks of all the nations living upon the lakes. The design of this article, however, leads us more immediately to speak of the defense and relief of Fort Pitt by that remarkable campaign.

The Indians had early surrounded that place, and cut off all communication from it, even by message. Though they had no cannon, nor understood the methods of a regular siege yet, with incredible boldness, they posted themselves under the banks of both rivers by the walls of the fort, and continued as it were buried there from day to day, with astonishing patience; pouring in an incessant storm of musketry and fire arrows; hoping at length, by famine, by fire, by harrassing out the garrison, to carry their point.



1793
1794



Sketch of
Col. Bouquet's Engagement
with
400 Indians
near Bushy Run
Aug 0-1763.

Captain Ecuyer, who commanded there, though he wanted several necessities for sustaining a siege, and though the fortifications had been greatly damaged by the floods, took all the precautions which art and judgment could suggest for the repair of the place, and repulsing the enemy. His garrison, joined by the inhabitants, and surviving traders who had taken refuge there, seconded his efforts with resolution. Their situation was alarming, being remote from immediate assistance, and having to deal with an enemy from whom they had no mercy to expect.

Gen. Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief, not being able to provide in time for the safety of the remote posts, bent his chief attention to the relief of Detroit, Niagara and Fort Pitt. The communication with the two former was chiefly by water, from the colony of New York, and it was on that account the more easy to throw succors into them.

When this war burst upon the country it was at a time when the colonies were greatly exhausted, and when the Commander-in-Chief of the English forces on the American establishment, was almost bereft of resources. The armies which conquered Canada had been disbanded or sent home; nothing remained but a few fragments or skeletons of regiments lately arrived from the West Indies, enfeebled by disease and by hard service. In one particular, however, he had reason to congratulate himself—the character of the officer who commanded under his orders in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Colonel Henry Bouquet was a Swiss, of the Canton of Berne, who had followed the trade of war from boyhood. He had served first the king of Sardinia, and afterward the republic of Holland; and when the French war began in 1755, he accepted the commission of lieutenant-colonel, in a regiment newly organized, under the direction of the Duke of Cumberland, expressly for American service. The commissions were to be given to foreigners as well as to Englishmen and provincials; and the rank were to be filled chiefly from the German emigrants in Pennsylvania and other provinces. The men and officers of this regiment, known as the “Royal Americans” had now, for more than

six years, been engaged in the rough and lonely service of the frontiers and forests; and when the Indian war broke out, it was chiefly they, who, like military hermits, held the detached outposts of the West.

Bouquet, however, who was at this time Colonel of the first battalion, had his headquarters at Philadelphia, where he was held in great esteem. His person was fine, and his bearing composed and dignified; perhaps somewhat austere, for he is said to have been more respected than loved by his officers. Nevertheless, their letters are very far from indicating any want of cordial relations. He was fond of the society of men of science, and wrote English better than most British officers of the time. Here and there, however, a passage in his letters suggest the inference, that the character of the gallant mercenary was toned by his profession, and to the unideal epoch in which he lived. Yet he was not the less an excellent soldier; indefatigable, faithful, full of resource, and without those arrogant prejudices which impaired the efficiency of many good British officers, in the recent war, and of which Sir Jeffrey Amherst was a conspicuous example. He had acquired a practical knowledge of Indian warfare, and it is said that, in the course of the hazardous partisan service in which he was often engaged when it was necessary to penetrate dark defiles and narrow passes, he was sometimes known to advance before his men, armed with a rifle, and acting the part of a scout.

Sir Jeffrey Amherst, from whom all orders came had flattered himself that the Indian uprising was of little moment, and that the alarm would end in nothing but a rash attempt of what the Senecas had been threatening for some time past. He declared that while defenceless families, or small posts, might be cut off, yet "the post of Fort Pitt, or any of the others commanded by officers, could certainly never be in danger from such a wretched enemy." He, however, in the same letter to Colonel Bouquet in which he so expresses his opinion, says that he only wanted to hear what further steps the savages had taken, when he would put into execution the measures which he had taken for operations against them.

But the news which came to Colonel Bouquet from Ecuyer at Fort Pitt grew worse and worse. The letters which con-

tained these reports were forwarded to Amherst who wrote to Bouquet on receiving the latest that although it was extremely inconvenient at the time, yet that he would not defer sending a reinforcement to keep up the communication between Philadelphia and the out-posts. Accordingly he ordered two companies of the Forty-second and Seventy-seventh regiments to join Bouquet at Philadelphia, and directed him, if he thought it necessary, to himself proceed to Fort Pitt, so that he might be better enabled to put in execution the requisite orders for receiving the communication and reducing the Indians to reason.

The tidings from the out-posts becoming worse and worse, Amherst rearranged such troops as he had for active service. His plan was to push forward as many troops as possible to Niagara by way of Oswego, and to Presqu' Isle by way of Fort Pitt, and thence to send them up the lakes to take vengeance on the offending tribes.

But Bouquet, with superior discernment, recognizing the peril of the small outlying posts like Venango and Le Boeuf, proposed to abandon them, and concentrate at Fort Pitt and Presqu' Isle; a movement which, could it have been executed in time, would have saved both blood and trouble. But Amherst would not consent to give these posts up.

Bouquet then began to take active steps for the relief of the western posts, with the two companies of troops which he had at his command. It being apparent, however, that these were insufficient, Amherst ordered the remains of the Forty-second and the Seventy-seventh—the first consisting of two hundred and fourteen men including officers, and the latter of one hundred and thirty-three, officers included—to march (June 23d, 1763) under the command of Major Campbell of the Forty-second, to Bouquet. Two days after that, Amherst writes to Bouquet: "All the troops from hence that could be collected are sent you; so that should the whole race of Indians take arms against us I can do no more."

Bouquet was now busy on the frontier in preparations for pushing forward to Fort Pitt with the troops sent him. After reaching the fort, with his wagon-trains of ammunition and supplies, he was to proceed to Venango and Le Boeuf, rein-

force and provision them; and then advance to Presqu' Isle to await Amherst's orders. He was encamped near Carlisle when, on the 3d of July, he heard, by express-rider sent out by Captain Ourry from Bedford, of the loss of Presqu' Isle, Le-Boeuf, and Venango. He at once sent the news to Amherst.

Early orders had been given to prepare a convoy of provisions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, but such were the universal terror and consternation of the inhabitants, that when Colonel Bouquet arrived at Carlisle, nothing had yet been done. A great number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt by the savages; many of the mills destroyed, and the fall-ripe crops stood waving in the field, ready for the sickle, but the reapers were not to be found. The greatest part of the county of Cumberland, through which the army had to pass, was deserted, and the roads were covered with distressed families flying from their settlement, and destitute of all the necessities of life.

When he arrived at Carlisle, at the end of June, he found every building in the fort, every house, barn, and hovel, in the little town, crowded with the families of settlers, driven from their homes by the terror of the tomahawk. He heard one ceaseless wail of moaning and lamentation, from widowed wives and orphaned children.

Bouquet was full of anxieties for the safety of Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier. Captain Lewis Ourry commanded at Bedford and Lieutenant Archibald Blane, at Ligonier. These kept up a precarious correspondence with him and each other, and with Captain Ecuyer at Fort Pitt, by means of express-riders, a service dangerous to the last degree, and which soon became impracticable.

It was of the utmost importance to hold these posts, which contained stores and munitions, the capture of which by the Indians would have led to the worst consequences. Ourry had no garrison worth the name; but at every Indian alarm the scared inhabitants would desert their farms, and gather for shelter around his fort, to disperse again when the alarm was over.

On the 3d of June, he writes to Bouquet: "No less than ninety-three families are now in here for refuge, and more

hourly arriving. I expect ten more before night." He adds that he had formed the men into two militia companies: "My returns," he pursues, "amount already to one hundred and fifty-five men. My regulars are increased by expresses, etc., to three corporals and nine privates; no despicable garrison!"

On the 7th, he sent another letter. * * * * "As to myself, I find I can bear a good deal. Since the alarm I never lie down till about 12, and am walking about the fort between 2 and 3 in the morning, turning out the guards and sending out patrols, before I suffer the gates to remain open. * * * * My greatest difficulty is to keep my militia from straggling by two and threes to their dear plantations, thereby exposing themselves to be scalped and weakening my garrison by such numbers absenting themselves. They are still in good spirits, but they don't know all the bad news. I shall use all means to prevail on them to stay till some troops come up. I long to see my Indian scouts come in with intelligence; but I long more to hear the Grenadier's March, and see some more red-coats."

Ten days later, he writes. * * * * "I am now, as I foresaw, entirely deserted by the country people. No accident having happened here, they have gradually left me to return to their plantations; so that my whole force is reduced to twelve Royal Americans to guard the fort, and seven Indian prisoners. I should be very glad to see some troops come to my assistance. A fort with 5 bastions cannot be guarded, much less defended, by a dozen men; but I hope God will protect us."

On the next day, he writes again: "This moment I return from the parade. Some scalps taken up Dunning's creek yesterday, and to-day some families murdered and houses burnt, have destroyed me of my militia. * * * * Two or three other families are missing, and the houses are seen in flames. The people are all flocking in again."

Two days afterwards, he says that, while the countrymen were at drill on the parade, 3 Indians attempted to seize two little girls close to the fort, but were driven off by a volley. "This," he pursues, "Has added greatly to the panic of the people, with difficulty I can restrain them from murdering the

Indian prisoners." And he concludes: "I can't help think that the enemy will collect, after cutting off the little posts one after another, leaving Fort Pitt as too tough a morsel, and bend their whole force upon the frontiers."

On the 2d of July, he describes an attack of about 20 Indians on a party of mowers, several of whom were killed. "This accident," he says, "has thrown the people into a great consternation, but such is their stupidity that they will do nothing right for their own preservation."

Such was the condition of affairs at Fort Bedford. On the next day, the 3d of July, Captain Ourry from there sent a mounted soldier to Bouquet with the news of the loss of Presqu' Isle and its sister posts, which Lieutenant Archibald Blane, who, having received the news from Fort Pitt contrived to send him; though he himself in his feeble little fort of Ligonier, buried in a sea of forests hardly dared hope to maintain himself.

Some account is given of what Lieutenant Blane and his little garrison had to endure, and of their fortitude and undaunted courage during this time, where we speak of Fort Ligonier.

Bouquet, encamped at Carlisle, was still urging on his preparations, but was met by obstacles at every step. The Province did little, and the people, partly from the apathy and confusion of terror, could not be brought to operate with the regulars. In such despondency of mind it is not surprising, that though their whole was at stake, and depended entirely upon the fate of this little army, none of them offered to assist in the defense of the country, by joining the expedition in which they would have been of infinite service, being in general well acquainted with the woods, and excellent marksmen.

While vexed and exasperated, Bouquet labored at his thankless task, remonstrated with provincial officials, or appealed to refractory farmers, the terror of the country people increased every day. When on Sunday, the 3d of July, (1763), Ourry's express rode into Carlisle with the disastrous news from Presqu' Isle and the other out-posts, he stopped for a moment on the village street to water his horse. A crowd of countrymen were instantly about him, besieging him with questions. He told his ill-omened story; and added as, remounting, he

rode towards Bouquet's tent, "The Indians will be here soon." All was now excitement and consternation. Messengers hastened out to spread the tidings; and every road and pathway leading into Carlisle was beset with the flying settlers, flocking thither for refuge. Some rumors were heard that the Indians were come. Fugitives had seen the smoke of burning cabins in the valleys. A party of the inhabitants armed themselves and went out to warn the living, and bury the dead. Their worst fears were realized. They saw everywhere the frightful evidence of the presence of the savages, who were all around them.

The surrounding country was by this time completely abandoned by the settlers. Many sought refuge at Carlisle; some continued their flight to Lancaster, and some did not stop till they reached Philadelphia. Every place about Carlisle was full, and a multitude of the refugees, unable to find shelter in the town, had encamped in the woods and on the adjacent fields, erecting huts of branches and bark, and living on such charity as the slender means of the towns-people could supply. Passing among them one would have witnessed every form of human misery. In these wretched encampments were men, women and children, bereft at one stroke of friends, of home, and the means of supporting life. Some stood aghast and bewildered at the sudden and fatal blow; others were sunk in the apathy of despair; others were weeping and moaning with irrepressible anguish. With not a few, the craven passion of fear drowned all other emotion, and day and night they were haunted with visions of the bloody knife and the reeking scalp, while in others, every faculty was absorbed by the burning thirst for vengeance, and mortal hatred against the whole Indian race.

The commander found that, instead of expecting such supplies from a miserable people, he himself was called by the voice of humanity to bestow on them some share of his own provisions. In the midst of the general confusion, the supplies necessary for the expedition became very precarious, nor was it less difficult to procure horses and carriages for the use of the troops. However, in eighteen days after his arrival at Carlisle, by the prudent and active measures which he pursued,

joined to his knowledge of the country, and the diligence of the persons he employed, the convoy and carriages were procured with the assistance of the interior parts of the country, and the army proceeded.

At length the army, such as it was, being gathered around him, and the convoy ready, Bouquet broke up his camp and began his march. The force under his command did not exceed 500 men, of whom the most effective were the Highlanders of the Forty-second regiment. The remnant of the Seventy-seventh, which was also with him, was so enfeebled by the West Indian exposures, that Amherst had at first pronounced it fit only for garrison duty, and nothing but necessity had induced him to employ it on this arduous service. As the heavy wagons of the convoy lumbered along the streets of Carlisle, guarded by the bare-legged Highlanders, in kilts and plaids, the crowd gazed in anxious silence, for they knew that their all was at stake on the issue of this dubious enterprise. There was little to reassure them in the thin frames and haggard looks of the worn-out veterans still less in the sight of sixty invalid soldiers, who, unable to walk, were carried in wagons, to furnish a feeble reinforcement to the small garrisons along the route. The desponding rustics watched the last gleam of the bayonets, the last flutter of the tartans, as the rear files vanished in the woods; then returned to their hovels, prepared for tidings of defeat, and ready, when they heard them, to abandon the country, and fly beyond the Susquehanna.

The undertaking was enough to appal the stoutest of hearts. Before him a distance of 200 miles over mountains and through the gloomy wilderness, lay the point of his destination. The tidings and reports which he had heard, the places cut off, the uncertainty whether these places could hold out, the condition of those around him, and the lack of assistance rendered him—these things were enough to intimidate the stoutest of men. In that dark wilderness lay the bones of Braddock and the hundreds that perished with him. The number of the slain on that bloody day exceeded Bouquet's whole force; while the strength of the assailants was inferior to that of the swarms who now infested the forests. Bouquet's troops were, for the most part, as little accustomed to the back-woods as

those of Braddock; but their commander had served seven years in America, and perfectly understood his work. He had attempted to get frontiersmen to act as scouts, but they would not leave their families whom they remained to defend. He had therefore to employ his Highlanders as flankers, in order to protect his line of march and prevent surprise; but these proved to be unfit for that service, as they invariably lost themselves in the woods.

His immediate concern was for Fort Ligonier. He knew that the loss of the post would be most disastrous to his army and to the entire Province, and that nothing could possibly save Fort Pitt. It had already been attacked, but had held out. He determined to risk sending a small detachment to its relief. Thirty Highlanders were chosen, who, furnished with guides, were ordered to push forward with the utmost speed, avoiding the road, traveling by night, on unfrequented paths, and lying close by day. They reached Bedford in due time. Captain Ourry from here, prior to this had sent a party of 20 backwoodsmen to reinforce Lieutenant Blane, knowing the straits into which he had fallen. The Highlanders on coming to Bedford, rested there several days—Ourry expecting an attack during that time—and then again set out. Coming near to Ligonier, they found the place beset by the Indians; but they made themselves known and under a running fire entered into the fort.

At Shippensburg, on the eastern base of the Alleghenies, something more than twenty miles from Carlisle, was gathered a starving, frightened and stricken multitude. According to report there were there on the 25th of July, 1763, of the distressed back inhabitants, namely, men 301; women 345; and children, 738; many of whom were obliged to lie in barns, stables, cellars, and under old leaky sheds, the dwelling-houses being all crowded.

Two companies of light infantry had been sent forward from the main body to succor Bedford. Captain Ourry had taken all necessary precautions to prevent a surprise, and repel open force, as also to render ineffectual the enemy's fire arrows. He armed all the fighting men, who formed two companies of volunteers, and did duty with the garrison till the arrival of

the two companies which had been detached from the little army.

The army advancing reached Fort Loudoun, on the declivity of Cove mountain, and climbed the wood-encumbered defiles beyond. On their right stretched far off the green ridges of the Tuscarora; in front, mountains beyond mountains were piled up against the sky. Over rocky heights and through deep valleys, they reached at length Fort Littleton, a provincial post, in which, with incredible perversity the government of Pennsylvania had refused to place a garrison. Not far distant was the feeble post of the Juniata, empty like the other; for the two or three men who held it had been withdrawn by Ourry. On the 25th of July, they reached Bedford, hemmed in by encircling mountains. It was the frontier village and the center of a scattered border population, the whole of which was now clustered in terror in and around the fort; for the neighboring woods were full of prowling savages. Ourry reported that for several weeks nothing had been heard from the westward, every messenger having been killed and the communication completely cut off.

At Bedford, Bouquet, fortunately secured thirty backwoodsmen to accompany him. He remained three days in his camp here to rest his men and animals. Then, leaving his invalids, to garrison the fort, he struck out into the wilderness of woods. They followed the narrow road which had been made by Forbes—a rugged track up and down steep hillsides, across swamps, through thickets, under the gloomy boughs of the over-arched trees where the heavy foliage shut out the sun. He was vigilant in guarding against surprise. Riflemen from the frontier scoured the woods in front and on the flanks. A party of backwoodsmen led the way; these were followed closely by the pioneers, the pack-horses, the wagons drawn by oxen, and the cattle were in the center, guarded by the regulars. A rear guard of backwoodsmen closed the line of march. Slowly and with great toil, man and beast suffering much from the stifling heat of the pent-up forest, the train wound its zigzag way up the Alleghenies. From these mountains the country was less rugged, but their way was beset with dangers constantly increasing. On the 2d of August they reached

Fort Ligonier, about 150 miles from Carlisle, and nearly midway between Fort Bedford and Fort Pitt. The Indians who were about the place vanished at their approach. Their absence and the secrecy of their movements was an ominous thing. The garrison having been completely blockaded for several weeks, could give no information as to the savages. They had heard nothing from the outside world during the trying weeks they were hemmed in. To Bouquet in this uncertainty, it was a trying time. This want of intelligence, he has stated "is often a very embarrassing circumstance in the conduct of a campaign in America." He well knew, moreover, that the Indians were watching every movement his army made although they themselves were not detected. He therefore determined to leave his oxen and wagons at Fort Ligonier, and to proceed only with his packhorses and some cattle.

It is a circumstance not to be forgotten, that Bouquet had opened this road from Bedford to Fort Pitt, as the leader of the advance of Forbes' army; and that under him were constructed the first works at Ligonier. His personal knowledge was doubtless a great factor in his campaign.

On the 4th of July,* the army thus relieved, resumed its march, taking with it 350 packhorses upon which were loaded the flour and supplies, and a few cattle. The heavy artillery, the wagons and oxen, the knapsacks and all needless war material were left at Fort Ligonier. The men reserved only their blankets and light arms. The first night they encamped at no great distance from Ligonier, for he had so timed his march as to reach by the next day a desirable place on the route called Bushy run, or as it was known then, Byerly's Station. He proposed to reach this place early the next day.

On the morning of the fifth, the tents were struck at an early hour, and the troops began their march through a country broken with hills and deep hollows, covered with the tall, dense forest, which spread for countless leagues around. By one o'clock they had advanced seventeen miles; and the guides assured them that they were within half a mile of Bushy run, their proposed resting place. The tired soldiers were pressing forward with renewed alacrity, when suddenly the report of rifles from the front sent a thrill along the ranks;

*August.

and, as they listened, the firing thickened into a fierce, sharp rattle; while shouts and whoops, deadened by the intervening forest, showed that the advance guard was hotly engaged. The two foremost companies were at once ordered forward to support it; but, far from abating, the fire grew so rapid and furious as to argue the presence of an enemy at once numerous and resolute. At this the convoy was halted, the troops formed into a line and a general charge ordered. Bearing down through the forest with fixed bayonets, they drove the yelping assailants before them, and swept the ground clear. But at the very moment of success, a fresh burst of whoops and firing was heard from either flank; while a confused noise from the rear showed that the convoy was attacked. It was necessary instantly to fall back for its support. Driving off the assailants, the troops formed in a circle around the crowded and terrified horses. Though they were new to the work, and though the numbers and movements of the enemy, whose yelling on every side, were concealed by the thick forest, yet no man lost his composure; and all displayed a steadiness which nothing but implicit confidence in their commander could have inspired. And now ensued a combat of a nature most harrassing and discouraging. Again and again, now on this side and now on that, a crowd of Indians rushed up, pouring in a heavy fire, and striving, with furious outcries, to break into the circle. A well-directed volley met them, followed by a steady charge of the bayonet. They never waited an instant to receive the attack, but, leaping backwards from tree to tree, soon vanished from sight, only to renew their attack with unabated ferocity in another quarter. Such was their activity, that very few of them were hurt; while the British, less expert in bush-fighting suffered severely. Thus the fight went on, without intermission, for seven hours, until the forest grew dark with approaching night. Upon this the Indians gradually slackened their fire, and the exhausted soldiers found time to rest.

It was impossible to change their ground in the enemy's presence, and the troops were obliged to encamp upon the hill where the combat had taken place, though not a drop of water was to be found there. Fearing a night attack, Bonquet stationed numerous sentinels and outposts to guard against it;

while the men lay down upon their arms, preserving the order they had maintained during the fight. Having completed the necessary arrangements, Bouquet, doubtful of surviving the battle of the morrow, wrote to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, in a few clear, concise words, an account of the day's events. His letter concludes as follows: "Whatever our fate may be, I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this early information, that you may at all events, take such measures as you will think proper with the provinces, for their own safety, and the effectual relief of Fort Pitt; as, in case of another engagement, I fear insurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provisions, being already so much weakened by the losses of this day, in men and horses, besides the additional necessity of carrying the wounded, whose situation is truly deplorable."

The condition of these unhappy men might well awaken sympathy. About sixty soldiers, besides several officers, had been killed or disabled. A space in the centre of the camp was prepared for the reception of the wounded, and surrounded by a wall of flourbags from the convoy, affording some protection against the bullets which flew from all sides during the fight. Here they lay upon the ground, enduring agonies of thirst, and waiting, passive and helpless, the issue of the battle. Deprived of the animating thought that their lives and safety depended on their own exertions; surrounded by a wilderness, and by scenes to the horror of which no degree of familiarity could render the imagination callous, they must have endured mental sufferings, compared to which the pain of their wounds was slight. In the probable event of defeat, a fate inexpressibly horrible awaited them; while even victory would not ensure their safety, since any great increase in their numbers would render it impossible for their comrades to transport them. Nor was the condition of those who had hitherto escaped an enviable one. Though they were about equal in number to their assailants, yet the dexterity and alertness of the Indians, joined to the nature of the country, gave all the advantages of a great superior force. The enemy were, moreover, exulting in the fullest confidence of success; for it was in these very forests that, eight years before, they

had nearly destroyed twice their number of the best British troops. Throughout the earlier part of the night, they kept up a dropping fire upon the camp; while, at short intervals, a wild whoop from the thick surrounding gloom told with what eagerness they waited to glut their vengeance on the morrow. The camp remained in darkness, for it would have been dangerous to build fires within its precincts, to direct the aim of the lurking marksmen. Surrounded by such terror, the men snatched a disturbed and broken sleep, recruiting their exhausted strength for the renewed struggle of the morrow.

With the earliest dawn of day, and while the damp, cool forest was still involved in twilight, there arose around the camp a general burst of those horrible cries which form the ordinary prelude of an Indian battle. Instantly, from every side at once, the enemy opened their fire, approaching under cover of the trees and bushes, and levelling with a close and deadly aim. Often, as on the previous day, they would rush up with furious impetuosity, striving to break into the ring of troops. They were repulsed at every point; but the British, though constantly victorious, were beset with undiminished perils, while the violence of the enemy seemed at every moment on the increase. True to their favorite tactics they would never stand their ground when attacked, but vanish at the first gleam of a levelled bayonet, only to appear again the moment the danger was past. The troops, fatigued by the long march and equally long battle of the previous day, were maddened by the torments of thirst, "more intolerable," says their commander, "than the enemy's fire." They were fully conscious of the peril in which they stood, of wasting away by slow degrees beneath the shot of assailants at once so daring, so cautious, and so active, and upon whom it was impossible to inflict any decisive injury. The Indians saw their distress and pressed them closer and closer, redoubling their yells and howlings; while some of them, sheltered behind trees, assailed the troops in bad English, with abuse and derision.

Meanwhile the interior of the camp was a scene of confusion. The horses, secured in a crowd near the wall of flour-bags which covered the wounded, were often struck by the bullets, and wrought to the height of terror by the mingled din of

whoops, shrieks, and firing. They would break away by half scores at a time, burst through the ring of troops and the outer circle of assailants, and scour madly up and down the hillsides; while many of the drivers overcome by the terrors of a scene in which they could bear no active part, hid themselves among the bushes and could neither hear nor obey orders.

It was now about ten o'clock. Oppressed with heat, fatigue, and thirst, the distressed troops still maintained a weary and wavering defence, encircling the convoy in a yet unbroken ring. They were fast falling in their ranks, and the strength and spirits of the survivors had begun to flag. If the fortunes of the day were to be retrieved, the effort must be made at once; and happily the mind of the commander was equal to the emergency. In the midst of confusion he conceived a masterly stratagem. Could the Indians be brought together in a body, and made to stand their ground when attacked, there could be little doubt of the result; and, to effect this object, Bouquet determined to increase their confidence, which had already mounted to an audacious pitch. The companies of infantry, forming a part of the ring which had been exposed to the hottest fire, were ordered to fall back into the interior of the camp; while the troops on either hand joined their files across the vacant space, as if to cover the retreat of their comrades. These orders, given at a favorable moment, were executed with great promptness. The thin line of troops who took possession of the deserted part of the circle were, from their small numbers, brought closer in towards the centre. The Indians mistook these movements for a retreat. Confident that their time was come, they leaped up on all sides, from behind the trees and bushes, and with infernal screeches, rushed headlong towards the spot, pouring in a heavy and galling fire. The shock was too violent to be long endured. The men struggled to maintain their posts; but the Indians seemed on the point of breaking into the heart of the camp, when the aspect of affairs was suddenly reversed. The two companies, who had apparently abandoned their position, were in fact destined to begin the attack; and now they sallied out from the circle at a point where a depression in the ground, joined to the thick growth of trees, concealed them from the eyes of

the Indians. Making a short detour through the woods, they came round upon the flank of the furious assailants, and fired a close volley into the midst of the crowd. Numbers were seen to fall; yet though completely surprised, and utterly at a loss to understand the nature of the attack, the Indians faced about with the greatest intrepidity, and returned the fire. But the Highlanders, with yells as wild as their own, fell on them with the bayonet. The schock was irresistible, and they fled before the charging ranks in a tumultuous throng. Orders had been given to two other companies, occupying a contiguous part of the circle, to support the attack whenever a favorable moment should occur; and they had therefore advanced a little from their position, and lay close crouched in ambush. The fugitives, pressed by the Highland bayonets, passed directly across their front; upon which they rose and poured among them a second volley, no less destructive than the first. This completed the rout. The four companies, uniting, drove the flying savages through the woods, giving them no time to rally or reload their empty rifles, killing many, and scattering the rest in hopeless confusion.

While this took place at one part of the circle, the troops and the savages had still maintained their respective positions at the other; but when the latter perceived the total rout of their comrades, and saw the troops advancing to assail them, they also lost heart, and fled. This discordant outcries which had so long deafened the ears of the English soon ceased altogether, and not a living Indian remained near the spot. About sixty corpses lay scattered over the ground. Among them were found several prominent chiefs, while the blood which stained the leaves and bushes showed that numbers had fled wounded from the field. The soldiers took but one prisoner, whom they shot to death like a captive wolf. The loss of the British in the two battles surpassed that of the enemy, amounting to eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men.

Having been for some time detained by the necessity of making litters for the wounded, and destroying the stores which the flight of most of the horses made it impossible to transport, the army moved on, in the afternoon, to Bushy run. Here they had scarcely formed their camp, when they were again

fired upon by a body of Indians, who, however, were soon repulsed. On the next day they resumed their progress towards Fort Pitt, distant about twenty-five miles; and, though frequently annoyed on the march by petty attacks, they reached their destination, on the tenth, without serious loss. It was a joyful moment both to the troops and to the garrison. The latter, it will be remembered, were left surrounded and hotly pressed by the Indians, who had beleaguered the place from the twenty-eighth of July to the first of August, when, hearing of Bouquet's approach, they had abandoned the siege, and marched to attack him. From this time the garrison had seen nothing of them until the morning of the tenth, when, shortly before the army appeared, they had passed the fort in a body, raising the scalp-yell, and displaying their disgusting trophies to the view of the English.

The battle of Bushy run was one of the best contested actions ever fought between white men and Indians. If there was any disparity of numbers, the advantage was on the side of the troops; and the Indians had displayed throughout a fierceness and intrepidity matched only by the steady valor with which they met. In the Province, the victory excited equal joy and admiration, especially among those who knew the incalculable difficulties of an Indian campaign. The Assembly of Pennsylvania passed a vote expressing their sense of the merits of Bouquet, and of the service he had rendered to the Province. He soon after received the additional honor of the formal thanks of the King.

In many an Indian village the women cut away their hair, gashed their limbs with knives, and uttered their dismal howlings of lamentation for the fallen. Yet, though surprised and dispirited, the rage of the Indians was too deep to be quenched, even by so signal a reverse; and their outrages upon the frontier were resumed with unabated ferocity. Fort Pitt, however, was effectually relieved; while the moral effect of the victory enabled the frontier settlers to encounter the enemy with a spirit which would have been wanting, had Bouquet sustained a defeat.

The two letters of Col. Bouquet following are his official

report of the engagement, and they are justly regarded as very remarkable and lucid documents. They are to the Commander-in-Chief:

Camp at Edge Hill,
"26 Miles From Fort Pitt, 5th Aug., 1763.

"Sir: The second instant the troops and convoy arrived at Ligonier, where I could obtain no intelligence of the enemy. The expresses sent since the beginning of July, having been either killed or obliged to return, all the passes being occupied by the enemy. In this uncertainty, I determined to leave all the wagons, with the powder, and a quantity of stores and provisions, at Ligonier, and on the 4th proceeded with the troops and about 340 horses loaded with flour.

"I intended to have halted to-day at Bushy run, (a mile beyond this camp), and after having refreshed the men and horses, to have marched in the night over Turtle creek, a very dangerous defile of several miles, commanded by high and rugged hills; but at one o'clock this afternoon, after a march of seventeen miles, the savages suddenly attacked our advance guard, which was immediately supported by the two Light Infantry companies of the 42d regiment, who drove the enemy from their ambuscade and pursued them a good way. The savages returned to the attack, and the fire being obstinate on our front and extending along our flanks, we made a general charge, with the whole line to dislodge the savages from the heights, in which attempt we succeeded, without by it obtaining any decisive advantage, for as soon as they were driven from one post, they appeared on another, till, by continued reinforcements, they were at last able to surround us and attacked the convoy left in our rear; this obliged us to march back to protect it. The action then became general, and though we were attacked on every side, and the savages exerted themselves with uncommon resolution, they were constantly repulsed with loss, we also suffered considerably. Capt. Lieut. Graham and Lieut. James McIntosh of the 42d, are killed, and Capt. Graham wounded. Of the Royal American Regt., Lieut. Dow, who acted as A. D. Q. M. G., is shot through the body. Of the 77th, Lieut. Donald Campbell and

Mr. Peebles, a volunteer, are wounded. Our loss in men, including rangers and drivers, exceeds sixty killed and wounded.

"The action has lasted from one o'clock till night, and we expect to begin at daybreak.

"Whatever our fate may be, I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this early information, that you may at all events take such measures as you think proper with the Provinces, for their own safety, and the effectual relief of Fort Pitt, as in case of another engagement, I fear insurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provisions, being already so much weakened by the losses of this day in men and horses, besides the additional necessity of carrying the wounded, whose situation is truly deplorable.

"I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the assistance I have received from Major Campbell during this long action, nor express my admiration of the cool and steady behavior of the troops, who did not fire a shot without orders, and drove the enemy from their posts with fixed bayonets. The conduct of the officers is much above my praises.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Sir, &c.,

HENRY BOUQUET.

"To His Excellency, Sir Jeffrey Amherst."

"Camp at Bushy Run, 6th Aug., 1763.

"Sir: I had the honor to inform your Excellency in my letter of yesterday of our first engagement with the savages.

"We took the post last night on the hill where our convoy halted, where the front was attacked, (a commodious piece of ground and just spacious enough for our purpose). There we encircled the whole and covered our wounded with flour bags.

"In the morning the savages surrounded our camp, at the distance of 500 yards, and by shouting and yelping, quite round that extensive circumference, thought to have terrified us with their numbers. They attacked us early, and under favor of incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate our camp, and though they failed in the attempt, our situation was not the less perplexing, having experienced

that brisk attacks had little effect upon an enemy, who always gave way when pressed, and appeared again immediately. Our troops were, besides, extremely fatigued with the long march and as long action of the preceeding day, and distressed to the last degree, by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemys' fire.

"Tied to our convoy, we could not lose sight of it without exposing it and our wounded to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed upon us, on every side, and to move it was impracticable, having lost many horses, and most of the drivers, stupefied by fear, hid themselves in the bushes, or were incapable of hearing or obeying orders. The savages growling every moment more audacious, it was thought proper still to increase their confidence by that means, if possible, to entice them to come close upon us, or to stand their ground when attacked. With this view, two companies of Light Infantry were ordered within the circle, and the troops on their right and left opened their files and filled up the space, that it might seem they were intended to cover the retreat. The Third Light Infantry company and the Grenadiers of the 42d, were ordered to support the two first companies. This manoeuvre succeeded to our wish, for the few troops who took possession of the ground lately occupied by the two Light Infantry companies being brought in nearer to the centre of the circle, the barbarians mistaking these motions for a retreat, hurried headlong on, and advancing upon us, with the most daring intrepidity, galled us excessively with their heavy fire; but at the very moment that they felt certain of success, and thought themselves masters of the camp, Major Campbell, at the head of the first companies, sallied out from a part of the hill they could not observe, and fell upon their right flank. They resolutely returned the fire, but could not stand the irresistible shock of our men, who, rushing in among them, killed many of them and put the rest to flight. The orders sent to the other two companies were delivered so timely by Captain Bassett, and executed with such celerity and spirit, that the routed savages who happened that moment to run before their front, received the full fire when uncovered by the trees. The four companies did not give them time to load a second

time, or even to look behind, but pursued them until they totally dispersed. The left of the savages, which had not been attacked, were kept in awe by the remains of our troops, posted on the brow of the hill for that purpose; nor durst they attempt to support or assist their right, but being witness to their defeat, followed their example and fled. Our brave men disdained so much as to touch the dead body of a vanquished enemy that scarce a scalp was taken except by the rangers and pack-horse drivers.

"The woods being now cleared and the pursuit over, the four companies took possession of a hill in our front, and as soon as litters could be made for the wounded, and the flour and everything destroyed, which, for want of horses, could not be carried, we marched without molestation to this camp. After the severe correction we had given the savages a few hours before, it was natural to suppose we should enjoy some rest, but we had hardly fixed our camp, when they fired upon us again. This was very provoking; however, the Light Infantry dispersed them before they could receive orders for that purpose. I hope we shall be no more disturbed, for, if we have another action, we shall hardly be able to carry our wounded.

"The behavior of the troops on this occasion speaks for itself so strongly, that for me to attempt their eulogium would but detract from their merit.

"I have the honor to be, most respectfully,

Sir, &c.,

HENRY BOUQUET.

"To His Excellency, Sir Jeffrey Amherst."

Return of Killed and Wounded in the Two Actions.

Forty-second, or Royal Highlanders—One captain, one lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal, twenty-five privates killed; one captain, one lieutenant, two sergeants, three corporals, one drummer, twenty-seven privates, wounded.

Sixtieth, or Royal Americans—One corporal, six privates, killed; one lieutenant, four privates, wounded.

Seventy-seventh, or Montgomery's Highlanders—One drum-

mer, five privates, killed; one lieutenant, one volunteer, three sergeants, seven privates, wounded.

Volunteers, rangers and pack-horse men—One lieutenant, seven privates, killed; eight privates, wounded; five privates, missing.

Names of Officers.

Forty-second regiment—Captain-lieutenant John Graham, Lieutenant McIntosh and Lieutenant Joseph Randal, of the rangers, killed.

Forty-second regiment—Captain John Graham and Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, wounded.

Sixtieth regiment—Lieutenant James Dow, wounded.

Seventy-seventh regiment—Lieutenant Donald Campbell and Volunteer Mr. Peebles, wounded.

Total—Fifty killed, sixty wounded, five missing.

Sketch of Col. Henry Bouquet.

Henry Bouquet was born at Rolle, in the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, about 1719. At the age of seventeen he was received as a cadet in the regiment of Constance, and thence passed into the service of the King of Sardinia, in whose wars he distinguished himself as a lieutenant, and afterwards as adjutant. In 1748 he entered the Swiss Guards as lieutenant-colonel. When the war broke out in 1754 between England and France he was solicited by the English to serve in America. His ability soon got him great confidence in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and he was employed in various services. He first distinguished himself under Forbes, and was one of his chief advisers. He readily fell into the provincial mode of fighting the Indians, which says more for his military genius than his former services would express. At the time of Pontiac's war, as we have seen at length, he was ordered by Gen. Amherst to relieve the western garrisons, which he did so successfully with such inefficient means. No soldier of foreign birth was so distinguished or so successful in Indian warfare as he was. The next year after this battle, that was in 1764, he was placed at the head of a force of Pennsylvania and Virginia volunteers, which he had organized at Fort Loudoun, Pa., with which he penetrated in a "line of battle"

from Fort Pitt into the Indian country along the Muskingum. The savages, baffled and unsuccessful in all their attempts at surprise and ambush, sued for peace, and the "Treaty of Bouquet," made then and there, is as notorious in Ohio, as the "Battle of Bouquet" is in Pennsylvania. The Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Burgesses of Virginia adopted addresses of gratitude, tendered him their thanks, and recommended him for promotion in His Majesty's service. Immediately after the peace with the Indians was concluded, the king made him brigadier-general and commandant in the Southern colonies of British America. He lived not long to enjoy his honors, for he died at Pensacola, 1767, "lamented by his friends, and regretted universally."

Location of the Battle-field of Bushy Run.

Great interest, laudable in them, has always been felt and expressed by the people of Westmoreland and contiguous parts, in the personages and incidents connected with the historic battle of Bushy Run. In the May number for 1846 of the Olden Time the editor, in a note, in speaking of Bouquet's battle of Bushy Run, says: "The editor and some of his friends have frequently conversed about a visit to the battlefield, and throwing up some little work to perpetuate the memory of the precise spot. It is now, however, settled for the 5th and 6th of August next." In the August number of the same publication he says: "We have just received the 'Greensburgh Intelligencer,' containing an account of the proceedings of a preliminary meeting held at Bushy Run to make arrangements for a military encampment there on the 9th, 10th and 11th of September, in commemoration of battles fought there in August, 1763."

The battle of Bushy Run—or, as it was called by Bouquet, Edge Hill—was fought on what, afterward, was one of the manorial reservations of the Penns, called "The Manor of Denmark." The station of Manor on the Pennsylvania railroad is within its bounds. The manor contained 4,861 acres. Bushy Run is a tributary of Brush Creek, which is a branch of

Turtle Creek, which flows into the Monongahela near Braddock.

The one hundred and twentieth anniversary of the battle of Bushy Run was celebrated on the grounds in a patriotic and appropriate manner, in August, 1883, on which occasion some interesting and valuable documents were first produced, and much information made popular as the result of an awakened interest in the event.*

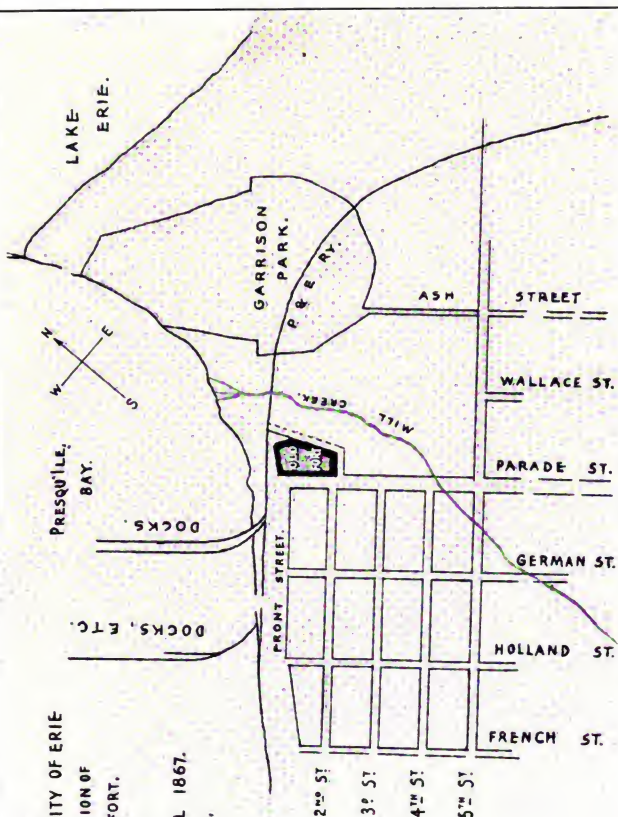
Preparatory to this anniversary commemoration the battle-field had been gone over and marked by a competent committee of gentlemen selected for that purpose. According to their report, the first day's fight, where the Forty-second Regiment, Highlanders, suffered so severely, took place on the Lewis Gongaware farm on that part of it which they designate as "The Hills." The fight around the convoy, where the savages were finally deceived into an attack and routed, took place on the Lewis Wanamaker farm, a short distance southeast of Mr. Wanamaker's present residence. The old Forbes road ran through the Wanamaker and Gongaware farms, but not on the same line as the present road, sometimes designated as the "Old Road." The engagement, speaking in general terms, took place upon the crest of a hill on a tract of land now included partly in the Wanamaker and partly in the the Gongaware farm, and covers an area of perhaps one-half a mile or more in length by probably from two to three hundred yards in width. At the point where the battle culminated, the savages of course had surrounded the whites on all sides. The spring from which the water was carried in the hats of some of the more daring under cover of the night, to quench the thirst of the wounded was still pointed out. The site of the battle-field is about one and one-fourth miles east of Harrison City village, and about two miles north of Penn station, on the Pennsylvania railroad, in Penn township, Westmoreland county.

*The 150th anniversary of the battle of Bushy Run was celebrated in August, 1913, under the direction of the Westmoreland Historical Society.

TRACING
FROM PLAN OF CITY OF ERIE
SHOWING POSITION OF
OLD FRENCH FORT.
MAP PUBLISHED

APRIL 1867.

SCALE 1000 1" = 1"



SITE OF OLD FORT PRESQUE ISLE.

PRESQU'ISLE.

In the preparation of that part of this report relating to Presqu'isle and Le Boeuf, the writer had collected a large quantity of material from the sources available, and had partly arranged it, when he was offered the benefit of the History of Erie County, by Miss Laura G. Sanford. He found in the history the subject so carefully and completely treated that he gladly availed himself of the privilege of extracting from it much of the matter there collated, which he has done, following the version of the original literally wherever necessary. The excellence and historic worth of Miss Sanford's History have been much and deservedly commended. In addition to the history of these two posts, as set out in the History, the writer is indebted to Miss Sanford for additional original matter kindly furnished by her in manuscript, which has been incorporated into this report. Other authorities are referred to as they are drawn from.

In 1752 Marquis Duquesne was made Governor of Canada, and he immediately thereupon began active measures to secure possession of the territory upon which the English were encroaching. He determined to take possession of the Ohio Valley. With this design, early in 1753 a force of three hundred men, under command of Monsieur Babier, was sent out to establish military posts in this region.

It was the intention at first to build a fortification at the mouth of Chautauqua creek. Before this was done, however, Monsieur Morin arrived with a large force, and took command. That officer determined to abandon the position selected here, and, having done so, proceeded along the lake coast, south-westward to the peninsula where the city of Erie, Pa., now stands. This was called by them Presqu'Isle, meaning, literally in English, "the peninsula." Here they built a fort, which was known subsequently as Fort Presqu'Isle.

The detachment sent out from Montreal to erect these fortifications were to make good their claim by force of arms if they met with opposition, and to oblige all English subjects to evacuate. Oswego they were instructed not to molest in consideration of Cape Breton—any other post the English had

settled near or claimed was to be reduced if not quitted immediately. A narrative of this expedition from Montreal, and the building of Forts Presqu' Isle and Le Boeuf, is to be found in the following deposition of Stephen Coffen, which was made to Col. Johnson, of New York, January 10th, 1754. (1.) Coffen was a New Englander who had been taken prisoner by the French and Indians of Canada, at Menis, in 1747. He had served them in different capacities until 1752, when, being detected in efforts to escape to his own country, he was confined in jail in Quebec; on his release he applied to Governor Duquesne to be sent with the forces to Ohio. In his own words, "The deponent then applied to Major Ramsey for liberty to go with the army to Ohio, who told him he would ask the Lieut. de Ruoy, who agreed to it; upon which he was equipped as a soldier and sent with a detachment of three hundred men to Montreal under the command of Mons. Babeer, who set off immediately with said command by land and ice for Lake Erie. They in their way stopped to refresh themselves a couple of days at Cadaraqui Fort, also at Tarranto on the north side of Lake Ontario, then at Niagara Fort fifteen days from thence.

"They set off by water, being April, and arrived at Chadakoin (Chautauqua) on Lake Erie, where they were ordered to fell timber and prepare it for building a fort there, according to the Governor's instructions; but Mr. Morang [Morin] coming up with five hundred men and twenty Indians, put a stop to the erecting a fort at that place, by reason of his not liking the situation, and the River Chadakoin being too shallow to carry out any craft with provisions, etc., to Belle Riviere. The deponent says there arose a warm debate between Messieurs Babeer and Morang [Marin] thereon, the first insisting on building a fort there, agreeable to instructions, otherwise, on Morang giving him an instrument in writing to satisfy the Governor on that point, which Morang did, and then ordered Mons. Mercie, who was both commissary and engineer, to go along said lake and look for a situation, which he found, and returned in three days, it being fifteen leagues southwest of Chadokoin. They were then ordered to repair thither; when they arrived, there were about twenty Indians

fishing in the lake, who immediately quit on seeing the French. They fell to work and built a square fort of chestnut logs, squared and lapped over each other to the height of fifteen feet. It is about one hundred and twenty feet square, a log-house in each square, a gate to the southward, another to the northward, not one port-hole cut in any part of it. When finished, they called it Fort Presqu'Isle. (2.) The Indians who came back from Canada with them returned very much out of temper, owing, it was said among the army, to Morang's dogged behavior and ill usage of them; but they (the Indians) said at Oswego it was owing to the French misleading them, by telling them falsehoods, which they said they now found out, and left them. As soon as the fort was finished, they marched southward, cutting a wagon road through a fine, level country twenty-one miles to the river (leaving Captain Derpontency with one hundred men to garrison the Fort Presqu'Isle). They fell to work cutting timber, boards, etc., for another fort, while Mr. Morang ordered Mons. Bite with fifty men to a place called by the Indians Ganagarahare, on the banks of Belle Riviere, where the River Aux Boeufs [French creek] empties into it. In the meantime, Morang had ninety large boats made to carry down the baggage, provisions, etc., to said place. Mons. Bite, on coming to said Indian place, was asked what he wanted or intended. He, upon answering, said 'it was their father, the Governor of Canada's intention to build a trading house for them and all their brethren's convenience; he was told by the Indians that the lands were theirs, and that they would not have them build upon it. They said Bite reported to Morang the situation was good, but the water in the River Aux Boeufs too low at that time to carry any craft with provisions, etc.

"A few days after, the deponent says, that about one hundred Indians, called by the French the Loos, came to the Fort La Riviere Aux Boeufs to see what the French were doing; that Morang treated them very kindly, and then asked them to carry down some stone, etc., to the Belle Riviere, on horse-back, for payment, which he immediately advanced them on their undertaking to do it. They set off with full loads, but never delivered them to the French, which incensed them

very much, being not only a loss, but a great disappointment. Morang, a man of very peevish, choleric disposition, meeting with those and other crosses, and finding the season of the year too far advanced to build a third fort, called all his officers together, and told them that, as he had engaged and firmly promised the Governor to finish these forts that season, and not being able to fulfill the same, he was both afraid and ashamed to return to Canada, being sensible he had now forfeited the Governor's favor forever. Wherefore, rather than live in disgrace, he begged they would take him (as he then sat in a carriage made for him, being very sick sometimes) and seat him in the middle of the fort, and then set fire to it and let him perish in the flames, which was rejected by the officers, who had not the least regard for him, as he had behaved very ill to them all in general. The deponent further saith, that about eight days before he left the Fort Presqu'Isle Chevalier Le Crake arrived express from Canada in a birch canoe worked by ten men, with orders (as the deponent afterward heard) from the Governor Le Cain (Duquesne) to Morang to make all preparation possible against the spring of the year to build them two forts at Chadakoin, one of them by Lake Erie, the other at the end of the carrying place at Lake Chadakoin, which carrying place is fifteen miles from one place to the other. The said Chevalier brought for M. Morang a cross of St. Louis, which the rest of the officers would not allow him to take until the Governor was acquainted with his conduct and behavior. The Chevalier returned immediately to Canada.

"After which, the deponent saith, when the Fort La Riviere Aux Boeufs was finished (which is built of wood stockaded triangularwise, and has two log houses on the inside), M. Morang ordered all the party to return to Canada in the winter season, except three hundred men, which he kept to garrison both forts and prepare materials against the spring for the building of other forts. He also sent Jean Coeur, an officer and interpreter, to stay the winter among the Indians on the Ohio, in order to prevail with them not only to allow the building of forts over there, but also to persuade them, if possible, to join the French interests against the English. The

deponent further says that on the 28th of October last, he set off for Canada under command of Capt. Deman, who had the command of twenty-two batteaux with twenty men in each batteau, the remainder being seven hundred; and sixty men followed in a few days. The thirtieth arrived at Chadakoin, where they stayed four days, during which time M. Peon, with two hundred men, cut a wagon road [portage] over the carrying place from Lake Erie to Lake Chadakoin, being fifteen miles, viewed the situation, which proved to their liking, and so set off November the third for Niagara, where we arrived the sixth. It is a very poor, rotten old wooden fort with twenty-five men in it. They talk of rebuilding it next summer. We left fifty men there to build batteaux against the spring, also a storehouse for provisions, stores, etc. Stayed here two days, then set off for Canada. All hands, being fatigued with rowing all night, ordered to put ashore to breakfast within a mile of Oswego garrison; at which the deponent saith that he, with a Frenchman, slipped off and got to the fort, where they were concealed until the enemy passed. From thence he came here. The deponent further saith, that beside the three hundred men with which he went up first under the command of M. Babeer, and the five hundred Morang brought up afterward, there came at different times, with stores, etc., one hundred men, which made in all fifteen hundred men, three hundred of which remained to garrison the two forts, fifty at Niagara; the rest all returned to Canada, and talked of going up again this winter, so as to be there the beginning of April. They had two six-pounders, which they intended to have planted in the fort at Ganagarahare (Franklin), which was to have been called the Governor's Fort; but as that was not built, they left the guns in the fort La Riviere Aux Boeufs, where Morang commands. Further the deponent saith not." (3.)

Duquesne reporting to M. De Rauille, August 20, 1753, says, "Sieur Marin writes me on the third instant (August) that the fort at Presqu'Isle is entirely finished, that the portage road, which is six leagues in length, is also ready for carriages; that the store which was necessary to be built half way across the portage is in condition to receive the supplies,

and that the second fort, which is located at the mouth of the River au Boeuf, will soon be completed."

Among the dispatches to the Marquis de Vaudreuil about this time are the following: "Presqu'Isle is on Lake Erie and serves as a depot for all the others on the Ohio; the effects are next rode to the fort on the River au Boeuf, where they are put on board pirogues to run down. * * * The Marquis de Vaudreuil must be informed that during the first campaigns on the Ohio, a horrible waste and disorder prevailed at the Presqu'Isle and Niagara carrying places, which cost the King immense sums. We have remedied all the abuses that have come to our knowledge by submitting those portages to competition. The first is at forty sous the piece, and the other, which is six leagues in extent, at fifty. * * * Hay is very abundant and good at Presqu'Isle. * * * 'Tis to be observed that the quantity of pirogues constructed at the River au Boeuf has exhausted all the large trees in the neighborhood of that post; it is very important to send carpenters there soon to build some plank batteaux like those of the English."

From a journal kept by Thomas Forbes, a private soldier "lately in the King of France's service," we have a description of this fort made in 1754. The journal is printed in "Christopher Gist's Journals," page 148, as edited by the late William M. Darlington, Esq., from manuscript. (4.)

"This Fort is situated on a little rising Ground at a very small Distance from the water of Lake Erie, it is rather larger than that at Niagara but has likewise no Bastions or Out Works of any sort. It is a square Area inclosed with Logs about twelve feet high, the logs being square and laid on each other and not more than sixteen or eighteen inches thick. Captain Darpontine Commandant of this Fort and his Garrison was thirty private Men. We were eight days employed in unloading our Canoes her, and carrying the Provisions to Fort Boeuff which is built about six Leagues from Fort Presqu'Isle at the head of Buffaloe River. This Fort was composed of four Houses built by way of Bastions and the intermediate Space stockaded. Lieut. St. Blein was posted here with twenty Men. Here we found three large Batteaus and be-

tween two or three hundred Canoes which we freighted with Provisions and proceeded down the Buffaloe River which flows into the Ohio at about twenty Leagues (as I conceived) distance from Fort au Boeuff, this river was small and at some places very shallow so that we towed the Canoes wading and sometimes taking the ropes to the shore a great part of the way. When we came to the Ohio we had a fine deep water and a stream in our favor so that we rowed down that river from the mouth of the Buffaloe to Du Quesne Fort on Monongahela which I take to be seventy Leagues distant in four days and a half."

M. Pouchot, Chief Engineer of the French army in America, in his celebrated work. "*Memoires sur la derniere guerre L'Amerique Septentrionale*," published in 1763, makes mention of Presqu'Isle as follows, the description answering to the period of its early occupancy: "The entrance of the Lake, as far as Buffalo River (which now forms Buffalo Harbor) forms a great bay, lined with flat rocks, where no anchorage can be found. If they could keep open the mouth of the river, they would find anchorage for vessels. The coast from thence to Presqu'Isle has no shelter that is known. At Presqu'Isle there is a good bay but only seven or eight feet of water. This fort is sufficiently large; it is built piece upon piece with three outbuildings for the storage of goods in transitu. It is one hundred and twenty feet square and fifteen feet high and built on Vauban's principle, with two doors, one to the north and on the south. It is situated upon a plateau that forms a peninsula which has given its name. The country around is good and pleasant. They keep wagons for portage to Fort Le Boeuf which is six leagues. Although it is in a level country the road is not very good. The fort at Riviere au Boeuf is square, smaller than the one at Presqu'Isle, but built piece upon piece."

"In 1755 it is said three hundred and fifty-six families resided near the fort, and in 1757 there were four hundred and eighty. There were soldiers, carriers, traders, missionaries, mechanics, Indians, &c.

"Being a central point, and Fort Duquesne, Fort Niagara and Detroit on the borders, it was at times filled with stores.

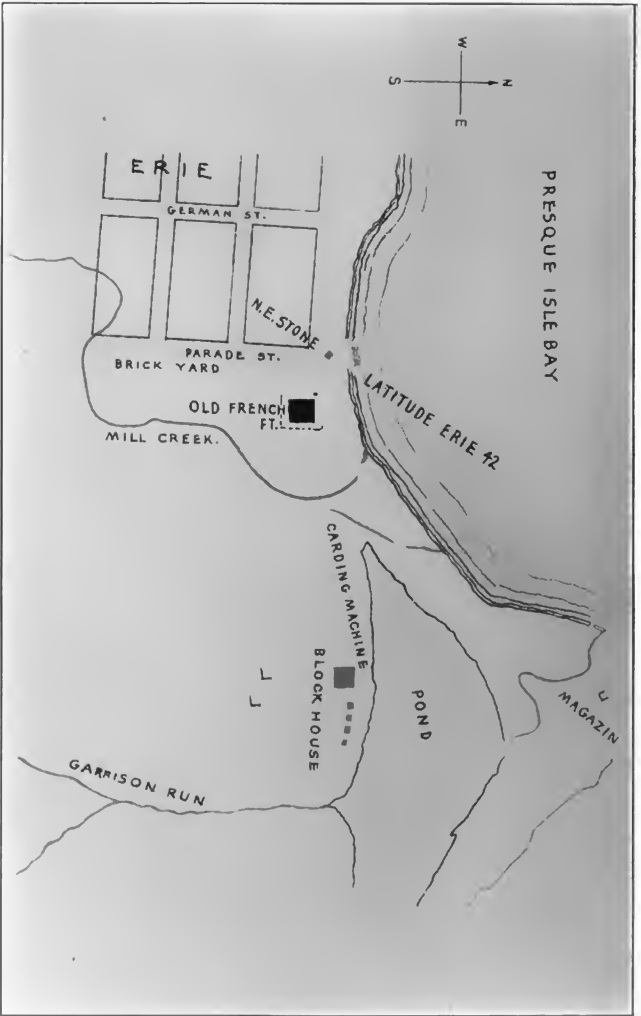
and one thousand men (are said) have been at one time between Presqu'Isle and Le Boeuf."

On the information of William Johnston, who had been a prisoner among the Indians for some time and who having made his escape in 1756, it is reported :

"Presqu'Isle Fort, situated on Lake Erie, about thirty miles above Buffalo Fort, is built of squared logs filled in with earth. The barracks within the fort and garrisoned with about one hundred and fifty men, supported chiefly from a French settlement begun near to it. The settlement consists, as the prisoner was informed, of about a hundred and fifty families. The Indian families about the settlement are pretty numerous; they have a priest and schoolmaster. They have some grist mills and stills in this settlement."

Frederick Post's journal, dated Pittsburgh, November, 1758, says: "Just as the council broke up, an Indian arrived from Fort Presqu'Isle, and gave the following description of the three upper forts. Presqu'Isle has been a strong stockaded fort, but it is much out of repair that a strong man might pull up any log out of the earth. There are two officers and thirty-five men in garrison there, and not above ten Indians, which they keep constantly hunting, for the support of the garrison. The Fort in Le Boeuf River is much in the same condition, with an officer and thirty men, and a few hunting Indians, who said they would leave them in a few days. The fort at Venango is the smallest, and has but one officer and twenty-five men, and, like the two upper forts, they are much distressed for want of provisions." (5.)

On the 17th of March, 1759, Thomas Bull, an Indian employed as a spy at the lakes, arrived in Pittsburgh. At Presqu'Isle, he stated that the garrison consisted of two officers, two merchants, a clerk, a priest, and one hundred and three soldiers. The commandant's name was Burinol, with whom Thomas was formerly acquainted, and who did not suspect him. He treated him with great openness, and told him thirty towns had engaged to join the French and come to war. He saw fifteen hundred billets ready prepared for their equipment. He likewise understood that they were just ready to set out, and were stopped by belts and speeches sent among



PLAN OF PRESQUE ISLE AND HARBOR OF ERIE, 1793.

them by the English, but would decide when a body of over-lake Indians would arrive at Kaskaskie. Burinol described a conversation he had had with the Mingoes; that he had told them he was sorry one-half of them had broken away to the English. They replied that they had buried the tomahawk with the French; that they would do the same with the English; and wished that both would fight as they had done over the great waters, without disturbing their country; that they wished to live in peace with both, and that the English would return home. Burinol replied that he would go home as soon as the English would move off. Thomas Bull described Fort Presqu'Isle "as square, with four bastions. They have no platforms raised yet; so they are useless, excepting in each bastion there is a place for a sentinel. There are no guns upon the walks, but four four-pounders in one of the bastions, not mounted on carriages. The wall is only of single logs, with no bank within, a ditch without. There are two gates, of equal size, being about ten feet wide; one fronts the lake, about three hundred yards distant, the other the road to Le Boeuf. The magazine is a stone house covered with shingles, and not sunk in the ground, standing in the right bastion, next the lake, going from Presqu'Isle to Le Boeuf. The other houses are of square logs. They have in store a considerable quantity of Indian goods, and but little flour. Twelve batteaux they were daily expecting from Niagara with provisions. No French were expected from Niagara, but about five hundred from a fort on the north side of the lake, in the Wawearilunes country, which is built of cedar stockades. The French were to come with the Indians before mentioned. There were four batteaux at Presqu'Isle, and no works carrying on, but one small house in the fort. Some of the works are on the decay, but some appear to have been lately built." The officers made Thomas a present of a pair of stockings, and he went on to Le Boeuf, telling them that he was going to Wyoming to see his father."

"A few months after this time (March, 1759), twelve hundred regular troops were collected from Presqu'Isle, Detroit and Venango, for the defense of Fort Niagara, which had been besieged by the English under Gen. Prideaux. Four days be-

fore the conquest, the General was killed by the bursting of a cannon, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson, who carried out the plan with judgment and vigor, and the enemy were completely routed. The utmost confusion prevailed at Forts Venango, Presqu'Isle, and Le Boeuf after the victory, particularly as Sir William sent letters by some of the Indians to the commander at Presqu'Isle, notifying him that the other posts must be given up in a few days.

"August 13 (1759), we find that the French at Presqu'Isle had sent away all their stores, and were waiting for the French at Venango and Le Boeuf to join them, when they all would set out in batteaux for Detroit; that in an Indian path leading to Presqu'Isle from a Delaware town, a Frenchman and some Indians had been met, with the word that the French had left Venango six days before.

"About the same time, three Indians arrived at Fort du Quesne from Venango, who reported that the Indians over the lake were much displeased with the Six Nations, as they had been the means of a number of their people being killed at Niagara; that the French had burned their forts at Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presqu'Isle, and gone over the lakes. At Venango, before leaving, they had made large presents to the Indians of laced coats, hats, etc., and had told them, with true French bravado, that they were obliged to run away at this time, but would certainly be in possession of the river before the next spring. They were obliged to burn everything and destroy their batteaux, as the water was so low they could not get up the creek with them. The report was probably unfounded, of the burning of the forts, unless they were very soon rebuilt, of which we have no account." (6.)

A tradition has prevailed in Erie, that at this time treasures were buried, either in the site of the fort or on the line of the old French road. From the foregoing account, we learn that their hasty departure was made by water, and the probability is that the company returned before winter. Spanish silver coins were found twenty years ago, to the value of sixty dollars, while plowing the old site for the purpose of making brick; but, from appearances, they had been secreted there within the present century. The wells have been re-excavated

time and again, but with no extraordinary results. Pottery of a singular kind has been found, and knives, bullets and human bones confirm the statements of history.

In 1760, Major Rogers was sent out by government to take formal possession for the English of the forts upon the lake, though it was not until 1763 that a definite treaty of peace was signed and ratified at Paris."

When Potiac rose against the English, the post at Presqu'Isle was in command of Ensign Christie. The terrible ordeal which the garrison went through in that time is a marked episode in that great conspiracy, inseparably connected with its history. The account given by Mr. Parkman in his history of the conspiracy is so correct in its historical verities that it may be quoted from here, and referred to for details. (7.) The garrison, it will be remembered, was of the Royal American Regiment.

Fort Presqu'Isle stood on the southern shore of Lake Erie, at the site of the present town of Erie. It was an important post to be commanded by an Ensign, for it controlled the communication between the lake and Fort Pitt; but the blockhouse to which Christie alludes, was supposed to make it impregnable against the Indians. This blockhouse, a very large and strong one, stood at an angle of the fort, and was built of massive logs, with the projecting upper story usual in such structures, by means of which a vertical fire could be had upon the heads of assailants, through openings in the projecting part of the floor, like the machicoulis of a mediaeval castle. It had also a kind of bastion, from which one or more of its walls could be covered by a flank fire. The roof was of shingles, and might easily be set on fire; but at the top was a sentry box or lookout, from which water could be thrown. On one side was the lake, and on the other a small stream which entered it. Unfortunately, the bank of this stream rose in a high steep ridge within forty yards of the blockhouse, thus affording a cover to assailants, while the bank of the lake offered them similar advantages on another side.

"After his visit from Cuyler, Christie, whose garrison now consisted of twenty-seven men, prepared for a stubborn de-

fense. The doors of the blockhouse, and the sentry-box at the top, were lined to make them bullet-proof; the angles of the roof were covered with green turf as a protection against fire-arrows, and gutters of bark were laid in such a manner that streams of water could be sent to every part. His expectation of a 'visit from the hell-hounds' proved to be perfectly well-founded. About two hundred of them had left Detroit expressly for this object. At early dawn on the fifteenth of June, they were first discovered stealthily crossing the mouth of the little stream, where the batteaux were drawn up, and crawling under cover of the banks of the lake and of the adjacent sawpits. When the sun rose they showed themselves, and began their customary yelling. Christie, with a very unnecessary reluctance to begin the fray, ordered his men not to fire till the Indians had set the example. The consequence was, that they were close to the blockhouse before they received the fire of the garrison; and many of them sprang into the ditch, whence, being well sheltered, they fired at the loop-holes, and amused themselves by throwing stones and handfuls of gravel, or, what was more to the purpose, fire-balls of pitch. Some got into the fort, and sheltered themselves behind the bakery and other buildings, whence they kept up a brisk fire; while others pulled down a small out-house of plank, of which they made a movable breastwork, and approached under cover of it by pushing it before them. At the same time, great numbers of them lay close behind the ridges by the stream, keeping up a rattling fire into every loop-hole, and shooting burning arrows against the roof and sides of the blockhouse. Some were extinguished with water, while many dropped out harmless after burning a small hole. The Indians now rolled logs to the top of the ridges, where they made three strong breast-works, from behind which they could discharge their shot and throw their fire works with greater effect. Sometimes they would try to dart across the intervening space and shelter themselves with the companions in the ditch, but all who attempted it were killed or wounded. And now the hard-beset little garrison could see them throwing up earth and stones behind the nearest breastwork. Their implacable foes were undermining the block-

house. There was little time to reflect on this new danger; for another, more imminent, soon threatened them. The barrels of water, always kept in the building, were nearly emptied in extinguishing the frequent fires; and though there was a well close at hand, in the parade ground, it was death to approach it. The only resource was to dig a subterranean passage to it. The floor was torn up; and while some of the men fired their heated muskets from the loop-holes, the rest labored stoutly at this cheerless task. Before it was half finished the roof was on fire again, and all the water that remained was poured down to extinguish it. In a few moments, the cry of fire was again raised, when a soldier, at imminent risk of his life, tore off the burning shingles and averted the danger.

"By this time it was evening. The garrison had had not a moment's rest since the sun rose. Darkness brought little relief, for guns flashed all night from the Indian intrenchment. In the morning, however, there was a respite. The Indians were ominously quiet, being employed, it seems, in pushing their subterranean approaches, and preparing fresh means for firing the blockhouse. In the afternoon the attack began again. They set fire to the house of the commanding officer, which stood close at hand, and which they had reached by means of their trenches. The pine logs blazed fiercely, and the wind blew the flame against the bastion of the blockhouse, which scorched, blackened, and at last took fire; but the garrison had by this time dug a passage to the well, and, half stifled as they were, they plied their water-buckets with such good will that the fire was subdued, while the blazing house soon sank to a glowing pile of embers. The men, who had behaved throughout with great spirit, were now, in the words of their officer, "exhausted to the greatset extremity;" yet they still kept up their forlorn defense, toiling and fighting without pause within the wooden walls of their dim prison, where the close and heated air was thick with the smoke of gunpowder. The firing on both sides lasted through the rest of the day, and did not cease till midnight, at which hour a voice was heard to call out, in French, from the enemy's intrenchments, warning the garrison that farther resistance

would be useless, since preparations were made for setting the blockhouse on fire, above and below at once. Christie demanded if there were any among them who spoke English; upon which, a man in the Indian dress came out from behind the breastwork. He was a soldier, who, having been made prisoner early in the French war, had since lived among the savages, and now espoused their cause, fighting with them against his own countrymen. He said that if they yielded, their lives should be spared; but if they fought longer, they must all be burned alive. Christie told them to wait till morning for his answer. They assented, and suspended their fire. Christie now asked his men, if we may believe the testimony of two of them, 'whether they chose to give up the blockhouse, or remain in it and be burnt alive?' They replied that they would stay as long as they could bear the heat, and then fight their way through. A third witness, Edward Smyth, apparently a corporal, testifies that all but two of them were for holding out. He says that when his opinion was asked, he replied that, having but one life to lose, he would be governed by the rest; but at the same time he reminded them of the treachery at Detroit, and of the butchery at Fort William Henry, adding that, in his belief, they themselves could expect no better usage.

When morning came, Christie sent out two soldiers as if to treat with the enemy, but, in reality, as he says, to learn the truth of what they had told him respecting their preparations to burn the blockhouse. On reaching the breastwork, the soldiers made a signal, by which their officer saw that his worst fears were well founded. In pursuance of their orders, they then demanded that two of the principal chiefs should meet with Christie midway between the breastwork and the blockhouse. The chiefs appeared accordingly; and Christie, going out, yielded up the blockhouse; having at first stipulated that the lives of all the garrison should be spared, and that they might retire unmolested to the nearest post. The soldiers, pale and haggard, like men who had passed through a fiery ordeal, now issued from their scorched and bullet-pierced stronghold. A scene of plunder instantly began. Benjamin Gray, a Scotch soldier, who had just been employed, on

Christie's order, in carrying presents to the Indians, seeing the confusion, and hearing a scream from a sergeant's wife, the only woman in the garrison, sprang off into the woods and succeeded in making his way to Fort Pitt with news of the disaster. It is needless to say that no faith was kept with the rest, and they had good cause to be thankful that they were not butchered on the spot. After being detained for some time in the neighborhood, they were carried prisoners to Detroit, where Christie soon after made his escape, and gained the fort in safety.

"After Presqu' Isle was taken, the neighboring posts of Le Boeuf and Venango, shared its fate; while farther southward, at the forks of the Ohio, a host of Delaware and Shawanoe warriors were gathering around Fort Pitt, and blood and havoc reigned along the whole frontier."

On the 12th of August, 1764, Col. Bradstreet and his army landed at Presqu' Isle, and there met a band of Shawanese and Delawares, who feigned to have come to treat for peace. Col. Bradstreet was deceived by them (although his officers were not), and marched to Detroit to relieve that garrison. He found Pontiac gone, but made peace with the Northwestern Indians, in which they pledged themselves to give up their prisoners; to relinquish their title to the English posts and the territory around for the distance of a cannon shot; to give up all the murderers of white men, to be tried by English law; and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the British government. Soon he discovered, as the war still raged, that he had been duped. He received orders to attack their towns; but, mortified and exasperated, his troops destitute of provisions and every way dissatisfied, he broke up his camp and returned to Niagara. Col. Bouquet afterward met the same deceptive Shawanese, Delawares, and Senecas, and succeeded in bringing them to terms; so that in twelve days they brought in two hundred and six prisoners, and promised all that could be found—leaving six hostages as security. The next year one hundred more prisoners were brought in, between whom and the Indians, in many cases, a strong attachment had sprung up, they accompanying the captives, with presents, even to the villages.

The region west of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, prior to the year 1795, was only known as the Indian country. On the Canada side of Lake Erie there were a few white settlements. On the American side Cherry Valley, New York, was the most western settlement, and Pittsburgh the nearest settlement on the south.

In the year 1782, a detachment, consisting of three hundred British soldiers and five hundred Indians, was sent from Canada to Fort Pitt. They had embarked in canoes at Chautauqua Lake, when information, through their spies, caused their project to be abandoned. Parties of Indians harrassed the settlements on the borders, and under GUYASUTHA, a Seneca chief, attacked and burned the seat of justice for Westmoreland county, Hannastown, and murdered several of the inhabitants.

In 1785, Mr. Adams, Minister at London, writes to Lord Carmarthen, English Secretary of State: "Although a period of three years had elapsed since the signature of the preliminary treaty, and more than two years since the definitive treaty, the posts of Oswegatchy, Oswego, Niagara, Presqu'Isle, Sandusky, Detroit, Mackinaw, with others not necessary particularly to enumerate, and a considerable territory around each of them, all within the incontestable limits of the United States, are still held by British garrisons to the loss and injury of the United States," etc. As we do not hear from any other source of the rebuilding of the fort at Presqu'Isle or of a garrison there, the probability is that Mr. Adams only had reference to Presqu'Isle as an important strategic point. (8.)

The Indians being recognized as owners of the soil, the whole was purchased from them by different treaties; one at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, extinguished their title to the lands of Western Pennsylvania and New York, excepting the Triangle or Presqu'Isle lands, which were accidentally left out of Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia, and were supposed at different times to belong to each. Gen. Irvine discovered, while surveying the donation lands, that Pennsylvania had but a few miles of lake coast, and not any harbor, and in consequence of his representa-

tions, the State of Pennsylvania made propositions for its purchase to the United States government, which sent out Surveyor-General Andrew Ellicott, for the purpose of running and establishing lines.

As the line was to commence at the west end of Lake Ontario, there was some hesitation whether the western extremity of Burlington Bay or the peninsula separating the bay from the lake was intended. It was finally fixed at the peninsula, and by first running south, and then offsetting around the east end of Lake Erie, the line was found to pass twenty miles east of Presqu'Isle. This line, as it was found to comply with the New York charter, being twenty miles west of the most westerly bend of the Niagara river, became the western boundary of the State of New York between Lake Erie and the old north line of Pennsylvania, and the east line of the tract known as the Presqu'Isle Triangle, which was afterward purchased by Pennsylvania of The United States. Massachusetts charter, in 1785, comprehended the same release that New York had given, and that of Connecticut which retained a reservation of one hundred and twenty miles lying west of Pennsylvania's western boundary. On the 6th of June, 1788, the board of treasury was induced to make a contract for the sale of this tract described as bounded 'on the east by New York, on the south by Pennsylvania, and on the north and west by Lake Erie.' On the 4th of September, it was resolved by Congress 'that The United States do relinquish and transfer to Pennsylvania all their right, title and claim to the government and jurisdiction of said land forever, and it is declared and made known that the laws and public acts of Pennsylvania shall extend over every part of said tract, as if the said tract had originally been within the charter bounds of said State.' By an act of the 2d of October, 1788, the sum of twelve hundred pounds was appropriated to purchase the Indian title to the tract, in fulfillment of the contract to sell it to Pennsylvania. At the treaty of Fort Harmar, on the 9th of January, 1789, Cornplanter and other chiefs of the Six Nations signed a deed, in consideration of the sum of twelve hundreds pounds, ceding the Presqu' Isle lands of the United States to be vested in the State of Penn-

sylvania, and on the 13th of April, 1791, the Governor was authorized to complete the purchase from the United States, which, according to a communication from him to the Legislature, was accomplished in March, 1792; and the consideration—amounting to \$151,640.25—paid in continental certificates of various descriptions. A draft annexed to the deed of the Triangle shows it to contain two hundred and two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven acres.

An amusing anecdote, relating to the period of these surveys, is mentioned in *Pennsylvania Historical Collections*: "When Mr. William Miles set off with a corps of surveyors for laying out the donation lands, the baggage, instruments, etc., were placed in two canoes. Fifteen miles above Pittsburgh, at the last white man's cabin on the river, the party stopped to refresh themselves, leaving the canoes in the care of the Indians. On returning to the river, all was gone—canoes and Indians had all disappeared. Mr. Miles asked if any one had a map of the river. One was fortunately found, and by it they discovered the river had a great bend just where they were. The compass was gone, but, by means of Indian signs, mosses on trees, etc., they found their way out above the bend, secreted themselves in the bushes, and waited for the canoes to come up, which happened very soon. When the old chief found he had been detected, he coolly feigned ignorance and innocence, and, stepping out of the canoe with a smile, greeted the surveyors with 'How do?' 'How do?'"

The treaty of peace with Great Britain, in 1783, was followed by a treaty with the Six Nations, at Fort Stanwix, in October, 1784. At the latter, the Commissioners of Pennsylvania secured from the Six Nations the relinquishment of all the territory within the State northwest of the boundary of 1768. This purchase was confirmed by the Delawares and Wyandots, in January, 1785, at Fort McIntosh. The boundary between Pennsylvania and New York was run out in 1785, '86 and '87, partly by David Rittenhouse, and afterwards by Andrew Ellicott and other commissioners on the part of New York.

On the 3d of March, 1792, Pennsylvania purchased the

tract from The United States, and a deed of that date confirmed it to the State. (10.)

On the 8th of March, 1793, the Pennsylvania Population Company was formed for the purpose of encouraging settlements on the lands which they had purchased, lying in this part of the State.

A month after (April, 1793) the formation of this company, an act passed the Legislature for laying out a town at Presqu'Isle, "in order to facilitate and promote the progress of settlement within the Commonwealth, and to afford additional security to the frontiers thereof."

Gov. Mifflin transmitted to the President of the United States a copy of this act, apprehending the difficulties which soon manifested themselves. Prior to this he had sent to Capt. Denny a commission, appointing him captain of the Allegheny company, and instructing him to engage four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer and fifer, two buglers, and sixty-five rank and file, or private, and to stipulate with the men to remain longer than the appointed eight months, should the state of the war require it. Early in the month of May, Messrs. Irvine, Ellicott and Gallatin were to engage in laying out the town, with Capt. Denny's company to protect and defend them. For the same object, a post had been established at Le Boeuf, two miles below the site of the old fort, and all persons employed by government were particularly cautioned against giving offense to the English or British garrisons in that quarter. A letter from Gen. Wilkins, at Fort Franklin, to Clement Biddle, quartermaster-general of Pennsylvania, informs us of his arrival, with forty of Capt. Denny's men and thirty volunteers from the county of Allegheny, and that the news was not favorable toward an establishment at Presqu'Isle. Those most conversant with the Indians were of opinion that they were irritated by the British, and meditated an opposition to the government, and that the question of peace or war depended upon a council then convened at Buffalo creek. To this council Cornplanter and other Indians on the Allegheny river had been invited; and as the English had summoned it, the prospect was not favorable for peace.

The disturbed conditions of the country owing to the frontier war then going on, were not favorable to this project. In the meantime Presqu'Isle was put on a war footing, and a garrison stationed there. The papers relating to the Presqu'Isle establishment are found in the Sixth Volume of the Second Series of Penna. Archives.

All difficulties being removed, April 18th, 1795, an act passed the Legislature to lay out a town at Presqu'Isle, at the mouth of French creek, at the mouth of Conewango creek, and at Le Boeuf—being the towns of Erie, Franklin, Warren and Waterford.

Two commissioners were appointed by the Governor to survey at Presqu'Isle sixteen hundred acres for town lots, and thirty-four hundred adjoining for out lots (the three sections of about a mile each, only one-half of which is now occupied), to be laid out into town lots and out lots; the streets not less than sixty feet in width, nor more than one hundred; no town lots to contain more than one-third of an acre; no out lots more than five acres; and the reservation for public uses not to exceed in the whole twenty acres. After the commissioners had returned the surveys into the office of the secretary, the Governor was to offer at auction one-third of the town lots and one-third of the out lots, upon the following conditions; that within two years one house be built at least sixteen feet square, with at least one stone or brick chimney. Patents were not to be issued till the same was performed, and all payments to be forfeited to the Commonwealth in case of failure. (This condition was afterward repealed). Exclusive of the survey of lots and out lots, sixty acres were reserved on the southern side of the harbor of Presqu'Isle for the accommodation of the United States, in the erection of necessary forts, magazines, dock-yards, etc.; thirty acres to be on the bank, and the remainder below, comprehending the point at the entrance of the harbor; and upon the peninsula thirty acres at the entrance of the harbor, and one other lot of one hundred acres. The situation and forms of these lots were to be fixed by the commissioners and an engineer employed by the United States. Andrew Ellicott had previously surveyed and laid out Waterford, and an act was now passed

to survey these five hundred acres, and to give actual settlers the right of pre-emption.

Deacon Hinds Chamberlain, of LeRoy, New York, in company with Jesse Beach and Reuben Heath, journeyed to Presque'Isle in 1795. Deacon Chamberlain describes the tour as follows: "We saw one white man, named Poudery, at Tonawanda village. At the mouth of Buffalo creek there was but one white man named Winne, an Indian trader. His building stood just beyond as you descend from the high ground (near where the Mansion House now stands, corner of Main and Exchange streets). He had rum, whisky, Indian knives, trinkets, etc. His house was full of Indians, and they looked at us with a good deal of curiosity. We had but a poor night's rest—the Indians were in and out all night getting liquor. The next day we went up to the beach of the lake to the mouth of Cattaraugus creek, where we encamped; a wolf came down near our camp, and deer were quite abundant. In the morning went up to the Indian village; found 'Black Joe's' house, but he was absent. He had, however, seen our tracks upon the beach of the lake, and hurried home to see what white people were traversing the wilderness. The Indians stared at us; Joe gave us a room where we should not be annoyed by Indian curiosity, and we stayed with him over night. All he had to spare us in the way of food was some dried venison; he had liquor, Indian goods, and bought furs. Joe treated us with so much civility that we remained until near noon. There were at least one hundred Indians and squaws gathered to see us. Among the rest were some sitting in Joe's house, an old squaw and a young, delicate-looking white girl dressed like a squaw. I endeavored to find out something about her history, but could not. She seemed inclined not to be noticed, and had apparently lost the use of our language. With an Indian guide provided by Joe we started upon the Indian trail for Presqu'Isle.

"Wayne was then fighting the Indians, and our guide often pointed to the West, saying, 'bad Indians there.' Between Cattaraugus and Erie I shot a black snake, a racer, with a white ring around his neck. He was in a tree twelve feet

from the ground, his body wound around it, and measured seven feet and three inches.

"At Presqu'Isle (Erie) we found neither whites nor Indians—all was solitary. There were some old French brick buildings, (why did they make bricks, surrounded as they were by stone and timber?) wells, blockhouses, etc., going to decay, and eight or ten acres of cleared land. On the peninsula there was an old brick house forty or fifty feet square. The peninsula was covered with cranberries.

"After staying there one night we went over to Le Boeuf, about sixteen miles distant, pursuing an old French road. Trees had grown up in it, but the track was distinct. Near Le Boeuf we came upon a company of men who were cutting out the road to Presqu'Isle—a part of them were soldiers and a part Pennsylvanians. At Le Boeuf there was a garrison of soldiers—about one hundred. There were several white families there, and a store of goods. Myself and companions were in pursuit of land. By a law of Pennsylvania, such as built a log-house and cleared a few acres acquired a presumptive right—the right to purchase at five dollars per hundred acres. We each of us made a location near Presqu'Isle. On our return to Presqu'Isle from Le Boeuf, we found there Col. Seth Reed and his family. They had just arrived. We stopped and helped him to build some huts; set up crotches, laid poles across, and covered them with the bark of the cucumber tree. At first the Col. had no floors; afterward he indulged in the luxury of floors by laying down strips of bark. James Baggs and Giles Sisson came on with Col. Reed. I remained for a considerable time in his employ. It was not long before eight or ten other families came in.

"On our return we again stayed at Buffalo over night with Winne. There was at the time a great gathering of hunting parties of Indians there. Winne took from them all their knives and tomahawks, and then selling them liquor, they had a great carousal."

Capt. Martin Strong, in a letter to William Nicholson, Esq., dated Waterford, January 8th, 1855, says: "I came to Presqu'Isle the last of July, 1795. A few days previous to this a company of United States troops had commenced felling the

timber on Garrison Hill, for the purpose of erecting a stockade garrison; also a corps of engineers had arrived, headed by Gen. Ellicott, escorted by a company of Pennsylvania militia, commanded by Capt. John Grubb, to lay out the town of Erie.

"We all were in some degree under martial law, the two Rutledges having been shot a few days before (as was reported by the Indians) near the site of the present Lake shore railroad depot. Thomas Rees, Esq., and Col. Seth Reed and family (the only family in the Triangle) were living in tents and booths of bark, with plenty of good refreshments for all itinerants that chose to call, many of whom were drawn here from motives of curiosity and speculation. Most of the land along the lake was sold this summer at one dollar per acre, subject to actual settlement. We were then in Allegheny county. * * * Le Boeuf had a small stockade garrison of forty men, located on the site of the old French fort; a few remains of the old entrenchment were then visible. In 1795 there were but four families residing in what is now Erie county. These were of the names of Reed, Talmage, Miles and Baird. The first mill built in the Triangle was at the mouth of Walnut creek; there were two others built about the same time in what is now Erie county; one by William Miles, on the north branch of French creek, now Union; the other by William Culbertson, at the inlet of Conneautee Lake, near Edinboro."

"The next year (1796) Gen. Wayne received an appointment from the Government to conclude a treaty with the Northwestern Indians, and having accomplished this arduous task, embarked at Detroit, in the sloop Detroit, for the purpose of returning to his home in Chester county. Soon after leaving port he was violently attacked by his old malady, the gout, and the usual remedy, brandy, through an oversight of the steward, not being at hand, he became very much prostrated, and in this condition was landed at Erie. As there was no resident physician of any repute, Dr. J. C. Wallace, a skillful surgeon of the army, then at Pittsburgh, was sent for with the greatest despatch, but on arriving at Franklin, met a messenger with the news of his death.

"When Gen. Wayne was brought into the garrison, he ex-

pressed a wish to be placed in the northwest blockhouse, the attics of the blockhouses being comfortably fitted up and occupied by the families connected with the garrison. Capt. Russel Bissel probably had command at the time, and it is said the illustrious sufferer met with every possible kindness.

"A fit death-bed and silent resting-place for the brave officer and patriot was the old military post of Presqu'Isle and its picturesque bay. He named the spot for his grave at the foot of the flagstaff. 'A. W.' on a single stone was placed at the head and a neat railing inclosed it."

The remains were removed in 1809 by a son, Col. Isaac Wayne, of Chester county, and deposited in Radnor church yard (St. David's Episcopal church), which is fourteen miles west of Philadelphia. Dr. J. C. Wallace superintended the disinterment of the body, which was found in a remarkable state of preservation.

On a monument erected by the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati is found the following:

"Major-General Anthony Wayne was born at Waynesboro, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in 1745. After a life of honor and usefulness, he died in December, 1796, at Erie, Pennsylvania, then a military post on Lake Erie, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States. His military achievements are consecrated in the history of his countrymen. His remains are here deposited."

For the better defense of Erie, in the winter of 1813 and 1814, a blockhouse was built on Garrison Hill, and another on the point of the peninsular. (The one on the shore was burned in 1853, an occurrence much regretted by the inhabitants.)

"Fort Presqu'Isle was on the table land where now stands the city of Erie. It was at the intersection of the south shore of the harbor with the west bank of Mill creek, about fifty-five feet above the level of the lake, and commanded the mouth of Mill creek, which is supposed to have been the point of debarkation from arriving vessels. The site has been effectually scraped and carted away in the course of improvements, and could be best described as bounded north by Erie harbor, east by Mill creek, south by Second street, and west by Parade

street." Thus far we have the words of Col. John H. Bliss, one of Erie's citizens, the grandson of Major Andrew Ellicott.

"It may be remarked that Mill creek at an early day was a much larger stream than at present, and in 1819, when our map was drawn, a brick yard and a carding machine were occupying much the same ground. At this time [1895] Messrs. Paradine and McCarty own and occupy the site as a brick yard, having lowered the ground about thirty feet, and their intention is to lower still further. The precise site of the fort in excavating was marked by remnants of knives, muskets, &c., much decomposed."

"The Northeast corner-stone of the city stood a little northwest of it—say, half a block distant." (11.)

"After the site was found in 1876 the State erected a block-house on the exact site to mark the grave of General Wayne. That blockhouse is still there, and is comprehended in the grounds of the Pennsylvania Sailor's and Soldiers' Home. It is a short distance north of the Soldiers' Home buildings, across the tracks of the Pennsylvania and Erie railway, which are spanned by a bridge. The Soldiers' Home occupies the grounds marked on the map as 'Garrison Ground' or 'Park.'" (12.)

Notes to Presqu' Isle.

(1.) The deposition of Stephen Coffen is in the Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. vi, Second series.

(2.) From "The Examination of J. B. Pidon, a French Deserter," Arch., ii, 125, taken March 7th, 1754, it would seem that the original name of this fort was Duquesne. He states that in the spring of 1753, "They went in batteaux through the Lake Ontario and the straights of Niagara, and sailed six or seven days in Lake Erie, after which they landed and began to build a fort on an eminence, about one hundred yards from the bank of the lake, which they called Duquisne, the name of their general, the Marquis Duquisne."

(3.) These papers are collected in the Sixth volume of Penna. Archives, Second series.

(4.) Printed at Pittsburgh, 1893.

(5.) These authorities are given in Third Archives, and quoted in the History of Erie County.

(6.) The forts were set on fire, and from all accounts were burnt, but it is probable that when the sites were taken by the English subsequently, they utilized some of the material, such as the stone, for instance, in the construction of their forts or blockhouses.

(7.) Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. i, p. 280.

Of this event a version which seems to be looked upon favorably by local historians, and which is frequently quoted, is here given. There appears to be some substantial details preserved, which might furnish a clew for further inquiries; but where the article conflicts with the version of Mr. Parkman, it must be remembered that the version of Mr. Parkman was founded upon the statements of those who participated in the affair, or from contemporaneous historical papers; among other sources, for instance, were the Report of Ensign Christie, The Testimony of Edward Smyth, MS., taken by order of Col. Bouquet, and the statement of the soldiers, Gray and Smart, who escaped.

With this explanation, the account of Mr. Harvey is here inserted. It is taken from Miss Sanford's History of Erie County:

"Mr. H. L. Harvey, formerly editor of the Erie Observer, a gentleman of research and integrity, in a lecture delivered in Erie, introduced the following account of the same event, differing, as will be seen, from the above-named accredited historian as also from Bancroft. He says: 'The troops retired to their quarters to procure their morning repast; some had already finished, and were sauntering about the fortress or upon the shore of the lake. All were joyous in holiday attire, and dreaming of naught but the pleasure of the occasion. A knock was heard at the gate, and three Indians were announced in hunting garb, desiring an interview with the commander. Their tale was soon told. They said they belonged to a hunting party, who had started for Niagara with a lot of furs; that their canoes were bad, and they would prefer

disposing of them here, if they could do so to advantage, and return, rather than go farther; that their party were encamped by a small stream west of the fort about a mile, where they had landed the previous night, and where they wished the commander to go and examine their peltries, as it was difficult to bring them, and they wished to embark where they were, if they did not trade. The commander, accompanied by a clerk, left the fort with the Indians, charging his Lieutenant that none should leave the fort, and none be admitted, until his return. Well would it probably have been had his order been obeyed. After the lapse of sufficient time for the captain to visit the encampment of the Indians and return, a party of the latter, variously estimated—probably one hundred and fifty—advanced toward the fort, bearing upon their backs what appeared to be large packs of furs, which they informed the lieutenant the captain had purchased and ordered deposited in the fort. The stratagem succeeded; when the party were all within the fort, it was the work of an instant to throw off their packs and the short cloaks which covered their weapons, the whole being fastened by one loop and button at the neck. Resistance at this time was useless, and the work of death was as rapid as savage strength and weapons could make it. The shortened rifles, which had been sawed off for the purpose of concealing them under their cloaks and in the packs of furs, were at once discharged, and the tomahawk and knife completed their work. The history of savage warfare presents not a scene of more heartless and bloodthirsty vengeance than was exhibited on this occasion. The few who were taken prisoners in the fort were doomed to the various tortures devised by savage ingenuity, and all but two who awoke to celebrate that day, had passed to the eternal world. Of these, one was a soldier who had gone into the woods near the fort, and on his return observing a party of Indians dragging away some prisoners, escaped, and immediately proceeded to Niagara; the other was a soldier's wife, who had taken shelter in a small stone house, at the mouth of the creek, used as a wash-house. Here she remained unobserved until near night of the fatal day, when she was made their prisoner,

but was ultimately ransomed and restored to civilized life. She was afterward married, and settled in Canada, where she was living at the commencement of the present century. Capt. D. Dobbins, of the revenue service, has frequently talked with the woman, who was redeemed by a Mr. Douglass, living opposite Black Rock, in Canada. From what she witnessed, and heard from the Indians during her captivity, as well as from information derived from other sources, this statement is made.’”

(8.) History of Erie Co., *supra*, p. 54.

(9.) History of Erie Co., p. 60.

(10.) Day's Historical Collections of Penna., p. 315.

The extracts cited here following are from the History of Erie Co., *supra*.

(11.) Miss Laura G. Sanford, MS.

(12.) George Platt, Esq., City Engineer, Erie, MS.

To Mr. Platt we are indebted for the map above referred to. For the official reports and papers relating to the establishment of Presqu'Isle, see the Sixth Volume of Penna. Archives, *sec. ser.*

“East of this early settlement in New France, excavations show that brick made there was of French measure. The old inhabitants of this region speak of a ‘French stone chimney,’ as it was called, opposite Big Bend on the Peninsula—that it was made of brick and used as a watch house. Fishermen have made a thorough distribution of these bricks long ago. The ‘Sixteen Chimneys,’ one of the forts was said to have, also refers to their manufacture of brick.” [Miss Laura G. Sanford, MS.]

The chain of title to the site of the blockhouse property is as follows:

Chain of title to all that certain piece of land situate in the city of Erie, County of Erie, and State of Pennsylvania, bounded and described as follows, to wit: Beginning on the northeast corner of Parade street and Second street; thence northwardly along said Parade street 330 feet to Front street; thence by the south line of the said Front street pro-

duced eastwardly six hundred and thirty (630) feet to a point where the west line of Wallace street produced would intersect; thence along the channel of Mill creek south one degree and thirty minutes ($1^{\circ} 30'$), west three hundred and eighty (380) feet to Second street; thence westwardly along said Second street four hundred and fifty (450) feet to Parade street, at the place of beginning, containing about four and one-tenth ($4 \frac{1}{10}$) acres.

The records of Erie county were destroyed by fire on March 23d, 1823.

William G. Snyder	}	Deed dated June 10th, 1803, and recorded June 10th, 1824, in deed book B, page 85.
to		
James O'Hara.		

For a valuable consideration, assign and set over all my right, title, interest and claim in and to a tract of land adjoining the city of Erie, containing fifty acres.

Robert McKnight and Wm. M. Paxton, executors of Elizabeth F. Denny, dec'd, and heirs of decedent,	}	Partition deed dated December 18th, 1879, and recorded December 30th, 1879, in deed book No. 65, page 283.
to		
Mary O'Hara Spring.		

* * * * To Mary O'Hara Spring is allotted the premises described in the caption hereto (with other property) acknowledged December 18th, 1879.

Mary O'Hara Spring	}	Warranty deed dated May 5th, 1888, and recorded November, 3d, 1888, in deed book No. 92, page 199; consideration, \$5,000.
to		
Thomas J. Paradine and James McCarty.		

Grants, bargains, sells, etc., the premises described in the caption hereto, acknowledged May 5th, 1888.

Thomas J. Paradine and Mary, his wife,	}	Warranty deed dated January 3d, 1893, and recorded November 3d, 1893, in deed book No. 109, page 364; consideration, \$8,000.
to		
James McCarty.		

Grants, bargains, sells, etc., the undivided one-half of the premises described in the caption hereto, acknowledged January, 3d, 1893.

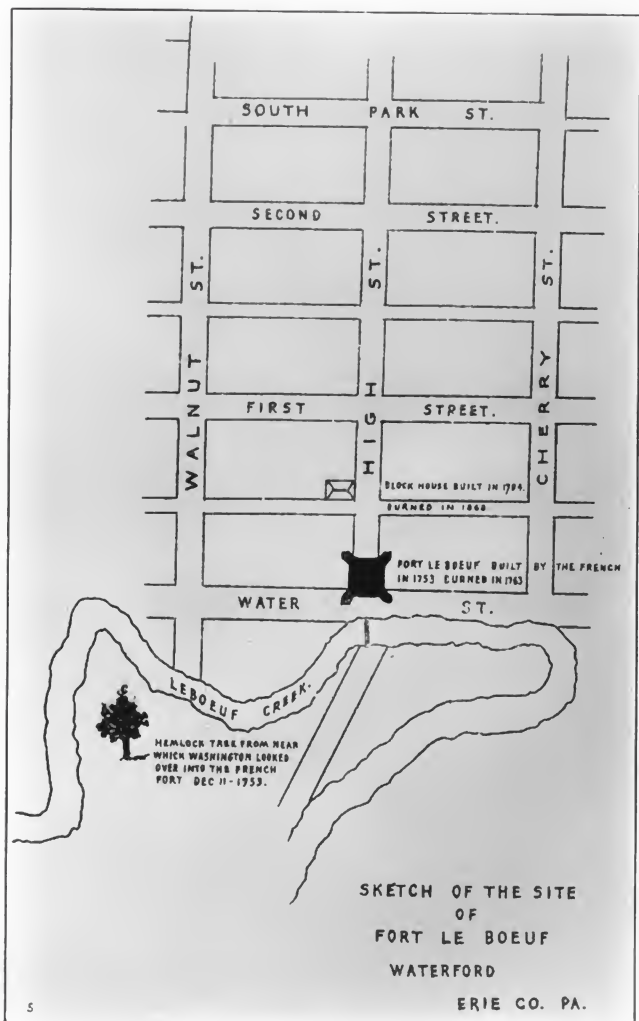
FORT LE BOEUF.—Erie County.

Fort Le Boeuf was erected by the French in 1753, (1) and an account of its building is given in the Deposition of Stephen Coffen, referred to and quoted from at length under the head of Presqu'Isle. The particulars of the erection of these posts are blended together in the one narration, so that in part it applies to both these forts. He states in his Deposition that "when Fort La Riviere Aux Boeufs (2) was finished (which is built of wood stockaded triangularwise, and has two log-houses on the inside) M. Morang (the Commander) ordered all the party to return to Canada for the winter season, except three hundred men, which he kept to garrison both forts and prepare materials against the spring for the building of other forts."

As the occupancy of these points by the French led to the sending out of George Washington by the Governor of Virginia, it is pertinent here to relate the particulars of his embassy:

"The news of the encroachments of the French having obtained, and the Ohio Company feeling aggrieved, applied for aid to Governor Dinwiddie, who claimed the country as a part of Virginia, and was also interested as a stockholder of the company. In George Washington, then but a youth, Governor Dinwiddie saw one fitted to lead in this difficult expedition. On the 30th of October, 1753, accompanied by Gist, the pioneer, Van Braam, a retired soldier, who had a knowledge of French, and John Davison, Indian interpreter, he set out for the wilderness.

"The instructions given Washington were to communicate at Logstown with the friendly Indians, and to request of them an escort to the headquarters of the French, to deliver his letter and credentials to the commander, and demand of him an answer in the name of the British sovereign and an escort



to protect him on his return. He was to acquaint himself with the strength of the French forces, the number of their forts, and their object in advancing to those parts, and also to make such other observations as his opportunities would allow.

"The Indians were not well satisfied as to the rights of either the French or English. An old Delaware sachem exclaimed, "The French claim all the lands on one side of the Ohio, and the English on the other; now where does the Indian's land lie? "Poor savages! between their father the French, and their brothers the English, they were in a fair way of being lovingly shared out of the whole country." Three of the sachems, Tannacharison, or Half-King, from his being subject to another tribe, Jeskakake, and White Thunder, accompanied Major Washington from Logstown, as they had been directed by Governor Dinwiddie, as well as for the purpose of returning to the French commander the war belts they had received from them. This implied that they wished to dissolve all friendly relations with their government. These Ohio tribes had been offended at the encroachments of the French, and had a short time previously sent deputations to the commander at Lake Erie, to remonstrate. Half-King, as chief of the Western tribes, had made his complaints in person, and been answered with contempt. "The Indians," said the commander, "are like flies and mosquitos, and the numbers of the French as the sands of the seashore. Here is your wampum, I fling it at you." As no reconciliation had been offered for this offense, aid was readily granted by them to the English in their mission.

"From Washington's Journal we get the following particulars: On their arrival at Venango (Franklin) they found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven John Frasier [or Frazer], an English subject. There they inquired for the residence of the commander. Three officers were present, and one Capt. Jean Coeur [Joncaire] informed them that he had the command of the Ohio, but advised them to apply for an answer at the near fort, where there was a general officer. He then invited them to sup with them, and treated the company with the greatest complaisance. At the

same time they dosed themselves plentifully with wine, and soon forgot the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation. In their half-intoxicated state they confessed that their design was to take possession of the Ohio, although the English could command for that service two men to their one. Still their motions were slow and dilatory. They maintained that the right of the French was undoubted from La Salle's discovery sixty years before, and that their object now was to prevent the settlement of the English upon the river or its waters, notwithstanding several families they had heard were moving out for that purpose.

"Fifteen hundred men had been engaged in the expedition west of Lake Ontario, but upon the death of the general, which had occurred but a short time before, all were recalled excepting six or seven hundred, who now garrisoned four forts, being one hundred and fifty men to a fort. The first of the forts was on French Creek (Waterford), near a small lake, about sixty miles from Venango, northwest; the next on Lake Erie (Presqu'Isle), where the greater part of their stores were kept, about fifteen miles from the other; from this, one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying place, at the Falls of Niagara (probably Schlosser) is a small fort, where they lodge their goods in bringing them from Montreal, from whence all their stores are brought; the next fort lay about twenty miles farther, on Lake Ontario (Fort Niagara).

"The second day at Franklin it rained excessively, and the party were prevented from prosecuting their journey. In the meantime, Capt. Jean Coeur sent for Half-King, and professed great joy at seeing him and his companions, and affected much concern that they had not made free to bring them in before. To this Washington replied that he had heard him say a great deal in dispraise of Indians generally. His real motive was to keep them from Jean Coeur, he being an interpreter and person of great influence among the Indians, and having used all possible means to draw them over to the French interests. When the Indians came in, the intriguer expressed the greatest pleasure at seeing them, was surprised that they could be so near without coming to see him, and after making them trifling presents, urged upon them intoxicating drinks until

they were unfitted for business. The third day Washington's party were equally unsuccessful in their efforts to keep the Indians apart from Jean Coeur, or to prosecute their journey. On the fourth day they set out, but not without an escort planned to annoy them, in Monsieur La Force and three Indians. Finally, after four days of travel through mire and swamps, with the most unpropitious weather, they succeeded in reaching Le Boeuf.

"Washington immediately presented himself, and offered his commission and letters to the commanding officer, but was requested to retain both until Mons. Reparti should arrive, who was the commander at the next fort, and who was expected every hour. The commander at Le Boeuf, Legardeur de St. Pierre, was an elderly gentleman with the air of a soldier, and a knight of the military order of St. Louis. He had been in command but a week at Le Boeuf, having been sent over on the death of the late general.

"In a few hours Capt. Reparti arrived from Presqu'Isle, the letter was again offered, and after a satisfactory translation a council of war was held, which gave Major Washington and his men an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making other observations. According to their estimate, the fort had one hundred men, exclusive of a large number of officers, fifty birch canoes and seventy pine ones, and many in an unfinished state.

"The instructions he had received from Governor Dinwiddie allowed him to remain but seven days for an answer; and as the horses were daily becoming weaker, and the snow fast increasing, they were sent back to Venango, and still further to Shannopin's town, provided the river was open and in a navigable condition. In the meantime Commissary La Force was full of flatteries and fair promises to the sachems, still hoping to retain them as friends. From day to day the party were detained at Venango, sometimes by the power of liquor, the promise of presents, and various other pretexts, and the acceptance of the wampum had been thus far successfully evaded.

"To the question of Major Washington, 'by what authority several English subjects had been made prisoners?' Captain

Reparti replied, 'that they had orders to make prisoners of any who attempted to trade upon those waters.' The two who had been taken, and of whom they inquired particularly, John Trotter and James McClochlan, they were informed had been sent to Canada, but were now returned home. They confessed, too, that a boy had been carried past by the Indians, who had besides two or three white men's scalps.

"On the 15th, the commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquors and provisions to be put on board the canoes, and appeared extremely complaisant, while he was really studying to annoy them, and to keep the Indians until after their departure.

"Washington, in his Journal, remarks: 'I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent was practiced to win the Half-King to their interests, and that leaving him there was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the Half-King and pressed him in the strongest terms. He told me that the commandant would not discharge him until the morning. I then went to the commandant, and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill-treatment; for keeping them, as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as possible. He protested that he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay; though I soon found it out; he promised them a present of guns, etc., if they would wait until morning.' Their journey to Franklin was tedious and very fatiguing. At one place the ice had lodged so their canoes could not pass, and they were obliged to carry them a quarter of a mile. One of the chiefs, White Thunder, became disabled, and they were compelled to leave him with Half-King, who promised that no fine speeches or scheming of Jean Coeur should win him back to the French. In this he was sincere, as his conduct afterward proved. As their horses were now weak and feeble, and there was no probability of the journey being accomplished in reasonable time, Washington gave them, with the baggage, in charge of Mr. Van Braam, his faithful companion. tied himself up in his watchcoat, with a pack on his

back containing his papers, some provisions and his gun, and, with Mr. Gist fitted out in the same manner, took the shortest route across the country for Shannopin's town.

"On the day following they fell in with a party of French Indians, who lay in wait for them at a place called Murdering town, now in Butler county. One of the party fired upon them; but, by constant travel, they escaped their company, and arrived within two miles of Shannopin's town, where trials in another form awaited them. They were obliged to construct a raft, in order to cross the river; and when this was accomplished, by the use of but one poor hatchet, and they were launched, by some accident Washington was precipitated into the river, and narrowly escaped being drowned. Besides this, the cold was so intense that Mr. Gist had his fingers and toes frozen. At Mr. Frasier's, (Turtle Creek) they met twenty warriors going southward to battle, and on the Ohio Company's trail, seventeen horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio, and a few families going out to settle. On the 16th of February, Washington arrived at Williamsburg, and waited upon Governor Dinwiddie with the letter he had brought from the French commandant, and offered him a narrative of the most remarkable occurrences of his journey.

"The reply of Chevalier de St. Pierre was found to be courteous and well guarded. 'He should transmit,' he said, 'the letter of Governor Dinwiddie to his general, the Marquis Du Quesne, to whom it better belongs than to me to set forth the evidence and reality of the rights of the king, my master, upon the lands situated along the Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the king of Great Britain thereto. His answer shall be law to me. * * * * As to the summons to retire you send me, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general, and I entreat you, sir, not to doubt one moment but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer. * * * * I made it my particular care to receive Mr. Washington with a distinction suitable to your dignity, as well as his own quality and merit. I flatter myself

he will do me this justice before you, sir, and that he will signify to you, in the manner I do myself, the profound respect with which I am, sir, etc."

"Governor Dinwiddie and his council understood this evasive answer as a ruse to gain time, in order that they might in the spring descend the Ohio and take military possession of the whole country."

This expedition may be considered the foundation of Washington's fortunes. "From that moment he was the rising hope of the country. His tact with the Indians and crafty whites, his endurance of cold and fatigue, his prudence, firmness, and self-devotion, all were indications of the future man."

The fort is thus described by Washington: "It is situated on the south or west fork of French creek, near the water; and is almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port holes cut for the cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private stores, round which are laid platforms for the cannon and the men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort, for the soldiers' dwellings, covered, some with bark, and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shop, &c."

In 1756, a prisoner among the Indians, who had made his escape, gave the following particulars: "Buffaloes Fort, or Le Boeuf, is garrisoned with one hundred and fifty men and a few straggling Indians. Presqu' ile is built of square logs filled up with earth; the barracks are within the fort, and garrisoned with one hundred and fifty men, supported chiefly from a French settlement begun near it. The settlement consists, as the prisoner was informed, of about one hundred families." [This French settlement is not spoken of by any other person. M. Chauvignerie, as will be seen, states that there were no settlements or improvements near the forts

Presqu' ile or Le Boeuf]. "The Indian families about the settlement are pretty numerous; they have a priest and school-master, and some grist-mills and stills in the settlement." (3.)

In 1757, M. Chauvignerie, Jr., aged seventeen, a French prisoner, testified before a justice of the peace to this effect: "His father was a lieutenant of marines and commandant of Fort Machault, built lately at Venango." "At the fort they have fifty regulars and forty laborers, and soon expect a reinforcement from Montreal, and they drop almost daily some of the detachments, as they pass from Montreal to Fort Du Quesne. Fort Le Boeuf is commanded by my uncle, Monsieur de Verge, an ensign of foot. There is no captain or other officer there, above an ensign; and the reason of this is, that the commandants of those forts purchase a commission for it, and have the benefit of transporting the provisions and other necessaries. The provisions are chiefly sent from Niagara to Presqu' ile, and so from thence down the Ohio to Fort Du Quesne. Sometimes, however, they are brought in large quantities from southward of Fort Du Quesne. There are from eight hundred to nine hundred, and sometimes one thousand men between Forts Presqu' ile to Le Boeuf. One hundred and fifty of these are regulars, and the rest Canadian laborers, who work at the forts and build boats. There are no settlements or improvements near the forts. The French plant corn about them for the Indians, whose wives and children come to the fort for it, and get furnished also with clothes at the King's expense. Traders reside in the forts, that purchase of them peltries. Several houses are outside the forts, but people do not care to occupy them, for fear of being scalped. One of their batteaux usually carries sixty bags of flour and three or four men. When unloaded, it will carry twelve men."

In Post's Journal for November, 1758, he says that the fort at Presqu'Isle was out of repair, and "the fort in Le Boeuf river is much in the same condition, with an officer and thirty men, and a few hunting Indians, who said they would leave them in a few days."

Thomas Bull, an Indian employed as a spy at the Lakes, arrived at Fort Pitt, in March, 1759, from a visit to the posts in that region. Le Boeuf he describes "as of the same plan with

Presqu' ile, but very small; the logs mostly rotten. Platforms are erected in the bastion, and loopholes properly cut; one gun is mounted on a bastion and looks down the river. It has only one gate, and that faces the side opposite the creek. The magazine is on the right of the gate, going in, partly sunk in the ground, and above are some casks of powder, to serve the Indians. Here are two officers, a storekeeper, clerk, priest and one hundred and fifty soldiers, and as at Presqu' ile the men are not employed. They have twenty-four batteaux, and a larger stock of provisions than at Presqu' ile. One Le Sambrow is the commandant. The Ohio is clear of ice at Venango, and French creek at Le Boeuf. The road from Venango to Le Boeuf is well trodden; and from thence to Presqu' ile is one half day's journey, being very low and swampy, and bridged most of the way."

Old Fort Le Boeuf being inland, was not ranked or fortified as a first-class station; yet, being situated on the "headwaters" of the Allegheny river, and at the nearest point of water communication between Lake Erie and the river, it was considered of much importance as trading fort. It afforded protection to traders, hunters, and to many adventurers who passed between Canada and Fort Duquesne and the French possessions farther south. The portage between Presqu' Ile and Le Boeuf being only a little more than four leagues, the necessary goods, munitions of war, implements of agriculture, etc., were conveyed overland from the lake, and at Fort Le Boeuf embarked upon radeaux or rafts, to be transported to forts to the south and west along the river.

As the French were driven to the greatest straights at the siege of Fort Niagara, "the utmost confusion prevailed at forts Venango, Presqu' Isle, and Le Boeuf after the victory, particularly as Sir William Johnson sent letters by some of the Indians to the commander at Presqu' Isle, notifying him that the other posts must be given up in a few days.

"August 13 (1759), we find the French at Presqu' Isle had sent away all their stores, and were waiting for the French at Venango and Le Boeuf to join them, when they all would set out in batteaux for Detroit; that in an Indian path leading to Presqu' Isle from a Delaware town, a Frenchman and some

Indians had been met, with the word that the French had left Venango six days before.

"About the same time, three Indians arrived at Fort Duquesne from Venango, who reported that the Indians over the lake were much displeased with the Six Nations, as they had been the means of a number of their people being killed at Niagara; that the French had burned their forts at Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presqu' Isle, and gone over the lakes." The author of the History of Erie county says that "the report was probably unfounded (of the burning of the forts), unless they were very soon rebuilt, of which we have no account." The posts, however, were shortly thereafter taken possession of by the English, and garrisoned by them (4.)

Le Boeuf was one of the forts against which the savages, at the time of the uprising under Pontiac, directed their attention. The attack upon it has been told by Mr. Parkman, from original sources, and it is here in part reproduced:

"The available defences of Fort Le Boeuf consisted, at the time, of a single ill-constructed blockhouse, occupied by the ensign [Price], with two corporals and eleven privates. They had only about twenty rounds of ammunition each; and the powder, moreover, was in a damaged condition. At nine or ten o'clock, on the morning of the 18th of June, [1763], a soldier told that he saw Indians approaching from the direction of Presqu' Isle. Price ran to the door, and, looking out, saw one of his men, apparently much frightened, shaking hands with five Indians. He held open the door till the man had entered, the five Indians following close, after having, in obedience to a sign from Price, left their weapons behind. They declared that they were going to fight the Cherokees, and begged for powder and ball. This being refused, they asked leave to sleep on the ground before the blockhouse. Price assented, on which one of them went off, but very soon returned with thirty more, who crowded before the window of the blockhouse, and begged for a kettle to cook their food. Price tried to give them one through the window, but the aperture proved too narrow, and they grew clamorous that he should open the door again. This he refused. They then went to a neighboring storehouse, pulled out some of the

foundation stones, and got into the cellar; whence, by knocking away one or two planks immediately above the sill of the building, they could fire on the garrison in perfect safety, being below the range of shot from the loopholes of the blockhouse, which was not ten yards distant. Here they remained some hours, making their preparations, while the garrison waited in suspense, cooped up in their wooden citadel. Towards evening, they opened fire, and shot such a number of burning arrows against the side of the blockhouse, that three times it was in flames. But the men worked desperately, and each time the fire was extinguished. A fourth time the alarm was given; and now the men on the roof came down in despair, crying out that they could not extinguish it, and calling on their officer for God's sake to let them leave the building, or they should all be burnt alive. Price behaved with great spirit. "We must fight as long as we can, and then die together," was his answer to the entreaties of his disheartened men. But he could not revive their drooping courage, and meanwhile the fire spread beyond all hope of mastering it. They implored him to let them go, and at length the brave young officer told them to save themselves if they could. It was time, for they were suffocating in their burning prison. There was a narrow window in the back of the blockhouse, through which, with the help of axes, they all got out; and, favored by the darkness—for night had closed in—escaped to the neighboring pine-swamp, while the Indians, to make assurance double sure, were still showering fire-arrows against the front of the blazing building. As the fugitives groped their way in pitchy darkness, through the tangled intricacies of the swamp, they saw the sky behind them lurid with flames, and heard the reports of the Indians' guns, as these painted demons were leaping and yelling in front of the flaming blockhouse, firing into the loopholes, and exulting in the thought that their enemies were suffering the agonies of death within.

"Presqu' Isle was but fifteen miles distant, but, from the direction in which his assailants had come, Price rightly judged that it had been captured, and therefore resolved to make his way, if possible, to Venango, and reinforce Lieutenant Gordon, who commanded there. A soldier named John Dortinger, who



FORT LE BOEUF 4790 AT WATERFORD, ERLE COUNTY, PA

had been sixteen months at Le Boeuf, thought that he could guide the party, but lost the way in the darkness; so that, after struggling all night through swamps and forests, they found themselves at daybreak only two miles from their point of departure. Just before dawn several of the men became separated from the rest. Price and those with him waited for some time, whistling, coughing, and making such other signals as they dared, to attract their attention, but without success, and they were forced to proceed without them. Their only provisions were three biscuits to a man. They pushed on all day, and reached Venango at one o'clock on the following night. Nothing remained but piles of smoldering embers, among which lay the half-burned bodies of its hapless garrison. They continued their journey down the Allegheny. On the third night their last biscuit was consumed, and they were half dead with hunger and exhaustion before their eyes were gladdened at length by the friendly walls of Fort Pitt. Of those who had straggled from the party, all eventually appeared but two, who, spent with starvation, had been left behind, and no doubt perished."

Notwithstanding the treaty of Fort Stanwix and that of Fort Harmar, the cession of the Presqu' Isle lands was a sore subject to many of the Chiefs of the Six Nations, and especially to their master-spirit, Brant, the Mohawk chieftain. It was claimed that the treaty was invalid, Cornplanter having sold their lands without authority. Brant's favorite design was to restrict the Americans to the country east of the Allegheny and Ohio; and he not only strenuously opposed and denounced every treaty that interfered with his plan, but was active in his endeavors to unite all the northern and western nations in one great confederacy, and, if necessary to protect his favorite boundary by a general war. (5.)

From this cause with the abetting of England and the disposition of the Senecas and other Indian tribes within the borders of Pennsylvania, it was necessary to create a military establishment, by the general government with the co-operation of the State, to facilitate settlements and protect the

settlers in this region. From the letters relating to this establishment we extract the following (6) :

On the 29th of June, 1794, Andrew Ellicott writes to Governor Mifflin from Fort Le Boeuf, as follows:

"After repairing Fort Franklin (Venango), we proceeded to this place, and are now beginning to strengthen the works here, so as to render it a safe deposit for military and other stores; and in doing which, agreeable to instructions economy shall be strictly attended to."

Prior to this time the place had been occupied by the State as appears from the report of Colonel John Wilkins to Secretary Dallas. Writing from Pittsburgh, May 23, 1794, he says: "The troops of the State took possession of the Forks of French creek, about two miles below the old post of Le Boeuf, and had a small blockhouse built to which place I accompanied them."

He states that they would remain there until they had procured materials for erecting blockhouses at Le Boeuf.

On June 26th, 1794, a council was held by Mr. Ellicott and Capt. Denny with representatives of the Six Nations at Le Boeuf (Waterford). The Six Nations demanded a removal of the whites from the Lake region and objected to the settlement of Presqu' Isle. On the 27th June, Mr. Andrew Ellicott made a report of the conference with the Indians, and advised the erection of three blockhouses "on the Venango Path."—One of which should be at Mead's settlement (Meadville), and the other two at Le Boeuf and Venango.

From Le Boeuf, Andrew Ellicott reports to Governor Mifflin, June 29th, 1794:

"After repairing Fort Franklin, we proceeded to this place, and are now beginning to strengthen the works here, so as to render it a safe deposit for military and other stores."

On July the 4th, 1794, he reports:

"The detachment of State troops commanded by Capt. Denny yesterday moved into the new fort at this place, which is now defensible not only against the Six Nations, but all the Indians at variance with the U. S. In the execution of the plan, Capt. Denny merits the highest commendation for his steady exertions and activity, and I can with truth assure you,

in all my experience I never saw a work of equal magnitude progress with equal rapidity. The new fort has yet no name."

Major E. Denny reported to Governor Mifflin, from Le Boeuf, August 1st, 1794: "As it has been the prevailing opinion, that this post will not be continued, unless a sufficient force comes forward, and we advance to Presqu' Isle, I have done no more than what appeared necessary for a temporary accommodation, and for our own security. Mr. Ellicott has favored us with a draft of the place. It is sent to you by this conveyance, and will give an idea how we are situated. The riflemen occupy the whole of the two front blockhouses, and the lower part of the other two. The detachment of the artillery, and all the officers, remain in their tents, on the ground marked officers' quarters, soldiers' barracks, magazine and guard house. The two houses in front were built by the party that came on first, and are not calculated for taking in cannon. On each of the others second floor, we have a six-pounder, and over each gate is a swivel. The situation is unequaled by any in this country, Presqu' Isle excepted. One disadvantage only, that is a hollow way parallel with our rear, and within gun shot, that will cover any number of Indians; but, with a few more men, and extending the work, that may be perfectly secured. We have it examined every morning, before the gates are thrown open. The Indians, early in the spring, came frequently to this post; but since the declaration of the Six Nations, we have not had one to come in. 'Tis a few days since we saw two or three viewing the plan. We hoisted a white flag, but they disappeared."

In a report to Gov. Mifflin by John Adlum, August 31st, 1794, it is said: "Capt. Denny has endeavored to keep up military discipline at Le Boeuf, and has got the illwill of his men generally; they say he is too severe, but from inquiry I cannot find he has punished any of them, although some of them deserve death, having been found asleep at their posts."

Cornplanter with his chiefs was there at the time, being fed and supported by the State and federal authorities. He gave the agent, Mr. Adlum, notice that it was unnecessary to send any more provisions to Le Boeuf, as they would soon have to leave it."

Mr. Adlum adds that after writing his report "all is quiet at Le Boeuf. The mutiny—at which he had hinted—arose from some of the soldiers, who stole the Commandant's brandy, and got drunk." One of the soldiers had snapped a gun at Captain [Major] Denny, and it was with difficulty they could take him to Fort Franklin. "Others were punished, and now all is in order."

Shortly after this, all the surveyors, and persons employed in pursuance of the act, were drawn off, and only a small garrison left at Le Boeuf. On January 16, 1795, Major Denny reports to the Governor, that the detachment left at Le Boeuf were relieved the last of December. In a letter to the Secretary of War, March 11th, 1795, he says: "Le Boeuf is built upon a handsome eminence, at the head of the navigation, immediately upon the ground formerly occupied by the French and English. It will accommodate a company of men well; but as it was only intended as an intermediate post to Presqu' Isle, a small command of twenty-five men will answer every purpose, and there will be plenty of store room for depository whatever may be sent forward."

From the History of Erie county, by Miss Laura G. Sanford, we have the following information relating to this period. Speaking of the act of April 18th, 1795, "to lay out a town at Presqu' Isle, etc.," she says:

It was provided in section thirteenth, "that it shall be lawful for the Governor, with the consent of the individuals, respectively, to protract the enlistments of such part of the detachment of State troops, or such part as may be in garrison at Fort Le Boeuf, or to enlist as many men as he shall deem necessary, not exceeding one hundred and thirty, to protect and assist the commissioners, surveyors, and other attendants intrusted with the execution of the several objects of this act: Provided, always, nevertheless, That as soon as a fort shall be established at Presqu' Isle, and the United States shall have furnished adequate garrisons for the same, and for Fort Le Boeuf, the Governor shall discharge the said detachments of State troops, except the party thereof employed in protecting and assisting the commissioners, surveyors, and other attend-

ants as aforesaid, which shall be continued until the objects of this act are accomplished, and no longer."

"And section fifteenth, "that in order to defray the expenses of making the survey, at Fort Le Boeuf, and the various surveys and sales herein directed, and to maintain the garrison at Fort Le Boeuf, there shall be, and hereby is, appropriated the sum of \$17,000, to be paid by the Treasurer on the warrants of the Governor."

"When Judge Vincent settled in Waterford in 1797, he says: "There were no remains of the old French fort excepting the traces on the ground, and these traces were very distinct and visible." Fifteen years after, a cellar and a deep well were the only visible remains. Cannon, bullets, etc., have been found occasionally below the surface, and fragments of human skeletons pervade the soil. From the first settlement to the present time men have, at intervals, been searching for treasures on the sites of Le Boeuf and Presqu' Isle, with all the helps afforded by the magnet and mineral rod. At Le Boeuf, in 1860, a man, digging under the direction of the "spirits," discovered below the surface a stone wall laid up with mortar, which would probably have a radius of one hundred feet. Within this was the foundation of a blacksmith's forge, or indications of one—as burnt stone, cinders, pieces of iron of all shapes, and of no conceivable use, guns, gun-locks, bayonets, and parts of many implements of war.

Judge Vincent says further: "On the same ground, in 1797, stood a stockade fort built by Maj. Denny in 1794; it was commanded by an officer of the army, Lieut. Marten, with twelve or fifteen soldiers. The same year (1797) a new fort was built, which is still occupied by a family, though very much dilapidated, and some parts apparently ready to fall. This blockhouse was at one time a storehouse; in 1813 (after the battle of Lake Erie) a body of prisoners and wounded men were there quartered; it was next connected with other buildings, the whole being weatherboarded, and a respectable hotel constituted. The main street of the borough running from north to south passes in front of the "Blockhouse Hotel," and over the same ground which was occupied by the French and first American forts."

"In the neighborhood of the depot, two miles northeast of the blockhouse, spikes, bullets, cannon balls, etc., have been found. In another part of the town, a quarter of a mile from the fort, a hillock is called "Washington's Mound" from the fact (as tradition has it) that Washington, when on his mission in 1753, spent a night there."

The extract following is taken from a manuscript paper furnished the writer by Mrs. Mary Judson Snowden, of Waterford, Pa., a lady specially conversant with the history of Le Boeuf, and one who has had the benefit of the personal recollections of those who were a part of what they related.

"State troops reached Waterford in May, of that year [1794], and built the second fort or blockhouse, which in turn was covered with clapboards, furnished with the conveniences of the time, a large addition made in the rear, and a large porch extending over the sidewalk in front and supported by colonial pillars. It was used as a hotel and residence up to 1868, when it caught fire in some unknown way and burned to the ground—the old logs, and ancient port-holes showing as the modern surface covering burned away. * * * The exact site of the original French Fort is not positively known, but was near the centre of High street, a little below First alley, and, of course, now belongs to the street, which, however, is one hundred feet wide. The site of the second fort or blockhouse, which stood till 1868, is just above First alley, fronting on High street. The spot is fenced in, and used as a yard. The old cellar with all the debris of crumbling walls, old chimneys, &c., is just as the fire left it over a quarter of a century ago. It belongs now to the heirs of John W. Mauross."

Notes to Fort Le Boeuf.

(1.) I desire to acknowledge the advantages I have had from extracting from the History of Erie county, by Miss Laura G. Sanford, much material used in this article. As in the article on Presqu' Isle, I have likewise in this on Le Boeuf been assisted by her manuscript contributions, very materially.

The papers belonging to the post-revolutionary period, which have been quoted from, will be found for the most part in the Sixth Volume of Penn'a Archives, second series—among the "Papers Relating to the Establishment of Presqu' Isle."

(2.) "The ancient name of the river now called Allegheny, was Ohio, or, as the French called it, "La Belle Riviere," Beautiful river.—French creek, in Coffen's statement, is called Aux Boeufs." On the leaden plate buried by Celoron, it is called Toradakin. The French invariably called it the River Aux Boeufs [River of Beeves or Buffaloes—Beef River]. In one of the French despatches it is said that it was called by the English, "Venango" river. At the time of Washington's visit here, he rechristened it French creek, by which name it has been known ever since.

The road from Venango to Le Boeuf was described in 1759 as being "trod and good;" thence to Presqu' Isle, about half a day's journey, as "very low and swampy and bridged almost all the way."

The portage or causeway is frequently alluded to. It required great labor to keep it open, and it was often in a miserable condition. In 1782 the causeway from Presqu' Isle to Le Boeuf is said to have been "rotten and impassable."

"In 1813 all the naval stores needed for the construction of Perry's fleet were brought from Pittsburgh to Franklin, and then up the creek to Waterford, and then by land to Erie. It is probable that French creek was navigable all the year in Washington's time"—that is about the time he was there—1753. [Hist. Venango County, *supra.*, p. 21.]

For condition of these roads see report of Major Denny to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War, Archives vi, 815, sec. ser.

"One of the first appropriations for the northwestern part of the State, in 1791, was four hundred pounds for the improvement of French creek (besides four hundred pounds for the road from Le Boeuf to Presqu' Isle), and in 1807 we find five hundred dollars were to be set apart from the sale of town and out-lots of the Commonwealth, adjoining Erie, for clearing and improving the navigation of Le Boeuf and French creeks from Waterford to the south line of the country.

"Here it may not be out of place to give a short description of French creek. It was formerly called Venango creek, or rather In-nan-ga-eh, and it is a beautiful, transparent, and rapid stream. For many miles from its confluence with the Allegheny it is less than one hundred feet in width. At some seasons its waters are navigable to Waterford for boats carrying twenty tons, yet for a few weeks of summer it cannot usually be navigated by any craft larger than a canoe.

"Washington, in his Journal, calls Le Boeuf creek the Western Fork, which is correct; but besides this there are three others, and these are now particularly designated."

(3.) These statements are in Third Volume of Archives. And herein see further about the settlements there, which were only "military settlements."

(4.) After the defeat of the French before Fort Niagara, nearly all the French officers being killed or captured, their followers, "after heavy loss, fled to their canoes and boats above the cataract, hastened back to Lake Erie, burned Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango, and, joined by the garrisons of those forts, retreated to Detroit, leaving the whole region of the upper Ohio in undisputed possession of the English." [Parkman, Montelam & Wolfe, Vol. ii, p. 247.]

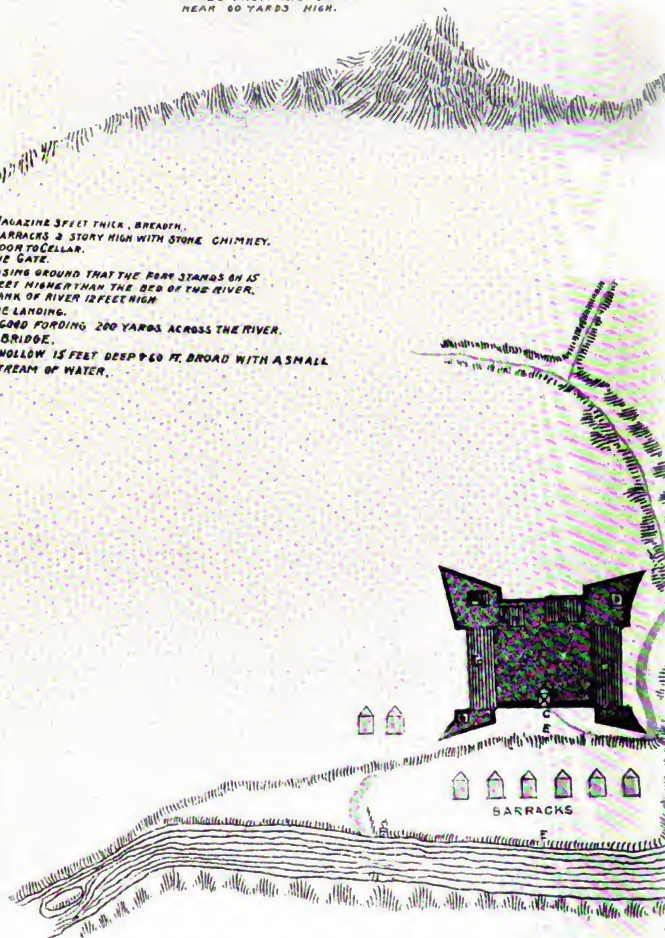
"At the beginning of 1761, of the whole number of troops raised by the Province for the late war, there yet remained near one hundred and fifty men undischarged, of which, about one-half were employed in transporting provisions from Niagara, and in garrisoning the forts at Presqu' Isle and Le Boeuf, till they could be relieved by detachments from the Royal Americans, which from the thinness of that regiment and from the large extent of the territory over which their duty extended having not been done so soon as had been expected, these still remaining could not march down at the same time with the rest of the Provincials." (Gov. Hamilton to the Assembly, Jan. 8th, 1761. Col. Rec. viii, 513.)

(5.) Day's Historical Collections, p. 316.

(6.) See Pa. Arch., Vol. vi, second series.

A HILL 875' WEST 220
YARDS FROM THE FORT
NEAR 60 YARDS HIGH.

- A. MAGAZINE 3 FEET THICK, BREADTH.
- B. BARRACKS 2 STORY HIGH WITH STONE CHIMNEY.
- C. DOOR TO CELLAR.
- D. THE GATE.
- E. RISING GROUND THAT THE FORT STANDS ON IS FEET HIGHER THAN THE BED OF THE RIVER.
- F. BANK OF RIVER 12 FEET HIGH.
- G. THE LANDING.
- H. A GOOD FORDING 200 YARDS ACROSS THE RIVER.
- I. A BRIDGE.
- K. AN HOLLOW 15 FEET DEEP & 60 FT. BROAD WITH A SMALL STREAM OF WATER.



FRENCH FOR

A HILL N 50° WEST 350
YARDS FROM THE FORT &
ALMOST 75 YARDS HIGH.

ROAD TO LE BOEUF

SAW MILL

BARRACKS

THE OHIO RUNS

SSE ABOUT 1/4 OF A MILE

FRENCH CREEK RUNS S40°E

RANGE ABOUT 50 YARDS HIGH.

FORT MACHAULT. 1753-9

FORT MACHAULT.—Venango County.

When the French took possession of the Ohio river region and began to erect forts, they did not come in the route of the expedition of 1749, but came by way of Presqu' Isle, thence across the country to French creek, and so down to the Allegheny. The first and second forts, called Presqu' Isle and Le Boeuf, were constructed in 1753. Some time late in the summer, while yet the fort at Aux Boeuf was building, Mons. Morin, the commander of the expedition, sent Monsieur Bite with fifty men to erect a third fort at a place which the Indians called Ganagarah'hare, at the mouth of French creek. (1.) The Indians, however, opposing his intentions, he was obliged to return; and the season being now too far advanced to think of completing the structure here, nothing more was done to that end.

Possession, however, was taken of the point by Captain Chabert de Joncaire, who, with several others, occupied a deserted house, which had been built and used by John Frazer, a Pennsylvania Indian trader. (2.) When Washington came to Venango in December, 1753, he found the French flag flying over this house. (3.)

In the meantime the workmen who had been left at Le Boeuf on the return of the main part of the forces to Canada, were engaged in preparing lumber and making boats for operation when the winter should break up. (4.) When spring arrived, and the French were ready to resume operations, the Indians did not offer any opposition, and work was begun. A saw mill had been erected on a little stream just above the site of the fort. The machinery for this mill had been brought from Canada. The oak and chestnut trees adjoining were cut down and sawn into timber to erect quarters for the soldiers. It seems to have been completed in April, 1754, under the superintendence of Joncaire. It was not an elaborate work, but suited to the circumstances. It was called Machault (5), after a celebrated French financier and politician. The name is not a familiar one here, but in every instance in which the Fort is spoken of by the French authorities, either here or in Canada, it is called Machault. By the English it was usually called the French Fort at Venango. (6.)

No accurate description or plan of Fort Machault was available until recently, and there was no positive certainty as to its exact location. The plan and map of the fort and of the region immediately surrounding it was made public as late as 1875. It is here produced. (7.)

The fort is thus described: "Venango Fort is situated on a rising piece of ground, on a rich bottom, abounding with clover, sixty yards west of the Ohio. The north and south polygon is forty-five yards, and the east and west polygon thirty-seven yards. The bastions are built of saplings, eight inches thick, and thirteen feet in length, set stockade fashion. Part of the curtains are hewed timber, laid lengthwise upon one another, which also make one side of the barracks."

The body of the work was in the form of a parallelogram, in size about seventy-five by one hundred and five feet, with bastions in the form of polygons at the four angles. The gate fronted the river. In the interior were the magazine, fifteen feet by eighteen feet, protected by a thickness of three feet of earth, and several buildings for officers' barracks. Two of these were eighteen by fifty feet, with three others that were smaller. The barracks were two stories high and furnished with stone chimneys. A door in the northeastern bastion led to a large cellar. The soldiers' barracks consisted of forty-four separate buildings, disposed around the fort, chiefly on the north and east sides.

At the saw mill, before spoken of, was prepared the lumber used for barracks, and perhaps for boats and barges to be used in conveying supplies for the camp and transportation down the river. Along the northern flank of the fort, and within fifty feet of it, there was a small stream that flowed from the neighboring hills and supplied the camp with water. On the present plan of the city of Franklin, Elk street passes through the site of the fort, whilst its southern side reaches nearly to Sixth street. (8.)

This fort from the first was not intended to be more than a stronghold for a garrison and supplies on the line of the French occupancy from Lake Erie to the Forks of the Ohio. (9.) They, however, contemplated strengthening it as the occasion offered; and according to the statement of one John Adam

Long, an escaped prisoner from the French (10), they were occupied during the winter of 1755 and summer of 1756 in collecting materials and making preparations to build stronger works.

Long said he was taken from Fort Duquesne about the last of April, 1756, to Venango, "where resided an officer in a small stockade fort with a command of forty men," and that a number of square logs had been "got together at that place sufficient to build a large fort on a pretty, rising ground in the Forks of Ohio and French creek."

In the account of an escaped prisoner from the Indians, William Johnson, late in 1756, it is said that there was "at Venango a Captain's command of about fifty men; the Fort of Stockades, very weak, and scarce of provisions; a few Indian families about the place; and that the new fort intended for that place not built." (11.)

From another statement (12) made somewhat later in the same year, it would appear the "small fort made of logs and stockades was mounted with nine cannon of a pretty large bore, and was generally garrisoned with a company of sixty soldiers, besides Indians, who to the number of about two hundred are lodged in cabins that have been built for them near the fort."

He further adds that the garrison had been "for some time employed in collecting and preparing materials for building a strong fort there next spring, and being apprehensive, having been informed by two deserters from Shamokin (Fort Augusta, Sunbury), that the Pennsylvanians had come to a resolution to march against them as soon as a body of men could be raised for that purpose."

From the examination of Michael Chauvignerie (13), taken down the 16th of October, 1757, the fort was said to be of wood, filled up with earth. It had bastions and six wall-pieces, or swivel guns; and the whole works took up about two acres of ground. There were at the fort fifty regulars and forty Canadians. No Indians were there, but they passed and re-passed to and from a little town they have about seven leagues west from Fort Machault, called "Ticastoroga." (14.)

He said further that his father was a lieutenant of marines

and commandant at Fort Machault, lately built and then finishing; that at the fort they expected soon a considerable reinforcement from Montreal; and that almost daily there dropped there some of the detachments passing from Montreal to Fort Duquesne. (15.)

He said the French planted "considerable pieces" of Indian corn about the forts for the Indians, whose wives and children do come to the forts for it, and there are they furnished with clothes at the King's expense, but that there are traders in the forts who purchase the peltry from the Indians. That there are several houses, but the people don't care to inhabit them at present, as they would be more liable to be scalped, and keep chiefly in the forts."

Post, in his journal for 7th of August, 1758, says: "By what I could learn of Pisquetumen, and the Indians who went into the fort, the garrison consisted of only six men, and an officer blind of one eye;" (16), and under date of November 30th, 1758, "The Fort at Venango is the smallest, and has but one officer and twenty-five men in it, and is much distressed for want of provisions, as is the two upper forts." (17.) An Indian spy found, about this time, at Machault, two officers and forty men, with De Lignerie in command.

Colonel Mercer, in a report from Fort Pitt, as of the 10th of May, 1758, (18), says: "Cutfingered Peter is gone to Shamokin, (Fort Augusta, now Sunbury), two scalping parties were sent from Venango to infest the communication, and another, consisting of twenty over Lakes Indians were to go off about that time.

"There are about one hundred soldiers at Venango, and several officers, besides what are gone upon party with Indians. They are fitting up platforms and lining their stockade; have but a small quantity of flour, and give out that they are four hundred strong on this side of the Lake. That two hundred battoes are on their way, with five hundred soldiers besides Indians to reinforce them. They expect we will proceed up the river, and Le Narie is determined, as he says, to fight us in the woods. They have eleven battoes at Venango, and one great gun of the size of a quart pot which they fire off by a train of powder."

Colonel Mercer further reports, early in 1759, on the authority of Bull, an Indian spy, that there had been found at Venango two officers and forty men. La Marie was given as the name of the commander. The road was trod and good from Venango to Le Boeuf, and from thence to Presqu' Isle for about half a day's journey was very low and swampy, and bridged almost all the way. (19.)

After the loss of Fort Duquesne, and its occupancy by the English, Fort Machault became a place of much greater importance to the French than was originally contemplated. It served as rallying place for the savages who were yet under their domination; and as they still entertained hopes of recovering Fort Duquesne, the armament and garrison at Machault, from all accounts, were greatly strengthened. At length it was determined to venture on the attempt to capture Fort Pitt. (20.) Fort Machault became the base of operations for this expedition, and all the men who could be spared were called here from the upper forts, and even from the far western posts of Kaskaskia and the Mississippi. (21.) Boats were built on French creek to transport the material and men. With great labor and difficulty they carried their provisions from most remote points, and by the middle of July, 1759, there were, at Venango, as has been estimated, nearly one thousand Frenchmen and the same number of Indians, with a sufficient number of boats to convey the whole force down the river. We may form some opinion, as it has been observed, of the number of boats from the statement that at Le Boeuf (Waterford) all the trees of sufficient size to make boats had been cut down, and the project advanced of making pirogues of sawed timber, such as they had seen the English use. These boats were probably "dug-outs," run either singly or bound together after the style of the catamaran. (22.)

But when all the arrangements had been made, and the expedition was about ready to start, orders suddenly came to abandon the project. The English were advancing against the French strongholds from different points of attack. Fort Niagara was one of the objective points, and it being a post of the great importance, (as its capture would cut off the French from the whole interior country), every effort was made to raise the siege. It therefore became necessary to

draw the forces, both French and Indians, from the distant garrisons of Detroit, Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango, and hasten them to Niagara. (23.)

This was in July, 1759. The order was given to evacuate the fort and destroy all the supplies there which they could not carry with them, and to dismantle and utterly destroy the fort. To the Indians were given much military apparel and provisions. Dusky warriors were tricked out in laced coats and cocked hats; swarthy maidens were made happy with presents of French calico and red blankets; strings of beads were thrown lavishly around the necks of papooses, all guileless of them before; flour which had been carried on the shoulders of men over those tiresome portages from Kaskaskia were distributed in lavish rations, and other stores were passed freely around among their red allies. All the perishable property was collected together within the fort, and the whole set on fire. The boats and batteaux were also consigned to the flames. The barracks, without as well as within the walls, were involved in one common ruin. The swivel guns, or wall pieces as they were called, were first disabled then buried in the earth, and everything of value removed from sight. This destruction was in accordance with instructions from the French government. Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, in anticipation of an assault from the English, had instructed De Lignerie to "fall back successively upon Forts Le Boeuf and Presqu' Isle, and so completely destroy the works as to leave nothing behind that would be available to the enemy." The entire party took leave of their Indian allies, telling them that although they found it necessary to leave them now, they would return in a year and stay with them permanently. (24.) Then they took their way up the creek, and left the place forever. The French Creek Valley was left to silence and to savages. (25.)

There is no tangible evidence of the former existence of the French work. When Franklin was settled, there were some little mounds covered with briar bushes that were a visible token of the site, but all have now disappeared and we have but the points of the compass and the peaks of the hills to point out the location. (26.) This fort was succeeded by the English-American fort, Venango.

FORT VENANGO.

In August, 1759, about the time of the departure of the French from Venango, General Stanwix, the Commander-in-Chief of the British army in the middle colonies, arrived at Fort Duquesne. With the loss of Niagara and the abandonment of the three forts of Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf and Machault, the direct contest between the English and the French in Western Pennsylvania came to an end. With the defeat of the French, the hostility of the Indians abated. On this point very little is heard for several years. In 1760 General Monkton visited the fort, and there held a treaty with the Indians, in which their nominal consent was obtained by the English to build forts and establish posts in the wild lands. The English now carried the war against the French into Canada; and in July of 1769, all the garrison that could be spared from Fort Pitt under General Monkton and Colonel Mercer was taken to Presqu' Isle as the base of operations, from thence destined against Montreal, the last stronghold of the French.

After the departure of the French from these posts they were soon occupied by the English. The fort at Venango having been destroyed utterly, a new one had to be built. This was done during the summer of 1760. The fort here built was garrisoned, and is the one properly known as Fort Venango.

"At this place an entirely new site was selected, and a new fort erected. Fort Machault was so thoroughly dismantled that there was nothing valuable left. The site for the new work was about forty rods higher up the river, and nearer the mouth of French creek. In the present plan of the town (of Franklin), Elk street runs through the center of it, and the northern bastion extends out into Eighth street. It was a much more permanent and substantial work than that of the French. The original plan has been lost, but from the earthworks, yet in good condition at the early settlement of the country, a very good idea can be formed of its general features. The general outline was a square, with bastions projecting from the curtains. The enclosed area was eighty-eight feet square, with a blockhouse in the center. This was surrounded

by a ditch twenty-four feet in width. Outside of this was the embankment, about eight feet in width, with bastions of earth on each side, and completely commanding all the angles of the fort." (27.)

Only a small garrison was stationed at Fort Venango by the English, under the command of Lieutenant Gordon, and from the time of their occupation until the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, which was definitely ratified on the 10th of February, 1763, nothing of any great importance seems to have occurred on the Pennsylvania frontier. During this time the principal centre of importance for all the English posts in the west was Fort Pitt, and Venango was a subordinate garrison in the department.

Nothing unusual attaches to its history until the uprising of the tribes under Pontiac, when Venango being on the line of the English frontier, was made one of the objective points of the attack. This was in the spring of 1763, and Lieutenant Gordon, the senior officer on the line from Fort Duquesne to Presqu' Isle, (or Erie,) was stationed here. In June the three posts were attacked, almost at the same time, and all fell. The garrison at Presqu' Isle, for the most part, were taken by their captors to Detroit. A few at Le Boeuf escaped; but all those who were at Venango were lost. While its destruction was complete, the details of the occurrence are meagre.

From the account of Ensign Price, who commanded at Le Boeuf, and who when it was in flames, made his escape with some of his garrison to Fort Pitt, was had the first knowledge of its terrible fate.

The terrible experience of Price and his companions is spoken of in the account of Le Boeuf, but we again refer to it here. After their flight from Le Boeuf, they pushed on all day, and reached Venango at one o'clock of the following night. Nothing remained but piles of smouldering embers, among which lay the half burned bodies of its hapless garrison. They now continued their journey down the Allegheny. On the third night their last biscuit was consumed, and they were half dead with hunger and exhaustion before their eyes were gladdened at length by the friendly walls of Fort Pitt. Of those who had straggled from the

party, all eventually appeared but two, who, spent with starvation, had been left behind, and no doubt perished." (28.)

"Not a man remained alive to tell the fate of Venango. An Indian, who was present at its destruction, long afterwards described the scene to Sir William Johnson. A large body of Senecas gained entrance under pretense of friendship, then closed the gates, fell upon the garrison, and butchered them all except the commanding officer, Lieutenant Gordon, whom they forced to write, from their dictation, a statement of the grievances which had driven them to arms, and then tortured over a slow fire for several nights till he expired. This done, they burned the place to the ground, and departed." (29.)

The ruins of Fort Venango were within the recollection (lately) of a number of the older citizens of Franklin, and many relics were found by the early settlers, including gun-barrels, locks, musket balls, knives, pieces of burnt iron and stone, melted glass, &c. (30.) But in referring to the same subject, it is said by a later authority, that "in the old days of militia musters, it was the custom to march down there and then march around the top of the earthwork. The earthwork presented a broad esplanade, suitable for the purpose, and a common resort at such times. But it has all passed away to make the approach to the Allegheny bridge, and gradually the other works were removed to fill up the ravines and form a smooth and even course for the street. The remains of the earthworks were visible until within the last twenty years, when the last vestige was swept away." (31.)

Mention of the place in connection with the upper forts from Pittsburgh, or in connection with the Indian incursions, is found in the Archives and Records, and in the correspondence or journals of individuals, down to the end of the Revolution. Nothing of unusual importance would appear to have been connected with the location during all this time. Colonel Brodhead, commanding the Western Department, had permission from General Washington to establish a post at Venango in the early part of 1779 (32) ; but nothing noteworthy seems to

have been done. (33.) The Revolution had long been over when the occasion arose for another fort near the site of Fort Venango.

FORT FRANKLIN.

The close of the Revolution did not bring lasting peace with the Indians of the Northwest. At the end of the war settlements were attempted along the upper Allegheny and the contiguous territory; but on many occasions the settlers were obliged from the turbulent disposition of the Indians and the unsettled state of affairs to return to Fort Pitt or gather close to the other forts. Owing to this state of affairs, and the apprehension of another general Indian war, the Government of the United States decided to erect a military post at Venango. In the spring of 1787 a company of regular troops, under the command of Captain (afterward Major) Jonathan Heart, (who had received his orders on the 10th of April), arrived here from Fort Pitt for that purpose. The company, including officers and men, numbered eighty-seven; and in addition to this number there were perhaps a dozen of other persons not immediately connected with the corps. Immediately on their arrival they commenced the erection of the fort, which they called Fort Franklin. The following extracts are from the Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny for the 3d May, 1788.

About eight o'clock this morning, after passing one island, we entered the mouth of French creek. The fort stands half a mile up. Several miles below we were discovered by some Indians, who cut across and gave notice to Captain Heart of our approach. The arrival of General Harmar was announced with seven rounds of a six-pounder from the fort. Very kindly received by the captain and Lieutenant Frothingham, at the head of their command. The company reviewed and dismissed. Spent the day in examining Captain Heart's work, viewing the adjacent country and the old fortifications of the French and British. There is a fine flat of good land here, altogether on the lower side of French creek, but sufficient for

several farms, the only flat land from Mahoning or Mogul-bughtiton up * * * Captain Heart's fort, or Fort Franklin, as it is called, is built precisely after the plan of the one which had been erected by the British, called Venango. It is a square redoubt, with a blockhouse three stories high in the center; stands better than half a mile up French creek, upon very good ground, but the situation, in my opinion, is by no means so eligible as that of old Fort Venango, built by the English. The last work stood upon a commanding ground pretty close to the bank of the Allegheny, half a mile below French creek and a mile from Fort Franklin. The cellar wall and hugh stack of chimneys of the blockhouse are of stone and yet quite entire. The parapet and some other parts remain perfect, and the whole work might have been built with half the labor and expense of that built by Heart. The only reason the captain could offer for taking new ground was the convenience of timber. (34.)

On the occasion of the Indian troubles of 1794, when there was very general apprehension that Cornplanter would break with the whites, and fall on the settlers of northern Pennsylvania, the fort, then found to be in a rather unsatisfactory condition, was again repaired. On June 29th, 1794, Andrew Ellicott writes in regard to Fort Franklin:

"On my arrival, the place appeared to be in such a defenceless condition, that, with the concurrence of Captain Denny, and the officer (Captain Heart) commanding at the fort, we remained there some time, and employed the troops in rendering it more tenable. It may now be considered as defensible, provided the number of men is increased. The garrison, at present, consists of twenty-five men, one-half of whom are unfit for duty, and it is my opinion that double that number would not be more than sufficient, considering the importance of the safety of the settlement on French creek."

The location of Fort Franklin has been criticised, with what justice we do not pretend to have an opinion. On this subject the following quotation partly refers:

"In place of locating it at the mouth of French creek, so as to command that stream, as well as the Allegheny river, they made their location about one hundred and eighty rods

above the mouth of the former, and at a point that would not at all command the latter. The road from Fort Pitt to Le Boeuf crossed the creek within a few rods of the site selected for the fort, and, bad as the reason may appear, it was, perhaps, the only one that superinduced the selection of a spot on which to erect a fort so far from the mouth of the creek. It was a mere path then, but the fording was good, and the ascent of the opposite hill was the most practicable from it.

"The existence of this path, and the erection of the fort near it, induced those who settled here, at an early period, to make their location also as near as possible to both these supposed advantages. The town was established, the hotel built, and near this tract the merchant erected his stall and the mechanic his shop. Thus was the town, in time, built upon its present site, far from where strangers think it ought be located.

"The fort was located immediately above and west of the south end of the French creek bridge, and consequently on the south bank of French creek. Like Fort Venango, it was a parallelogram, the outworks including about one hundred feet square. The works consisted of high embankments, outside of which arose tall, pine pickets, deeply and firmly sunk into the ground, securely fastened together and fastened at the top. These were sixteen feet high.

"There were four bastions on this work, surmounted by small cannon, the size not now known. Within the area formed by the ditches was a huge stack of chimneys in the center. In this building were the magazine and munitions generally. The huts of the soldiers were in the ditch around the blockhouse, and within the pickets.

"This fort was situated on a bluff bank of the creek, twenty-five or thirty feet high, and nearly perpendicular. To this day is distinctly to be seen a deep ditch running along the top, and near the edge of the bank, some one hundred and twenty (120) feet in length, up the creek. This was intended for a covered way leading from the fort to a small redoubt at the very margin of the creek, which was surmounted by two guns—four-pounders, I think.

"The Garrison had what they called a green-house, or cave,

in which they kept vegetables and meat, within a few feet of the excavation now being made at the end of the bridge, for the site of the new toll-house. A garrison of near one hundred, including officers and men, was kept in Fort Franklin until 1796, when what is familiarly known as the 'Old Garrison,' at the mouth of the creek, was erected.

"This was accomplished by the troops at the fort, and was erected at a point more convenient for receiving provisions and munitions brought up by the boats on the river from Pittsburgh. The Garrison was a strong wooden building, a story and a half high, and perhaps thirty or forty feet in length. It was picketed in, but not calculated to be mounted with cannon. Indeed, the necessity for this had ceased, as the treaty of Gen. Wayne with the Indians at Fort Greenville had been made in August, 1795, and which was then believed, as it proved to be, a lasting peace."

The troops removed from the fort, which was from that time suffered to dilapidate, and occupied the Garrison. This they continued to do until 1803, when they were withdrawn from Franklin altogether. Fort Franklin soon went entirely to ruin. The stone in the chimneys, like those in Fort Venango, were hauled away by the citizens of the place, and used in building foundations and chimneys for private dwellings.

THE OLD GARRISON.

This fort (Franklin) was occupied for nine years, or until 1796, when a new and more sensible selection was made and a new fortification erected at the mouth of the creek. This was called subsequently the "Old Garrison." There was no longer any danger to be apprehended only from predatory squads of Indians; and the possibility of these incursions was daily growing less. (35.) The old fort was dismantled as the new one was occupied, and in time its pickets fell, its ditch filled up, and the citizens of the new town took the stone of the large chimneys to assist in the construction of their dwellings. Time and the spirit of improvement have now swept

away the last vestige of old Fort Franklin. Its position can only be learned from the map and the recorded history of the times.

"The 'Old Garrison' was the fourth fortress that was erected for defense. The site was changed again, and to a more sensible locality. This was just at the mouth of French creek, where there would be a view of both creek and river. It was built in 1796. The location was down in the bottom near the foot of Tenth street, near the creek. The site is now covered with water, with no landmarks to locate it, and will soon be referred to only by tradition. The building had no high-sounding name, but was always known as the 'Old Garrison.' It was a strong wooden building, without ditch or bastions or embrasure. In plain language, it was a log house, strongly built, and well fortified. It was a story and a half high, and thirty by thirty-six feet square. Outside it had the invariable line of pickets to avoid being surprised by the Indians. These pickets were simply small, round logs set in the ground close together and from ten to fifteen feet in length. In this the government kept troops stationed from the time of its erection until 1799, when all apprehension of trouble with the Indians having subsided, they were withdrawn, and the infant town was left to its own resources for defense against the savages who were now on friendly terms and desirous only of trade and traffic."

The "Old Garrison" was not dismantled or left to fall into decay for many years after there ceased to be any use which its construction originally contemplated. Upon the organization of Venango county in 1805, the building was utilized for the purposes of a jail, and continued in use for that purpose until 1819, when the jail was built on the South Park. After this the work of dilapidation commenced. It remained standing, though in ruins. The storms beat against it; the walls fell and decayed; the high waters of the creek encroached on its foundations, and in time it disappeared entirely. (36.)

Notes to Fort Machault.

(1.) The following is from the Despoition of Stephen Coffen, who was for a time a prisoner among the French in Canada. The deposition was made on the 10th of January, 1754, to Colonel, afterwards Sir William Johnson, at New York. This paper, one of the greatset historic value, is preserved among the State Archives of New York, and has been copied into our State Archives from thence. Regarding this place and its first occupancy, the deposition says:

"As soon as the Fort [at Lake Erie] was finished, they marched Southward, cutting a Waggon Road through a fine level Country twenty-one Miles to the River Aux Boeufs (leaving Captain Derponteney with an hundred Men to garri-son the Fort La Briske Isle); they fell to work cutting Timber, Boards, &c., for another Fort, while Mr. Morang ordered Monsieur Bite with Fifty Men to a Place called by the Indians Ganagarahhare,—[This is the original name of the ancient Indian village of Venango, now Franklin] on the Banks of Belle Riviere, where the River aux Boeufs empties into it; in the meantime Morang had Ninety large Boats or Battoes made to carry down the Baggage and Provisions, &c., to said Place. Monsieur Bite on coming to said Indian Place was asked what he wanted or intended. He, upon answering it was their Father the Governor of Canada's Intention to build a Trading-House for their and all their Brethren's Convenience, was told by the Indians that the Lands were their's, and that they would not have them build upon it. The said Monsieur Bite returning, met two Englishmen, Traders, with their Horses and Goods, whom they Bound and brought Prisoners to Morang, who ordered them to Canada in Irons [These are the two men spoken of in Washington's journal, named by him John Trotter and James McColclan]. The said Bite reported to Morang the Situation was good, but the Water in the River aux Boeuf too low at that time to carry down any Craft with Provisions, &c.; a few Days after the deponent says that about one hundred Indians, called by the French the Loos, [spelled by the French, Loups], came to the fort La Riviere aux Boeuf to see what the French were doing; that

Monsieur Morang treated them very kindly, and then asked them to carry down some Stores, &c., to the Belle Riviere on Horseback for Payment, which he immediately advanced them on their undertaking to do it. They set off with full loads, but never delivered them to the French, which incensed them very much, being not only a loss but a Disappointment. Morang, a man of a very peevish, choleric Disposition, meeting with those and other crosses, and finding the Season of the Year too far advanced to build the Third Fort, called all his Officers together and told them that as he had engaged and firmly promised the Governor to finish the Three Forts that Season, and not being able to fulfill the same, was both afraid and ashamed to return to Canada, being sensible he had now forfeited the Governor's Favour forever; wherefore, rather than live in Disgrace, he begged they would take him (as he then sat in a carriage made for him, being very Sick some time) and seat him in the middle of the Fort and then set Fire to it and let him perish in the flames, which was rejected by the Officers, who (the Deponent says) had not the least regard for him, as he had behaved very ill to them all in general."

(2.) John Frazer, by birth a Scotchman, had been licensed by the State authorities of Pennsylvania as an Indian trader in 1748. He removed from Venango when the French came there and located on the Monongahela river at the mouth of Turtle creek, near the present location of the Edgar Thompson Company's works, at Braddock.

(3.) "We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frazer, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio; but there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them, and treated us with the greatest complaisance." [Washington's Journal, Dec. 4th, 1753.]

This Joncaire was the younger, a son of the more celebrated Joncaire, who, according to Charlevoix, "spoke the Indian

language with the sublime eloquence of an Iroquois." [From Smith's History of New York.]

(4.) "Three hundred of which [the French-Canadians] remained to Garrison the Two Forts, Fifty at Niagara, the Rest all returned to Canada, and talked of going up again this winter, so as to be there the beginning of April. They had Two Six-Pounders and Seven Four-Pounders which they intended to have planted in the fort at Ganagarah'hare, which was to have been called the Governor's Fort, but as that was not built, they left the Guns in the Fort La Riviere aux Boeufs, where Morang commands." [Deposition of Stephen Coffen, Pa. Archives, vi, 2d series, 184]

(5.) Jean Baptiste Machault was born at Amonville, France, December 10, 1701; in 1745 was the controller of finance; in 1750 keeper of the seals; succeeded to the home department in 1750; in 1794 was imprisoned by the Revolutionary government; and died the same year at the age of ninety-three. [History of Penna., by Wm. H. Egle, M. D., p. 1123.]

(6.) Monsieur Pouchot, in his memoirs, speaks of it rather contemptuously: "At its mouth (River aux Boeuf), called in English, Venango, the French had a very poor, mean fort called Fort Machault, which is also an entrepot for that which is going down to Fort Duquesne." (1754-5?) [History of Penna., by Dr. Egle, p. 1124.]

(7.) This map was found among the papers of the late Judge Shippen, who was appointed judge of the judicial district to which Venango county belonged, in 1825, and who after his appointment took up his residence at Meadville, Crawford county. He came from Philadelphia, bringing with him a great number of papers, which were placed in the attic of his house and not opened until after his death. Some time after this event they were opened by the late J. C. C. Kennedy, when the map was brought to light after its long oblivion. Judge Shippen was the grandson of Edward Shippen, frequently mentioned in Pennsylvania Provincial affairs. The plan and dimensions of Fort Burd or Redstone Old Fort, as given in the Pa. Arch., xii, 347, were found among the papers of

Joseph Shippen, who was an engineer who accompanied Colonel Burd, and who is supposed to have planned that fort.

The circumstances that the annotations to this plan are in the English language; that the name Machault does not occur on it; that the road leading westward is marked "Road to Pittsburgh," and that the creek is named French creek, a name it never bore among the French, have given rise to various conjectures. If it is traceable through the Shippen family to the Joseph Shippen who was the engineer with Col. Burd, the explanation would appear to be that it was a copy of an authentic document, made by a professional man in the line of his profession, from a French original. It is called "Venango Fort," the common name by which it was known to the English; Pittsburgh was so called on the day after the occupancy of the point by the English, November 25th, 1758, and in early correspondence that place was called Pittsburgh more frequently than Fort Pitt; and the stream was generally known to the English as French creek from the time Washington mentions it in his journal, 1753.

The Allegheny here is called the Ohio, while the annotation, "Road to Le Boeuf" would indicate its approximate date, 1758-60.

(8.) History of Venango County, Edition 1890, p. 49.

(9.) In a memoir by Duquesne to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, 6th July, 1755, we have an early account of the advantages already resulting from the erection of this fort. Touching this subject, he has the following, which is reproduced as part of the documentary history of this fort.

"I must explain to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that much difficulty is experienced in conveying all sorts of effects as far as Fort Duquesne; for, independent of the Niagara carrying place, there is still that of Presqu' Isle, six leagues in length. The latter fort, which is on Lake Erie, serves as a depot for all the others on the Ohio; the effects are next rode to the fort on the River aux Beouf, where they are put on board pirouges to run down to Fort Machault, one-half of which is on the River au Boeuf, and serves as depot for Fort Duquesne. (a.) This new post has been in existence only since this year, be-

cause it has been remarked that too much time was consumed in going in one trip from the fort on River au Boeuf to Fort Duquesne, to the loss of a great quantity of provisions which have been spoiled by bad weather. 'Tis to be hoped that, by dispatching the convoys opportunely from Fort Machault, everything will arrive safe and sound in twice twenty-four hours; besides, it will be much more convenient at Fort Duquesne to send only to Fort Machault for supplies. [Pa. Arch., vi, 2d ser., 253. Dated, Quebec, 6th July, 1755.]

(a.) As to this dispatch wherein Machault is said to be built "one-half on the Ohio and half on the Les Boeufs," Dr. Eaton, whose account of Fort Machault, as contained in his History of Venango County, has served as the basis of all the subsequent narrations, and is in substance the foundation of the authorities cited in other histories of that county, says "there is a mistake in this matter. No French writer even speaks of more than one fort. Nor do the English. The earliest settlers came here less than thirty years after the abandonment of the country by the French, and they found not a trace of any military works on the Point. The expression, half on the Ohio and half on Les Boeufs, probably means that the fort was designed to cover both streams."

(10.) History of Venango County, Ed. 1890.

(11.) "An account of the Information of William Johnston, who has been prisoner among the Indians about 14 months, &c." [Endorsed Oct. 16, 1756. Arch., iii, 13.]

(12.) History of Venango County, 53.

(13.) "Examination of Michael Chauvignerie, Jr., a French officer, who surrendered himself near Fort Henry." [Arch., iii, 294.]

(14.) Custaloga?

(15.) Further examination of Michael La Chauvignerie, Jr. [26th Oct., 1757, Arch., iii, 305.]

(16.) From Post's Journal. [Arch., iii, 522.]

Aug. 7th.—"We arrived at Fort Venango, situated between two mountains in a Fork of the Ohio River. I prayed the

Lord to blind them as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha, that I might pass unknown; when we arrived, the Fort being on the other side of the River, we halted, and desired them to fetch us over, which they were afraid to do, but showed us a place where we might ford; we slept that night within half gun shot of the fort.

8th.—“This morning I hunted for my horse round the fort, within 10 yards of it; the Lord heard my prayer, and I passed unknown, till we had mounted our horses to go off; when two came to take leave, who were much surprised at seeing me, but said nothing. By what I could learn of Pesquecum and other Indians who were in the Fort, the whole Garrison consisted of only six men, and one officer ‘blind’ of one eye.”

Concerning this officer, there is mention in a report from Col. Mercer to Gov. Denny, dated at Pittsburgh, August 4th, 1759, whereby it appears he met his death in an attempt of the French to drive the English out of the trenches at Niagara, then invested by them. In these attempts “great numbers were killed on both sides, but most of the French officers that were on this river [the Allegheny] were killed or taken, particularly the blind Captain (called so by the Indians by his being blind in one eye), who commanded at Venango, killed, one Neverville, a great partisan, who used to go frequently with the Indians from this place against the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, killed.”

(17.) Penna. Archives, iii, 561, et seq.

(18.) Pa. Arch., iii, 625.

(19.) Colonial Records, viii, 313.

(20.) In his report to Governor Denny, of July 17th, 1759, he says: “The first intelligence of the enemy’s design we had from Presqu’ Isle the 11th; the next from the Delawares, above Venango, the 13th; both which communicated to the General. The 15th we had the following accounts from two Six Nation Indians sent to spy at Venango, who left this place the 7th. They found at Venango seven hundred French and four hundred Indians. The commanding officer told them he expected six hundred more Indians; that as soon as they arrived, he would come and drive us from this place. Next day

two hundred Indians came to Venango, and the same number the next day, and the third. They were all fitted off for the expedition by the 11th, at night; and three pieces of cannon brought from Le Boeuf, the others expected every hour, with a great many battoes loaded with provisions. In the morning of the 12th a grand council was held, in which the commander thanked the Indians for attending them, threw down the war belt and told them he set off the next day. The Indians consented, but were somewhat disconcerted by one of the Six Nations who gave them wampum, telling them to consider what they did, and not be in too great a hurry. Soon after, messengers arrived with a packet for the officer who held the council, at which he and the other officers appeared much concerned, and at length he told the Indians: 'Children, I have received bad news; the English are gone against Niagara; we must give over thoughts of going down the river till we have cleared that place of the enemy.' * * * Orders were immediately given to proceed with the artillery, provisions, &c., up French creek, which the spies saw set off, and the Indians making up their bundles to follow. They reckon there were upwards of one thousand Indians, collected from twelve different nations, at Venango." [Arch., iii, 674.]

(21.) From Western Annals. Albach, p. 157.

"And to that all the French in the Valley had contributed. M. de Aubrey, commandant at the Illinois, brought to join the enterprise four hundred men, two hundred thousand pounds of flour, from Kaskaskia to Venango. Cut off by the abandonment of Fort Duquesne, from the route of the Ohio, he proceeded with his force down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio to the Wabash, thence up that river to the portage at Fort Miami, or Fort Wayne, and carried his stores over to the Maumee, passed down that river, and along the shore of Lake Erie to Presqu' Isle, and carried again his stores over the portage to Le Boeuf; thence descended French creek to Venango."

(22.) History of Venango County, Edition 1890, p. 54.

(23.) Sir William Johnson succeeded General Prideaux, who

was killed by the bursting of a cohorn. [The Conspiracy of Pontiac, Francis Parkman, i, 125.]

(24.) On the 12th of August, 1759, Colonel Mercer writes to Governor Denny: "We have at last got rid of our neighbors at Venango, who to render their memory grateful among the Indians, made a virtue of necessity, and what they could not carry off, very liberally distributed to their friends. * * * Like true Frenchmen, they went off with a gasconade, telling the Indians, tho' they must run away at present, yet this river would be in their possession before the end of the year." [Pa. Records, viii, 394.]

(25.) History of Venango County, p. 55, et seq.

(26.) "There were found here by the first settlers several grape vines, of varieties not indigenous to this region. There was a black grape, very sweet and of a powerful aroma, that was propagated for many years; also a white variety that was fair to the eye and pleasant to the taste, and at that time a very desirable grape. But the transplanting and want of care as well as the crowding in of new varieties of native origin have taken their place, and both these species are now extinct. No doubt they were brought here by the French, and originally from France, as they could not be indigenous to Canada." [Id., 55.]

(27.) History of Venango County. *Infra*. On authority of Dr. Eaton.

(28.) The Conspiracy of Pontiac, Parkman, ii 20.

Notes to Fort Venango.

(29.) Id., (a) quoting from Johnson papers MS., Historical Collections of Pennsylvania.

(b.) After the fate of Venango was known to General Amherst, he wrote to Col. Bouquet on the 16th of July, as follows:

"My former orders for putting such of the Indians as are or have been in arms against us, and that fall in our power,

to death, remain in force; as the barbarities they have committed on the late commanding officer at Venango (Gordon, whom they roasted alive during several nights) and his unfortunate garrison fully prove that no punishment we can inflict is adequate to the crimes of those inhuman villains."

(c.) From a letter written to Rev. S. J. M. Eaton, by Mrs. M. A. Irvine of Erie, Pa., under date of January 20, 1876, when the venerable lady was over ninety-two years of age, is taken the following extract: "I must now tell you all I know about the old forts. The French fort was nearly obliterated, and where the pickets stood was grown up with blackberry bushes and grape vines. Both forts were near the bank of the Allegheny river; the British fort, a little farther up. There was a little stream running between them, which supplied the British garrison with water. They had an underground passage to it in order to be protected against the Indians, in the same way. The Indians in playing football, would roll their ball inside the enclosure, as if by accident, and were allowed to go in and get it. Having done so several times, at last, when the garrison was off its guard, they rushed in in a body and killed every soul except one woman, whom they carried to Canada. A sister of mine saw this woman afterwards at Fort Erie, and she then told her of the massacre." [Quoted in History of Venango County.]

The reader will recall the like stratagem of the Indians under Pontiac at the siege of Detroit. We have not seen this circumstance narrated as to the capture of Venango elsewhere, but it is partly corroborated in the account given to Sir William Johnson above.

Guyasutha was chief of the Senecas, and he had control of the operations, under Pontiac, in all this region during this uprising.

(30.) History of Venango County, Edition 1879, p. 65.

The location of Fort Franklin with respect to the landmarks made at that time, namely, the date of publication of the History of Venango County, edition 1890, is thus given (p. 58): "This fort was situated about forty rods above the site of Fort Machault. Elk street runs through the middle

of its site, while its northern bastion just touched Eighth street. M. W. Sage's house is in the eastern ditch, and B. W. Bredin's is on the opposite side."

(31.) History of Venango County, Edition 1890, p. 60.

(32.) Archives, xii, 113.

(33.) "Whether this fort was rebuilt and garrisoned by the English after this time is extremely doubtful. There is a gap in the history that we have not the means of filling up. The probabilities are that the country was abandoned until after the Revolutionary war, and the possession of the United States authorities." [History of Pennsylvania, by Dr. W. H. Egle, p. 1126.]

(34.) Military journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, for 3d May, 1788.

Notes to the Old Garrison.

(35.) Arrangements in the meantime were being made for the settlement of the country in a systematic and less precarious way. In the summer of 1795, General William Irvine and Andrew Ellicott, with an escort of fifty men, were sent up from Pittsburgh to protect surveyors, and at the same time lay out a town at the junction of French creek and Allegheny river. They arrived here duly, accompanied by a corps of surveyors and escorted by a company of State troops under the command of Captain John Grubb. They laid out Franklin.

(36.) History of Venango County, Edition 1890. Quoting from "Democratic Arch.," Aug. 11th, 1842, et seq.

The last vestige of it, it is said, disappeared about 1824.

BLOCKHOUSES, STATIONS AND PLACES OF DEFENSE ERECTED OR USED AFTER 1783 ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The first extract following is from "The History of the Backwoods, or, The Register of the Ohio," by A. W. Patterson, published at Pittsburgh, by the author, 1843,—a reputable work, now not in circulation.

"During the year 1790 and the year following, settlements along the Allegheny began to be vigorously commenced. In 1784, the lands on the northwestern side of the river had been surveyed; but as the channel of the stream, was still looked upon as the line between the settlements and the Indian country, but few were willing to hazard a residence beyond it for several years. And at a time when the settlements were strewed along it on either shore for more than forty miles from its mouth, scarcely a single improvement was to be found any distance from it to the northwest.

"The stream at some distance above being occupied by hostile Indians, the Senecas and Munsies, who not unfrequently came down upon the unsuspecting settlers, spreading alarm and consternation among them, rendering a residence in this part of the country precarious, and perhaps retarded the settlement much. Had it not been for the early protection given by Brodhead, and the startling victories achieved by his daring "Captain of the spies," [Brady] thus early, aweing the savages into comparative silence, there is reason to believe there would often have been just cause for alarm, which the appearance of a single savage in his canoe descending the river, long afterwards, in time of peace, was accustomed to create.

"During the Revolutionary War, Crawford's Fort and one at Kittanning, were the only ones on the stream. About 1790 a number betwixt the latter place and Fort Pitt were erected. Coe's "station," as these posts were called, stood on the opposite side of the river from Crawford's Fort, and nearly a

mile below. This latter fort, bearing the name of the lamented person who erected it some time prior to 1778, had, by this time, from a disoccupancy of it for several years, fallen into disrepair. Reed's station was the next above, which had been built about the same time with Coe's, but on being accidentally burned shortly after St. Clair's defeat, was removed a mile and half higher up the river, to the present site of the borough of Freeport, where it continued to be commanded for some time, by Captain John Craig, still a resident of that vicinity. Nicholson's and Green's were two others intermediate to Kittanning. The former at the mouth of what is called Nicholson's run, about seven miles above Freeport, and the latter six miles below Kittanning.

"It was early in the summer of 1792, the capture of Massy Harbison, the most memorable of any on the frontier, occurred.

"Upon the close of Wayne's war in 1794, that portion of Western Pennsylvania, between the Allegheny and Lake Erie, began to be settled.

"In 1796, the village of Freeport was laid off, and known for a time as Todd's town, being named after the proprietor." (Hist'y of The Back Woods, p. 297.)

These stations named, with others on the Allegheny river were garrisoned in part by the militia called out by the State, and partly by detachments of regular United States troops from the post at Pittsburgh.—(See Knox to Gov. Mifflin, Dec. 26, 1791, Arch. iv, 676, sec. ser.) The State militia were primarily intended for scouting and patrol duty. This co-operation between the State and the Federal government was deemed necessary on account of the urgency of the situation.

REED'S STATION—(Westmoreland County).

On May 22d, 1792, "a party of Indians, said to be about forty in number attacked Reed's Station, on the Allegheny river, about four miles below Kiskiminetas. They killed one man and a child, and wounded a soldier of McCully's corps,

and took a woman and some children prisoners." (Arch. iv, 720 (sec. ser.)

Hon. Wm. Findley reports to Secretary Dallas, June 1st, 1792, (Arch. iv, 725, sec. ser.), the same occurrence as follows: The Indians broke into the settlement at Reed's Station. It was garrisoned by rangers under Cooper. They had never scouted any. They had been frolicking and were surprised, in want of ammunition, and the officers were absent from the station. However, the Indians fired only a few rounds upon the blockhouse, with which they killed one man and wounded another, and went away without any exertions made by the rangers. They then killed and took Harbison's family, in site of the station. Harbison was one of the spies.

Mrs. Harbison, known as Massy Harbison, made her escape from her captors after having been carried some distance into the wilderness, and her Narrative, set down circumstantially and supported by her affidavit, is one of the most remarkable in frontier annals. The unaffected simplicity of the style, the maternal devotion of the mother carrying her babe with her through the storm in her flight from the savages, the anguish and hunger and suffering which she endured, her providential rescue, the collapse of her physical nature and mental faculties, and her gradual restoration to health, form the subject matter of one of the most attractive chapters in the history of the border.

The site of the first blockhouse which was the nucleus of the station is located by Mr. David Reed, Sr., a descendant of John Reed on whose land the station was originally, on land now owned by Capt. Wm. F. Aull. The last of the blockhouse was washed into the river Allegheny in 1840. A run which flows into the river at a point where the blockhouse stood is now known as Dimit run. After the burning of the blockhouse, as narrated above by Patterson, the one erected at (now) Freeport took its place. Its name is associated with Reed's station, being in close proximity. The location of the later structure is given thus in Mr. Walter Smith's History of Armstrong county. It is in Freeport township.

**BLOCKHOUSE AT FREEPORT OR BUFFALO CREEK—
(Armstrong County).**

Sometime prior to the establishment of permanent peace by Wayne's victory over and treaty with the Indians, a blockhouse was erected on the Allegheny, about a hundred and twenty rods above the mouth of the Buffalo, which is now on Water, below Fifth street, Freeport. Its commandant was Captain John Craig, whose command consisted of forty or fifty men, most of whom were inexperienced soldiers.

During 1791-92 blockhouses and stations were erected near the Ohio, covering that river, at various points in the Pan Handle, for the protection of the Washington county region.

Col. Charles Campbell, from Black Lick Feb. 27th (1793), wrote to Gov. Mifflin that although there had not been any damage done for some time, the people on the frontiers of his county were apprehensive that they would receive a stroke from the Indians in the spring, as the winter had been very clear and open of snow. In the same letter he stated that there were then about thirty of the continental [State] soldiers stationed "at the Cattannian" and at Coe's station. The latter was on the west side of the Allegheny river, about a mile below a point opposite Fort Crawford, or the mouth of Pocotas. The former must have been Green's, as it was called "the Kittanning" for several miles along the river above Crooked creek. Kittanning was pronounced and spelled variously in those times by those who knew not its correct orthography and orthoepy. That station became and was called a fort—Fort Green—on being occupied by the State troops." (Smith's His. Armstrong Co., p. 332.)

FORT GREEN—(Armstrong County).

"Among the first, if not the very first, white settlers on the southern part of the Manor [Armstrong county] were Wm. Green and his sons James, John and Samuel, who emigrated from Fayette county, in the spring of 1787, and took up their

abode above the mouth of Crooked creek on what is now the site of Rosston.

"The Indians were numerous and had camps on both sides of the Allegheny river, (now Manor township near Kittanning). From 1787, until 1791, they were not troublesome. They had their war-dances where Rosston now is, and occasionally vied with the white settlers in running foot-races.

"Soon after the Indians became troublesome and dangerous, Col. Charles Campbell wrote to William Green to remain there ten days longer, and assured him that he would send thither some soldiers. Mrs. Green and the children for safety occupied the fodder house at night, which consisted of a ridge-pole, placed upon two forked stakes which were sunk into the ground, with poles about four feet apart, slanting therefrom in opposite direction to the ground, on which smaller ones were fastened transversely. Bundles of topped corn were placed on the outside, and calves, husk and pumpkins were deposited within. In ten or twelve days thereafter, a body of soldiers arrived and built a log fort about the size of a common blockhouse, and a number of huts around it for soldiers' dormitories, about thirty-five rods above the mouth of Crooked creek, or what is now (1883) the Highley lot, or lot No. 22, eight or ten rods below the street extending from the railroad past Christy's store to the river. It was called Fort Green, at least it is so named on the Historical Map of this State. There were different commandants, one of whom was Capt. Sparks, who is the only one whose name the writer's informant, Samuel Green, of North Buffalo township, a grandson of William Green, remembers to have heard mentioned in connection with the foregoing and following facts respecting these pioneer settlers, and that fort. Both drafted and enlisted men were stationed there. The number of scouts usually sent out together was twelve or fourteen, and the number of spys two. Among the events that occurred, while that fort was thus occupied, and which Samuel Green remembers to have heard related, is this: Capt. Sparks and William Green discovered, one day, an Indian under a large sugar tree on the opposite side of the river. Having crossed to Bushy island,

afterward called "Cast-off," they shot at him. But the scouts who were sent over to ascertain whether he had been killed could not discover any trace of him. They supposed, from the appearance of the trail that there were about thirty Indians on the top of the hills further back from the river." (Smith's *His. Armstrong Co.*, p. 328.)

The circular letter of Gov. Mifflin, Jan. 20th, 1792, to the lieutenants of Allegheny, Fayette, Washington and Westmoreland counties, advised them, among other things, that three companies which had been authorized by him, pursuant to an act of the Assembly, when filled, should be stationed thus: The first one at the southwest corner of Washington, now Greene county, and range thence to the Ohio; the second at the mouth of Great Beaver, and range thence by the heads of Pine creek to Fort Crawford; the third one at the Kittanning, and range thence up and down the Allegheny river.

Such was the exposure of the white settlers to hostile attacks from the Indians along the Allegheny and Ohio river, from above Kittanning to Yellow creek, when the site of Fort Green was selected as one of those "fixed posts," whither it is probable "Ensign Murphy marched, on Thursday, 29th March (1792), with twenty-eight men of Capt. Guthrie's company, completely armed, to join some who had been sent out before to cover the frontiers of Westmoreland County," as Major McCulley wrote from Greensburgh on the 31st, adding that he was then on his way to those frontiers, and that he should order Capt. Guthrie out with the rest of his company with all possible haste. * * * The latter probably remained at Fort Green several weeks, and then the principal portion of it was stationed several miles below; for Col. Charles Campbell, from Black Lick, his residence in what is now Indiana county, May 28th, [1792] wrote to Gov. Mifflin, that on the 22d the Indians attacked Lieut. William Cooper's Station, near the mouth of the Kiskiminetas [Reed's], and killed one man and wounded another, and that Maj. McCulley had taken all his men away from Green's and Reed's stations except a few to keep up Green's. He suggested that as Smith's and Guthrie's companies were to be stationed at the mouth of the Puckety—

Fort Crawford—he would have to give up the settlements near these stations, or, as requested by McCulley send the militia thither. He insisted that both of these stations should be supplied or manned by continental troops, as it was distressing to call on the militia of the one county to guard so extensive a frontier, to stand as a barrier to the interior, but that, if a sufficient number of men were not kept out, those settlements would break up, as they could not support themselves without raising some crops. In a postscript he stated that he had just received a dispatch by an express, that one hundred Indians had crossed the Allegheny river, and fifty others had been seen the day before in the inhabited parts, and one man had been killed. William Findley, June 1st, 1792, to Secretary Dallas, after relating the attack at Reed's Station (see Reed's Station) stated that the alarm caused by it spread rapidly. The Indians heralded their approach by burning some of the houses which they first reached. There were only about forty of them, but they created so great a panic that the people fled before them. They went out in squads of from five to seven, keeping nearly the course of the Kiskiminetas. They did not seem to be so anxious to kill as to plunder. Their eager desire to capture horses seemed to divert their attention from shedding blood."

"William Green and his sons removed, prior to 1804 to the west side of the river, and Judge Ross became thereafter the first permanent white settler in this southwestern portion of the Manor, probably in 1807. In the course of a few years he built the stone house now (1883) owned and occupied by his son, Washington Ross, which was the first one of that material erected in this region, and probably one of the first within the present limits of that part of this county which is on the east side of the Allegheny river, except the one in Kittinganng borough."

Lot No. 22 in the village of Rosston, Manor township "a town or village on the Ross tract, extending from the mouth of Crooked creek up along the left bank of the Allegheny river, on its west side, and the Allegheny Valley railroad on its east side—is said to be the site of Fort Green. It was

surveyed and laid out into thirty lots for Washington Ross, hence its name—Sept. 18, 1854. Lot No. 22 was conveyed to Emanuel Heighley. [Smith's Hist. Armstrong Co., p. 340, et seq.]

CLARKS'S BLOCKHOUSE—(Armstrong County).

The Historical Map of Pennsylvania indicates that there was an Indian town about a mile and thirty rods above Crooked creek, on or very near the Indiana county line, in the southeastern part of the township, (Plum Creek township, Armstrong county).

Permanent settlements by the whites were made in the eastern and southeastern portions of Plum Creek township, as originally formed, before and when it was a part of Armstrong township—earlier than in any other part of this county. The reason why it was not first settled is not stated. The streams, the water-power, and the considerable scope of productive and comparatively level land in that section may have been more attractive to pioneers than the more broken and rugged lands in other sections.

"The early settlers were subject to the attacks of the Indians. A blockhouse was built on the land then owned by William Clark, but which is now (1883) owned by S. E. Jones. There was another house with port holes—not built, perhaps, expressly for a blockhouse, but used as a place of refuge and defense from those attacks—on the road now leading from Elderton to the old Crooked creek salt-works, on the farm heretofore known as the Down's farm. It was attacked one morning by the Indians. George Miller and James Kirkpatrick were then in charge of it, the Indians fired upon them, killed a child in the cradle and wounded an adult person in the building. The women made bullets while the men were defending them and their children. One Indian, while putting a charge of powder in his gun, was shot through the hand and body and was killed, and some of the other Indians were wounded. George Miller escaped from the rear of the build-

ing, mounted a horse and started for Clark's blockhouse. In his absence the Indians fled, carrying with them the dead and wounded. Two children, John Sloan and his sister Nancy, were captured about the time of that affair on the farm near the present Lutheran and Reformed church, formerly in Plum Creek, but now in South Bend township and about sixty rods northwest from the present residence of William Heintzelman. They were working in the cornfield at the time. Having been retained by the Indians several years, they were exchanged near Cincinnati or Sandusky, Ohio. They returned home the same year that Samuel Sloan, still living [1883], was born. Their relatives and some other settlers soon after their capture followed the trail of the Indians to the point where they crossed the Allegheny river above Kittanning. The writer's informant, Ex-Sheriff Joseph Clark, also said he had seen bullet holes in the door of the above mentioned house on the Downs' farm, and that his aunt, Mrs. Joseph Clark, had told him that she used to stand with rifle in hand, and guard her husband while at work on the farm now occupied by William T. Clark in Plum Creek township. * * * * George Miller was the earliest white settler in this township. He located where the Kittanning and Indiana turnpike crosses Plum Creek, in 1766." [Smith's History, p. 201.]

For mention of the attack on the house of James Kirkpatrick, see Archives iv, 660, sec. ser., and page 664 same volume.

CLAYPOOLE'S BLOCKHOUSE—(Armstrong County).

"A blockhouse called the Claypoole blockhouse was built by James Claypoole about eighty rods below Fort run, near the river bank. It is not known just when it was built. It must have been between 1790 and 1796. His wife, Lavinia Claypoole, died in the last-mentioned year, and was buried but a few rods from the grave of the three men killed by the Indians as hereinafter stated. Peter Ehringer, with the ax-end of his mattock, cut her name and the year of her death on the

headstone of her grave, which some persons still living remember to have seen. That blockhouse was one of the places of refuge for the settlers and their families from the attacks of the Indians. * * * As soon as it was safe to live out of the blockhouse, his son George built a log-house between it and the hill where D. S. Herrold now resides (1883.)

"George Cook, who was born about 1764, was a soldier, a scout, and resided in the Manor (Manor township) from either his boyhood or his early manhood until he was nearly four score, used to narrate to his neighbors, among whom was William McKellog, of "Glentworth Park," from whom the writer obtained a statement of these tragical facts: While Cook was a member of a scouting party who occupied a fort or blockhouse near Fort Run, so called from Fort Armstrong, some Indians made a small cord from the inner bark of a linden tree, with which they anchored a duck in a hole or pool in that run, formed by the action of the water about the roots of a sugar maple tree on its brink. Three of the scouting party, while out on a tour of duty, noticed the duck which must have appeared to them to be floating on the water. They set their guns up against a buttonwood tree, which, with the sugar maple tree, was cut down after that land came into the possession of Richard Bailey. While they were stooping to catch the duck, as it was presumed they did, they were shot by Indians, probably three, because three reports of gun shots were heard. They fell dead into the run, whose water was colored with their blood. Hence that stream also bears the name of Bloody run. The bodies of those three men were buried on a knoll opposite where they were shot, eight or ten rods higher up the river. The Indians were probably concealed among the weeds, which were then quite rank and abundant. Several of the men who were in the fort or blockhouse, on hearing the gun shots, came out, saw what had occurred, and discovered the Indians' trail, which, on that or the next day, they followed to the mouth of Pine creek, and were about to give up the pursuit, when, looking up the hill, they saw a smoke on its face. After dark, they crossed the mouth of the creek, and ascertained the exact position in which the Indians were. The next morning they crawled as carefully and

quickly as possible through the weeds and willows, until they thought they were within sure gunshot of the murderers of their comrades. They saw one of them mending his moccasin. The other two were, they thought, cooking meat for breakfast. They shot and killed two of the Indians, and captured the other. Having brought him past the mouth of that creek, on their return, and having reached "an open grove," they told him that they would give him a start of some distance ahead of them, and if he would beat them in running a race he should be released. He accepted the offer, started, but was overtaken, fatally shot, and his body was left where he fell." (Smith's His. Armstrong Co., p. 325.)

BLOCKHOUSE AT BULL CREEK—(Allegheny County).

In the biographical sketch of Captain Robert Orr, of Armstrong county, which was published in the Kittanning Gazette for Sept., 1833, it is stated that Captain Orr, on returning from his captivity at Montreal whither he had been sent for exchange after his capture, with others taken at the massacre of Lochry's party in 1781 (he), in the summer of 1783, raised another company for the defense of the frontier, to serve two months; and that "he marched them to the mouth of Bull creek, northwest of the Allegheny river, built a blockhouse there, and served out the necessary term."—(Quoted in Day's Historical Coll., page 98.)

This point is now Tarentum, Allegheny county. * * * There is some evidence to indicate that this was a place of some importance sometime earlier, although there is nothing to indicate that there was a blockhouse here for a rendezvous. It is probable that this was the place meant in the order which Col. Brodhead gave to Lieut. John Jamison, Nov. 27, 1779, directing him to evacuate Fort Armstrong (Kittanning), in which he says, after considering that he might not be able to transport all the store by water, "if not you must have recourse to pack horses, which you can receive from Capt. Carnahan, who is now with a party at Bulls town or the mouth of Kiskiminetas." (Brodhead's Letter Book No. 101, Arch xii, 193.)

INDIANA COUNTY.

The data for the blockhouses here mentioned within the limits of what is now Indiana county are to be found in the History of Indiana county, published by J. A. Caldwell, Newark, Ohio, 1880. The compilers of this work incorporated into it a great deal of material prepared and previously published by gentlemen of information and accurate knowledge. Of these were Richard B. McCabe, Esq., and Jonathan Row, Esq., both long since deceased. Much of the matter, however, is of a biographical character. This part has been discriminated carefully for the extracts here given, and nothing has been here inserted without having been inquired into and as far as possible corroborated by additional circumstances or plausible considerations.

McCONAUGHY'S FORT—(Indiana County).

In a biographical sketch of James Simpson of Centre township, Indiana county, published in the History of Indiana County referred to, it is said that he "came to this country from Scotland, locating first at what was called the 'Old Scotch Fort,' or Ligonier, near Laurel Hill in Westmoreland county. He suffered all the trials of frontier life in the Indian war and the Revolutionary war, and with his brother Andrew and the brothers White, served for several years as scouts. His wife was Hannah White, and he and the Whites removed at an early date to the vicinity of Blairsville (now), and built a blockhouse and stockade. They remained there several years. Andrew was killed by the Indians near the mouth of Black Lick creek while going to warn a settlement below of danger. John White was with him, but escaped with a broken arm. Shortly after this they removed to Cherry run, on Two Lick creek, just below the mouth of the run. They erected a blockhouse on a bluff on the bank of Two Lick creek, which was called the "Old McConaughy Fort."

ALLISON'S FORT—(Indiana County).

"James Mitchell located in 1788 on Black Lick, on the tract of land at present (1880) owned by his two sons William and James Mitchell, where he died in September, 1832. He began a clearing and put up a cabin house and barn, and after living alone two years got married and subsequently erected the buildings which are still standing. He often served as a scout during the border troubles, and in the spring of 1791, went with his family to "Allison's Fort," at [now] Homer. After the alarm had subsided, he returned to his farm, and was not afterward molested by the Indians." [History of Indiana Co., p. 452.]

The Allison Fort above referred to was probably the cabin of Andrew Allison, who, after serving in the Revolution, came into the Derry region in Westmoreland county, in 1785, where he made a settlement; but in 1788 he sold out his improvement, crossed the Conemaugh, and settled on the bank of the Two Lick, opposite the present village of Homer. Here he built a cabin and cleared some ground. In 1790, his father came from Cumberland county, and took charge of his improvements and Andrew penetrated farther into the forest and opened up to the farm now owned by Archibald Nichol, three miles east of the borough of Indiana. Here he remained until 1792, in which year owing to Indian depredations, he was obliged to flee with his family to Moorhead's Fort [house], on the farm now owned by Isaac Moorhead. He then returned to his father's on Two Lick, where another fort was being erected; there he remained till sometime in 1793, when he removed to the Forks of Two Lick and Yellow creek on an improvement already made by another person. [From sketch of the Allisons, in Hist. of Indiana Co., p. 455.]

PEELOR'S BLOCKHOUSE—(Indiana County).

"David Peelor, from Berks county, Pa., located on what is now (1880) the Joseph McCoy property, Armstrong township, Indiana county, in 1790. He was killed by the Indians while

working a short distance from the blockhouse on the McElhose farm, Armstrong township. The families were in the blockhouse, owing to the troublesome times of the Indian war then in progress. The blockhouse was situated eighty rods northeast of the house. This is on Curry [Cherry?] run, and the residence referred to is the residence of John B. Peelor." [Hist. of Indiana County, page 430.]

ELDER'S BLOCKHOUSE—(Indiana County).

"Robert Elder who came with his family—his children having reached maturity—made his first settlement on what is called Elder's ridge, in Young township (Indiana county), in 1786. They lived in a simple manner in a temporarily constructed shelter until they were able to erect a house of hewn logs, which was built in a very short time on the ground now (1880) used as a garden, beside Prof. S. J. Craighead's house. This building was used as a blockhouse." [Hist. Ind. Co.]

THOMPSON'S BLOCKHOUSE—(Indiana County).

"The blockhouse on the John Thompson (now David K. Thompson) farm in Rayne township, Indiana county, [about six miles northeast of Indiana borough] was erected in 1790, and torn away in 1807. The names as far as known, of those engaged in its construction were, Jacob Hess, Henry and Jacob Shallenberger, Ezekiel and Elisha Chambers, James McKee, John Stuchell, Timothy O'Neil, Shoenberger, and a few others. The building was originally about eighty feet long, thirty feet wide, and two stories in height, and small round logs were used in its construction. It had two ranges of port-holes; the brush and lumber were cut off, and it was surrounded by a stockade made of sharpened poles driven in the ground, and about ten feet in height. The building was

nearly a ruin when John Thompson came to it in 1801. He removed the stockade, and used a part of the house to repair the remaining portion. We cannot learn that this blockhouse was ever attacked." From notes furnished by Joseph Thompson, a descendant of John Thompson. [Hist. Indiana Co., p. 524.]

MCCARTNEY'S BLOCKHOUSE—(Indiana County).

"Joseph McCartney, a surveyor and school teacher, a native of Ireland, settled on the tract of which the Benson Hill farm in Buflington township, is a part, sometime previous to the Revolution, and was driven away by the Indians. He did not return until about the closing year of that struggle. He and his neighbors erected a blockhouse on this place, its situation being near the site of the old residence." [Hist. Indiana County, page 540.]

MEAD'S BLOCKHOUSE—(Meadville, Crawford County).

By act of Legislature, April 18, 1793, the Governor was directed to cause 1,600 acres of land to be surveyed and laid out into town lots at Presqu' Isle (Erie). In March, 1794, Capt. Denny was directed by Gov. Mifflin to provide and command troops to aid in carrying into effect the act. At the same time Mr. Andrew Ellicott and General William Irvine were appointed Commissioners to lay out a road from Reading, Pa., to the lake shore and lay out the town of Presqu' Isle. On June 29, 1794, Mr. Andrew Ellicott made a report of a conference which he had held on the 26th—with Captain Denny as his colleague—with the representatives of the Six Nations, at Le Boeuf; and in this report he advised the erection of three blockhouses "on the Venango path," one of which should be at Mead's settlement (Meadville), and the other two at Le Boeuf and Presqu' Isle. In a letter from Mr. Ellicott from Le Boeuf to Gov. Mifflin, July 4th, 1794, he says: "The detachment of

State troops yesterday moved into the new fort at this place," (Le Boeuf).

The blockhouse at Meadville was one of the three advised by Andrew Ellicott, and was built in the summer of 1794, on what is now the northeast corner of Water street and Steer's alley. It was built of hewn timber, square in form with the upper story projecting over the lower some three or four feet as was common in the blockhouse construction of that period. It was never garrisoned by troops, as the victory of General Wayne over the Indians in August of that year freed this part of the border from danger of Indian attack, and the rapid increase of settlement gave full protection to this portion of the State. This Mead settlement took its name from the family of Meads who were among the first whites to occupy that portion of the country.

The quotation which follows is from the Hon. William Reynold's contribution to the Centennial History of Crawford county:

"In the twilight of the evening of May 12, 1788, a party of ten men built their camp fire beneath a wild cherry on the bank of French creek, near the present site of the Mercer street bridge, in the town of Meadville. They were the first settlers in Crawford county—Cornelius Van Horne and Christopher Snyder, from New Jersey; David Mead and his brothers—Darius, John and Joseph—John Watson, Thomas Martin, James F. Randolph and Thomas Grant, from Sunbury, Northumberland county. On the next day these pioneers built a cabin on the deserted corn fields of the Indians on the bottom, between the Cussewago and French creek, and commenced their first planting. Grant selected the present site of Meadville, but abandoned the settlement the same summer, when David Mead took possession and built a double log house on the bluff banks of French creek, where is now the residence of James F. McFarland, Esq. This house was built with a view of defense against Indian attacks, and was surrounded with a stockade and protected by a small, square log blockhouse on the northwest corner.

During 1789 the little colony known as "Mead's settlement" was reinforced by the arrival of the family of Darius Mead,

Frederick Baum, and Robert Fitz Randolph and their families, Frederick Haymaker, William Gregg, Samuel Lord and John Wentworth. On April 1st, 1791, the settlers were warned by Flying Cloud—a son of the Chief Connedaghta—of threatened danger from the hostile western tribes, and on the same day eleven strange Indians were seen a few miles northwest of the settlement. The women and children of the colony were gathered within the Mead house and cellar and on the next day sent in canoes to Fort Franklin. The Indian chief, Half Town—who was a half-brother to Cornplanter—was encamped here at the time with twenty-seven of his “braves.” Twelve of these he sent to guard the canoes, six on each side of the creek, and with his remaining warriors he joined the settlers in a fruitless search for the hostiles seen by Gregg. On the following day all the men departed for Franklin with their horses, cattle and moveable effects.

On May 3d, Cornelius Van Horne, William Gregg and Thomas Ray returned to plant the spring crops. Stopping for the night at Gregg’s cabin, they shelled a bag of corn, part of which they ground the next morning at the Mead house. Arriving at the corn field, Van Horne laid his gun on the bag of seed corn and ploughed while Gregg and Ray planted. At noon Gregg and Ray returned to the Mead house for dinner and fresh horses. While ploughing, Van Horne saw two Indians emerge from the woods. The one dropping his bow and the other his gun, they rushed to the attack with their tomahawks. Van Horne grasped the uplifted arm of the first savage and entered on a struggle for life. By his superior strength and agility he shielded himself from the attack of his more formidable foe with the body of his weaker antagonist, calling loudly for help. After a time the Indians promised his life on condition of surrender. Mounting the horses, Van Horne between them, they crossed the Cussewago, and entering a ravine on the hillside they met two other Indians. They tied the arms of their prisoner and three returned to the corn field. Van Horne and the Indian rode the horses to Conneaut Lake and crossed the outlet. Here they dismounted and Van Horne was tied by the ends of the rope

which secured his arms to a tree while his captors left in search of game. With a knife he had secreted he succeeded in cutting the rope and made his escape to the settlement where by good fortune he found thirty soldiers under Ensign Jeffers, on their return from Erie to Fort Franklin.

"Gregg and Ray returning with the horses discovered the three Indians and fled, crossing the Cussewago near its mouth. Gregg, after reaching the opposite bank, was wounded, and seating himself on a log he was shot by his pursuers through the head with his own gun. Ray was captured and carried to Detroit, then occupied by a British garrison. Here he was recognized by an old school-fellow of his boyhood in Scotland, Captain White, who purchased him from his captors for two gallons of whiskey, furnished him money and sent him on a vessel to Buffalo, from whence he was piloted to Franklin by Stripe Neck—an old Mohawk chief, who lived after the early settlement on the west side of French creek near the site of the present tannery in Kerrtown. Ray made his settlement and ended his days in the northwest corner of Mead township.

"In the summer of the same year Darius Mead, the father of David and John, was captured near Franklin. His body was found side by side with that of one of his captors, Captain Bull, a Delaware chief. The duel had been to the death and they were buried side by side where found, near the Shenango creek in Mercer county.

"The exposure of the frontiers by the defeats of General Harmar (October, 1790) and General St. Clair (November, 1791) necessitated the abandonment of the settlements on French creek during the greater part of 1791 and 1792. During the winter of these years Mead's house was garrisoned by a detachment of fifteen men from Fort Franklin. The command of the army in 1793 by General Wayne encouraged the return of the settlers, who were for a time protected by a garrison of twenty-four soldiers under Ensign Lewis Bond. This company having been withdrawn by General Wayne, and the settlers being again warned by Flying Cloud, the greater number returned to Franklin.

"Restored confidence in 1794 added many new colonists, and

substantial improvements commenced. Law was in some degree enforced and a small company of militia was enrolled under the command of Mr. Van Horne as Ensign. Alarms, were, however, not infrequent, and many times the Mead house and cellar gave refuge to women and children from apprehended danger. On August 10, 179^a, James Dickson was wounded from an ambush of three Indians, near the intersection of Spring street and the Terrace (Meadville). For the better protection of the increasing settlement a blockhouse was built in the autumn of 1794."

The blockhouse alluded to was the one first referred to in the beginning of this article. An interesting fact is treasured in that locality connected with the old blockhouse. The first school in that section was opened by Jennette Finney (afterwards wife of David Mead) in 1795, in a log house on North Market street. The blockhouse, no longer needed for defense, was soon by David Mead made suitable for school purposes, and in it was opened a school in the winter of 1798-99. This, according to the Hon. William Reynolds of Meadville, was the first school house in that part of the State north of Franklin.

Note.—I am indebted to the Hon. William Reynolds for the above extracts on the early history of this settlement, and also for other statements made in connection with the Presqu' Isle settlement, on which subjects he is a judicious and a recognized authority.



APPENDIXES.

Appendix No. 1.

SITE OF FORT GRANVILLE.

Destroyed by French and Indians, August 1, 1756.

PREAMBLE.

Inasmuch as the Commission appointed to locate the sites of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania at the conclusion of its labors issued a Report in two volumes in conformity with "An Act authorizing the Governor of this Commonwealth to appoint five persons to make inquiry and examine into and make report to the next session of this legislature, at its next regular session, the advisability of erecting suitable tablets, marking the various forts erected as a defense against the Indians by the early settlers of this Commonwealth prior to the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three," said Act approved by Governor Robert E. Pattison May 23, 1883;

And whereas in said report, published in 1896, in Vol. 1, page 605, the following reference to Fort Granville, erected in 1755 and '56 on territory now in Mifflin county, Pa., was made, namely:

"This Fort was erected on the site about one mile west of where the borough of Lewistown now is, immediately on the north side of the Juniata river and westward from where the Kishacoquillas creek empties its waters into the Juniata, about the distance of one mile. The date of its erection was shortly after Braddock's defeat in the autumn of 1755. It was about a mile west of the present Lewistown, Mifflin county, on the north bank of the Juniata. There was a spring in the en-

closure of the Fort, which was destroyed in the making of the canal; no remains at present are to be seen of the Fort. The land upon which this Fort had been located was owned by James Turner, which subsequently became vested in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the use of the Pennsylvania canal. The digging of this canal almost obliterated the site as well as the spring, so that the nearest statement we have of its actual location is that it is one mile above the town of Lewistown or "Old Town" as it had been called in Provincial times—which was based on the best information then in possession of the Commission—

Therefore, the following named citizens of Lewistown, Mifflin county, Pa., associated together in the interest of local history would call attention to the Statement which follows, prepared by two of our number, appointed by us for the purpose, namely:

George R. Frysinger.

Charles A. Zerbe.

George F. Stackpole.

James M. Yeager.

E. W. H. Cogley.

Alvin B. Parker.

Ben. F. Ruble.

Emerson Potter.

B. F. Sheibley.

W. Forrest Burlew.

STATEMENT.

In view of the several reputed sites pointed out by old inhabitants at different times during the past hundred years as the ground on which Fort Granville stood, which varied statements, each of which has advocates, are confusing in character and therefore only serve to veil the site of said Fort in uncertainty, leading away from rather than toward identification of its true location, a number of citizens of Mifflin county and other parts of Pennsylvania, most of whose names are attached to this Statement, constituting themselves "The Committee of Historical Research in Mifflin county, Pa.," have by a united and prolonged effort reached the results as hereinafter given in detail, namely:

First—The Ground Examined.

We have made a careful examination of the ground along the Juniata river for a distance of more than a mile westward from Lewistown to discover if possible any traces of said Fort that might remain, which effort was without result, as might be expected, inasmuch as the Fort was a stockade and block-house defence built of logs and planks and therefore easily destroyed by fire; all historical statements, some of them by sworn witnesses, coincide that the destruction of the Fort was complete, and as it occurred almost 160 years before our Statement is written it is not to be wondered at that confusion has existed in the minds of those who from hearsay only have located the spot some here, others there, but invariably at one or other of the four springs between Lewistown and the deep ravine on the farm now owned by Mr. Sylvester Brought, and his ancestors before him, which by the river is about a mile west from the mouth of the Kishacoquillas creek.

As to these springs taken as a basis for the belief that each of them mark the site of the Fort, the one in the Brought ravine was situate nearer the river than any of the others of them and also answers nearest to "about a mile from the mouth of Kishacoquillas creek" by a straight course from its mouth as a starting point.

As to the others, we first consider the contention of one of the oldest inhabitants of Lewistown when living that "picnic parties were held at Fort Granville Spring" meaning the spring nearest the town of those mentioned, located on what was known as the "McCulloch place" before it became the property of Samuel L. Hanawalt, the present owner but which is only about half a mile from the mouth of Kishacoquillas creek and is not located near enough to the bed of the canal to have been destroyed by the making of that waterway. These two points weaken its claim as the true site of the Fort in our opinion.

The second spring as we proceed westward, a large one located on what was known as the "Wilson place" and later as the "Turner farm," given in some local histories and Frontier Forts as the Fort site, is three-fourths of a mile from the mouth of the creek and is distant several hundred yards

from the canal bed. The claim that this spring marked the site of the Fort has been a long and persistent one. Two springs on this farm, the smaller one in a field a short distance west of the larger one, have been pointed out by a few of the old inhabitants long since deceased as the site of the Fort.

Passing over the three claims just mentioned as needing more than traditional evidence to support them your Committee centered their efforts on the Brought ravine as having more points in its favor as the site of Fort Granville than any of the others, and we give below the result of our repeated investigations:

1. In distance, it comes nearest the authenticated statement that Fort Granville was erected "immediately on the north side of the Juniata river and westward from where the Kishacoquillas creek empties its waters into the Juniata about the distance of one mile." (See *Frontier Forts*, Vol. 1, page 605.)

2. The Brought ravine exceeded by a number of feet the depth of the other ravines, all nearer to the town than one mile, and its high bank commands a view up and down the river, while a perpendicular rocky declivity just across the ravine and facing the stream, preventing direct approach to the Fort, shows it to be a strategic selection for a site and may furnish a plausible reason for Captain George Croghan departing from his official orders to erect three stockades "one upon Kishacoquillas," which he built a mile farther up the river than the mouth of the creek. The fact of the Indian village being located at the mouth of the creek may also have influenced Captain Croghan in selecting the site a mile from the point he was ordered to erect this Fort.

3. For a great number of years a stone pillar, containing no indicating marks on its smooth polished surface, occupied a place in the lower part of the Brought ravine, which ancestral tradition with no variation in a century or more explained as marking the scene of the battle of Fort Granville. This stone marker is treated at greater length farther on in this paper under the head "Other Than Documentary Evidence."

4. Furthermore, there is a tradition which we cannot find to be verified in any official document or newspaper publication of the time but kept alive by local historians largely copyists,

that the canal survey made in 1829 or 1830 just west of Lewistown cut through the site of Fort Granville and its spring, almost obliterating both. Upon thorough examination of the ground at the river end of the ravine on the Brought farm, including measurements made we find there is a spring—rather the remains of one—bubbling up from the bed of the old canal, which spring is crossed by the main pipe of the Lewistown Water Company in constructing its line from Minehart's Run some years ago. The location of this spring in the canal seems a partial verification of the tradition given above, and the fact that this is the spring nearest the reputed Fort site in the Brought ravine and also nearer the river than any of the other springs mentioned, makes the traditionary claim still more valid.

5. James Milliken, whose residence in Lewistown and Mifflin county extended from 1810 to 1837, was much interested in local history and made memoranda from authentic sources and statements of old settlers pertaining to the history of this region. Among his papers, left in possession of his brother, Joseph Milliken, at his death, is the following about the taking of Fort Granville: "There was a current rumor, probably well founded, that the French and Indians buried a brass field piece after the surrender of Fort Granville, which Fort was situated on the river bank about a mile above Lewistown but if so, the field piece has not yet been unearthed." Basing their belief on the correctness of this "rumor," as it is called in Mr. Milliken's notes, the boys of the Brought family at various times during the past fifty or sixty years have dug into the high bank of this ravine at several places opposite to where the stone pillar mentioned in this Statement stood in efforts to recover this piece of artillery, which must have been used inside the Fort by its defenders. The guns used in these frontier defences were small pieces but could only be transported through the frontier forests with difficulty. A gentleman in Altoona, Pa., is in possession of one known to be 156 years old, which weighs only 29 pounds. It is described as being originally a flint lock and afterwards changed to a percussion cap rifle. It is said to have seen much active service when the Indians held full sway in this State and was used

by the early pioneers in the protection of the blockhouses along the Susquehanna river. It was considered at that time to be a masterpiece in fire arms, every part being hand forged.

Second—Documentary Evidence.

With full knowledge that too much dependence must not be placed upon merely conjectural or inferential data, such as that given above, we continued our quest along more certain lines, that of documentary evidence. In this we were greatly aided by—

(a) Mr. John W. Jordan, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by whose courtesy we were furnished a copy of an old map in possession of that society upon which is marked Fort Granville, the course of the river, the path leading across the mountains to Carlisle, the site of the present Lewistown, seat of justice of Mifflin county, but known at the time the Fort was erected as "Old Town" on Juniata and in old deeds, powers of attorney given for the sale of lots in said county seat and other documents designated as "Kishacoquillas Old Town." In answer to inquiries as to the authenticity of this map Mr. Jordan writes: "I would say that the map that we have of Fort Granville is evidently the work of a local draftsman and is endorsed Fort Granville and the vicinity of Carlisle. I do not believe that it was prepared for the Province but for local uses. The correctness of the draft must be determined, and so far as I am concerned I would accept no draft because it is a contemporary production, and there should be very little variation in location through a crude map. There is no scale of feet or miles, only the points of the compass are indicated." This map traces by a dotted line the path direct from Fort Granville to Carlisle, and this line leads by a straight course from the mouth of Granville Run to the Fort, which takes said path through the river near to the Brought ravine, supporting all but direct evidence in favor of the Brought ravine as the true location of the Fort. Thus the local draftsman sought to point out locations in a general way as a guide to travelers desiring to reach Carlisle, the county seat of Cumberland county of which present Mifflin county territory was then a part, or for those who wished to reach the Fort for pro-

tection in case of Indian raids. Taking this map as a guide the Fort would be located about the distance of one mile from the mouth of Kishacoquillas creek, also marked on the map.

(b) By painstaking examinations made by Mr. George F. Ross, Search Clerk in the Department of Internal Affairs at Harrisburg, who furnished drawings of original tracts on both sides of the Juniata river above Lewistown, including the land on which Fort Granville was built by order of the Provincial Assembly, we have been furnished from original documents, warrants, surveys, etc., data which contain valuable and almost conclusive information in determining the true site of the Fort as will readily be seen from the following references:

(1.) The application or survey of Mr. Holt (1766) on file in the Department at Harrisburg, embracing that part of the land on which the Fort stood as mentioned in Rev. Beatty's Journal, has the following description: "Bounded on the west by Juniata adjoining Buchannon's surveyed line INCLUDING A PLACE CALLED GRANVILLE and adjoining one Swift on the upper side." As to the word "place" used here we take it that so complete was the destruction of this wooden defense that as recent as a decade after the then well remembered event the site could more appropriately be referred to as a place than a Fort, hence the choice of the word by Mr. Holt in making his application. We infer this to be the case from the fact that during Mr. Holt's occupancy and at no time since was there a settlement or collection of buildings in that vicinity that could be referred to as "a place," so the words must have applied to the site of the Fort.

(2.) On the opposite side of the river, toward the western end of the original Holt tract, lies the land warranted to Armstrong Buchannon, and his survey on file in the same Department in describing the location states, *inter alia*, that it is on the south side of the Juniata OPPOSITE "Fort Granville." The present farm buildings on this tract are located directly opposite the mouth of the Brought ravine where it originally opened out to the river but which was marred by the banks disturbed in the construction of the Penna. canal in 1829-1830. These words "opposite Fort Granville" in the

Buchannon survey, made as early as 1762, fixes the site of the Fort on the high bank of the Brought ravine beyond any reasonable doubt.

(3.) The survey of James Brown, a short distance farther up the river than the Armstrong Buchannon tract and on the same side of the stream, describes the land as being situate on the south side of the Juniata "ABOVE FORT GRANVILLE." Had the Fort been located nearer the mouth of the creek at Lewistown than the Brought ravine the words "above Fort Granville" would not likely been used, but taking the mouth of the Brought ravine as the true site of the Fort these words are quite applicable and carry weight because part of an official document.

(4.) A tract still farther up is described as "ABOUT ONE MILE ABOVE FORT GRANVILLE."

By reference to Mr. Ross's draft it will be seen that these tracts are so located that aided by the definite references thereon to the relative location of the Fort the site may be designated within a radius that includes the ravine on the Brought farm referred to above and which is part of the Holt tract which as described in his application included "a place called Granville." These statements upon the face of official documents focalize the true site of Fort Granville inasmuch as they give the distance of one mile each way, i. e., from the Kishacoquillas creek westward, and from the tract marked "4" eastward, and also give the location directly "opposite" (See Ross Draft, Par. "3,") thus making the Brought ravine the focal point at which the Fort stood. This is the deepest ravine along the river within a mile or less west from the mouth of Kishacoquillas creek at Lewistown. Its high bank commands a good view up and down the river and just west of it is a rounded knoll with a perpendicular rocky face toward the river, which would prevent an approach to the Fort from the river except by a detour of the land away from the stream.

(5.) In his "The Journal of a Two Months' Tour with a view of Promoting Religion Among the Frontier Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and of Introducing Christianity Among the Indians to the Westward of the Allegheny Mountains," published in London in 1768, Rev. Charles Beatty, who was ap-

pointed missionary to the frontier settlements in the New Purchase, and who made his way up through the Juniata valley in 1766, under date of August 25 of that year writes: "After riding about 21 miles we came to Mr. Thomas Holt's much fatigued, where we rested an hour or two, and refreshed ourselves and fed our horses. NOT FAR FROM HIS HOUSE STOOD FORT GRANVILLE, erected there the last war, and garrisoned by a small number of provincial troops," etc. This brief but early chronicle, made but ten years after the destruction of the Fort, while it gives conclusive evidence on whose land the Fort was built is insufficient as to the exact location of it, as at the present time no one can tell on what part of his long narrow tract the house of Thomas Holt stood, though it may be inferred without the element of doubt entering into the matter that it was at one of the five springs mentioned above, as he was the owner of all the land along the north side of the river for a distance of a mile and a half or more. Our contention is that Holt's home was more likely located at the big spring near the head of the ravine about where the farm house of Silvester Brought stands, which our measurement gives as about a mile from the mouth of the Kishacoquillas creek, than at any other of the springs mentioned.

Third—Other Than Documentary Evidence.

There is one object favoring this site as that of Fort Granville that must be reckoned with, namely a stone pillar nearly nine feet long, square in shape but tapering from less than two feet across at its larger end to about one foot across near its top, with a polished surface on the four sides, composed of black rock, which now occupies a place as hitching post at the gate of the Silvester Brought farm residence, distant over a mile west of Lewistown, by the turnpike. The spot from which this pillar was taken when transported on a low sled to its present position at the Brought farm house a number of years ago was on the edge of the ravine directly opposite the tract of Armstrong Buchannon, lying across the river and referred to as being "opposite Fort Granville." The pillar occupied an obscure position for many years previous to its removal as an upright column planted firmly in the ground

at the lower side of what was once the main road, now abandoned but still to be traced and supposed by some persons to be the old Indian path coming in from the western part of the state and leading across the river and the mountains by way of Granville and other gaps to Carlisle. (See Map of Penna. Historical Society, previously referred to.)

Old inhabitants during the past 100 years have pointed out this stone as marking "the scene of the battle of Fort Granville," or as others expressed it, "the place where the Indian battle was fought," thus designating the historical reason for the stone being set up in that particular location. It is unfortunate that this stone does not tell its own story, which is now beyond the power of any person to do. It bears no inscription in letters or figures to interpret its meaning to future generations, including us living 158 years after the battle was fought which we feel all but certain it was set up to commemorate. But though a mute witness, the position it occupied back as far as memory runneth through several generations, the plain story of its removal, vouched for by persons still living who placed it in its present position and point out the exact spot from which it was taken, which as already stated is directly opposite the Armstrong Buchannon tract on the original draft of which it is stated "opposite Fort Granville," taken with other facts concerning the stone, as related further on in this statement, this pillar is not the least important factor in determining the true site of the Fort.

Back as far as those now living can recollect it has never been claimed that the stone was connected with any other event but the battle in 1756 which ended with the destruction of Fort Granville; nor did any event occur within the present bounds of Mifflin county that would be considered important enough to be marked by such a memorial. It is a plausible inference that this stone originally occupied the exact site of Fort Granville but the construction of the Pennsylvania canal above Lewistown 1829-1830 necessitated its removal and it found a place on account of its weight on the low side of the ravine in full view of the old road spoken of above, as it would there not interfere with farming operations, and thus in time it was said to mark the "battle ground" instead of the Fort

site itself. While this is not evidence it serves to explain how the stone marker may have come to occupy a position more than 300 feet from the present water line of the old canal and spring near the point where the ravine touched the river before the canal was made.

CONCLUSION.

After thus thoroughly going over and grouping the data as we have been able to accumulate it from the various sources specified in this Statement we submit the same to your honorable body the Historical Commission, respectfully requesting that you officially visit Lewistown at the time of your meeting in May at Pittsburgh, and that you notify the undersigned of the precise date of said visit, and we will take pleasure in going over the ground with you for purposes of inspection.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE R. FRYSSINGER,

CHARLES A. ZERBE,

Committee of Publication.

Appendix 2.

Page 163. Note to "Trois Rivières." This is evidently an error, due to Pownall's error in his explanation as to the situation of "Trois Rivières." The place called "Trois Rivières"—Three Rivers—in all of the French documents of this period, was situated on the North side of the St. Lawrence River, midway between Montreal and Quebec, at the site of the present Three Rivers, Canada. The French writers of this period always used this name as applying to this place, and never as applying to the site of Pittsburgh. In all of the French official documents "Trois Rivières" applies to this site in Canada. In Egle's "Notes and Queries" Fourth Series, II, 327, 1895, the genealogy of the Montour Family is given. All of the children of Pierre Couc, and his Indian wife, are given as having been born at Three Rivers, Canada. Louis, the first of the name to take the name of Montour, was born in 1659.

This Louis Couc, or Montour, was the father of Madame Montour, famous in Pennsylvania history. Her two sons, Andrew and Louis, were prominent in Indian affairs in the Province. Montour's Island and Montour's Run were named in honor of Andrew.

While the name "Three Rivers might be applied to the site of Pittsburgh, yet the name, as used by the French writers applied to the site in Canada long before the region about Pittsburgh had been explored. The name for the region about Pittsburgh used in all of the French documents is "La Belle Riviere," "Oyo," or "Ohio," and, after the French occupation, "Fort Duquesne." The name by which this site was known to the Indians may have been De-un-da-ga, which Washington and others translated "the Forks," but I have been unable to find this name in any document of this period. The first Indian name applied to the place where Pittsburgh now stands was Shannopin's Town. All other so-called Indian names are without any authority other than that of later writers.

Appendix 3.

Page 164. "Written Rock" village. The village mentioned by Celoron was without question at the mouth of the present Chartiers Creek, and was given this name because of the names which were written on the surface of the rocks, later known as McKees Rocks. The writing upon these rocks was mentioned by later explorers. Weiser also mentions this village as being the town "where an old Seneka woman reigns supreme." Celoron mentioned the village as being the home of "an old woman who governs it. She regards herself as sovereign. She is entirely devoted to the English." This "old woman" was Allaquippa, who lived at the mouth of Chartiers Creek in 1748 and 1749. Before 1752 she moved to the opposite side of the Ohio River, where her village is placed by several maps of 1752. In 1753 she was living at the site of McKeesport, where Washington visited her in that year. She

is called "Queen Allaquippa," a title bestowed upon her by the English—possibly because "she regarded herself as a sovereign." Many false ideas have been given wide spread popularity concerning the reign of this "Indian Queen."

McKees Rocks was a prominent place in these early days. As is noted elsewhere, it was the intention of the Ohio Company to erect the fort here, which was afterwards commenced at the "Forks," by Edward Ward. In later times several of the officers of Fort Pitt, among whom was Gen. Irvine, advised the abandonment of the site at the "Point" and the erection of a fort on the top of McKees Rocks.

Appendix 4.

The Indian village of Shamokin (from Shumokenk, "where horns are a plenty") was the largest and most important Indian village in Pennsylvania during the early days. There is little doubt but that its site had been used as a village by the Susquehannocks, before their final wars with the Iroquois. In later times it was the gathering place of the Iroquois, as they returned from their war expeditions to the South, over the "Warrior's Path." The location is one of the most central in the State. The various trails leading North and South, as well as east and west, crossed here. It was a point of meeting of the trails leading to the Ohio, Potomac, and to Wyoming and the West Branch. The earliest trail from the upper Delaware to the Ohio crossed the Susquehanna at this point. A whole volume could be written about this most historic spot. In 1728 Shikellamy was appointed by the Iroquois as their Deputy in Pennsylvania, with special care of the Shawnee. Count Zinzendorf visited Shamokin in the fall of 1742. Various Moravian missionaries visited the village and labored in it. Among these were Mack, Post, Pyrlaeus and Zeisberger. David Brainard also visited the place in 1745. It then contained upwards of 300 inhabitants. In 1747 the Moravians built a Blacksmith shop in the village, at the re-

quest of Shikellamy. During the past summer (1913) a large stone anvil was dug up near the site of Fort Augusta, which doubtless belonged to this shop. It is now in the possession of the owner of Fort Augusta, Mrs. Amelia Gross. During the entire history of the French and Indian War Shamokin was most prominent in the Indian affairs of the Province. Shikellamy died in 1748, and was buried a short distance above the spot where Fort Augusta was erected. The site of his grave, which was opened some years ago and robbed of its relics, is still pointed out.

The site of Fort Augusta is now marked by a handsome monument which stands on the river bank. This was erected by the D. A. R. Chapter at Sunbury. During the past Summer Mr. and Mrs. I. M. Gross, who now live in the house which occupies the site of the fort, erected suitable markers for the various bastions of the old Fort. The Magazine has been cleaned out and is also marked. Mrs. Gross has been much interested in the history of Fort Augusta, and much credit is due to her for preserving this most historic spot, at a very great personal expense. The site of the old fort, and the view up the West Branch, is one of the most beautiful in America.

During the past summer suitable markers have been placed at the grave of Col. Hunter, and at the graves of various Revolutionary soldiers who rest in the old William Penn graveyard. There are eight Revolutionary soldiers, 43 soldiers of the War of 1812, 5 of the Mexican War, 177 of the Civil War, and 2 of the Spanish-American War in this little cemetery, which lies along the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

GEORGE P. DONEHOO.

Appendix 5.

Page 574. None of the stories of "Captain Jack, the Wild Hunter of the Juniata" will bear careful historical investigation. Nearly every part of the frontier had a mythical character of this sort. Nearly all of the legends having refer-

ence to "Captain Jack" are founded upon the adventures of the "White Mingo," who raised a company of 19 men, without any authority, arrested Frederick Stump and delivered him to the sheriff at Carlisle (See Colonial Records, IX, 436, etc.). There is no record of any such character as "Captain Jack" and his famous "hundred," who offered to serve under General Braddock. This famous frontiersman "with the eye of an eagle, an aim that was unerring" and many other qualities, was no doubt the beau ideal of the period—but, he was not a reality. Nor was Jack's Narrows or Jacks Mountain, named for this personage, but for Jack Armstrong, a famous Indian Trader who was murdered by three Indians in the narrow gorge of the Juniata, in April, 1744. Consult, Archives of Pennsylvania, First Series, Vol. I, pp. 643 and 646. Many of the legends about the "Wild Hunter of the Juniata" are given in McKnight's "Captain Jack, The Scout" published in 1873.

Appendix 6.

Page 383. The Braddock Road did not approach the Monongahela River, at the mouth of Redstone Creek, nearer than twelve miles, but turned abruptly to the north on the crest of Laurel Hill, following the ridge to about one mile east of the geographical centre of Fayette County, thence westward to the site of the Mount Braddock Mansion erected by Col. Isaac Meason, 1803, within a few rods of the geographical centre of Fayette County, then turning abruptly to the north, crossed the Youghiogheny river a short distance below the city of Connellsville. The Burd road began at the Mount Braddock Mansion and went direct to the mouth of Redstone creek.

Page 391. Gaddis' Fort, now owned by Basil A. Brownfield, son of Isaac A. Brownfield, and grandson of Basil, Sr., is still standing, and is the last of the old settlers' forts left standing in the county. There should be no doubt as to it having been erected by Col. Thomas Gaddis, as he was the first to own and occupy the tract on which it stood, and here made his home until he removed to the farther west, and was a man of great enterprise and public spirit. There is no

ground for a doubt but that it was built by him. It has lately been re-roofed and is in a good state of preservation. One porthole is plainly visible, while the others have been closed with mortar. The stockade is gone, but a recent survey made by one who knew its outlines is preserved, and it can be easily located. A metal tablet has been recently erected at the fort.

JAS. HADDEN.

Appendix 7.

Page 393. Fort Riffe.—There is still standing, a few feet from the site of Fort Riffe, a very old and delapidated log house, which doubtless was erected before Fort Riffe was destroyed. I think it very doubtful that the Virginia Court was held here, as history informs us that Virginia held her courts in a shop on the farm of Theophilus Phillips in Springhill township some miles distant, although Nicholson township was taken from Springhill much later. It was doubtless used as a polling place. The site is now owned by a foreigner.

Page 397. The Beeson Blockhouse was never the domicile of Henry Beeson but stood a short distance east, and in the yard of the present sheriff's residence. A metal tablet was erected recently on its site with appropriate ceremonies. This old blockhouse may have been used as a school-house, as it stood on ground donated by Henry Beeson, the founder of the town, for public use; and it is positively known that the first school of the town was held on this ground, and, upon the erection of the county, the first courts were held in the school-house until a court-house was erected.

Page 398. Braybill's Blockhouse.—This evidently is a misspelling, as it is spelled Braybill, Brabill, Graybill, Grabill, and likely more properly Crable, as that spelling is quite common in that locality at present, but the former, never. Captain Woodward died some years ago. The property passed into other hands, and was laid off and sold into small lots. The remains of the old blockhouse were torn away recently, and a metal tablet erected on its site with appropriate ceremonies.

JAS. HADDEN.

Appendix 8.

Page 184. The Wilson Mill and Block House.—By reference to Benjamin Franklin's letter to the Governor, dated January 14, 1756, it will be seen that he makes mention (vide Page 191—5th line) to the visit paid him by some of the principal men of the Irish Settlement, among them Mr. Wilson, who pleaded for protection. This occurred immediately after the massacre of the Moravians at Gnadenhutten and the partial destruction of Captain Hay's company. Through the courtesy of the Rev. John Baer Stoudt, Northampton, Pa., I have been made acquainted with some facts concerning the location, etc., of the defense named above.

The Block House is an octagonal building, still standing amid the busy scenes of the Atlas Cement plant, on the western bank of the Hockendaqua Creek, near Howell's Mill, another old landmark, and is the oldest building in the borough of Northampton. When the property was purchased by the Atlas Company a promise was given that the old block house should be preserved. To that end a retaining wall has been built around it, and, as necessary, repairs are made to it.

Upon the occurrence of the massacre just mentioned the people in the Irish Settlement became panic stricken, resulting in a "run-away," and a demand upon Franklin for more troops and greater protection. Realizing how inadequate his force were for complete protection, such as was demanded, he threatened to withdraw entirely all troops unless the people themselves took a part in their own defense.

It is reasonably certain that this resulted in the erection, by Thomas Wilson, of the block-house of which we are writing. It was doubtless built, primarily, as a protection to the mill which stood hard by, as well as for a place of refuge should it become necessary for any of the settlers to flee from their homes. It had no windows but merely seven small port holes and is in its original condition save for a door which is now missing.

H. M. M. RICHARDS.

Appendix 9.

Stewart's Crossings. In 1774 Col. William Crawford erected a fort near his house at "Stewart's Crossings," now Connellsville. Crawford says in a letter to Washington, dated "Spring Garden," the name given to his home, "June 8, 1774," after mentioning the killing of six persons on Dunkard's Creek by the Indians, "Our whole country is in forts, what is left; but the major part is gone over the mountain. With much ado I have prevailed on about a dozen families to join me in building a fort over against my house, which has been accomplished with much difficulty and a considerable expense to me. Valentine Crawford has built another at the same rate. It was with great difficulty any could be prevailed upon to stay, such was the panic that seized the people. If something is not done, I am afraid the whole country must fall into the hands of the enemy" (Washington-Crawford Letters, C. W. Butterfield, page 50-51).

This fort was situated on the Youghiogheny river, within the present City of Connellsville, near Stewart's Crossings, at which Gen. Braddock forded the river with his army in 1755. The site of the fort, as well as that of Col. Crawford's home, is now covered by the fill made by the Western Maryland R. R. It is nearly opposite the present B. & O. R. R. station at Connellsville. Col. William Crawford, who was burned by the Indians at Sandusky on June 11th, 1782, moved to "Stewart's Crossings" in 1765 from Virginia. He was a friend of Washington and acted as his agent in the development of his western lands. Washington visited his home in 1770, when on his trip to the Ohio country. He commanded the famous "West Augusta Regiment" (the Thirteenth Virginia), during the Revolution, and was Commander of the unfortunate "Crawford's Expedition" against the Indians of Ohio, in 1782. Consult: Archives of Penna. Second Series, XIV, 690-727, 1888; Crawford's Campaign Against Sandusky, C. W. Butterfield, Cincinnati, 1873; Washington-Crawford Letters, same author, 1877. Steps are now being made towards the suitable marking of the home of Col. Crawford, the site of the fort and Stewart's Crossings, at Connellsville, by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, the City Council of Connellsville and the people of the region.

GEO. P. DONEHO.

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